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ON THE
CONSTITUTION

END OF
MONARCHY

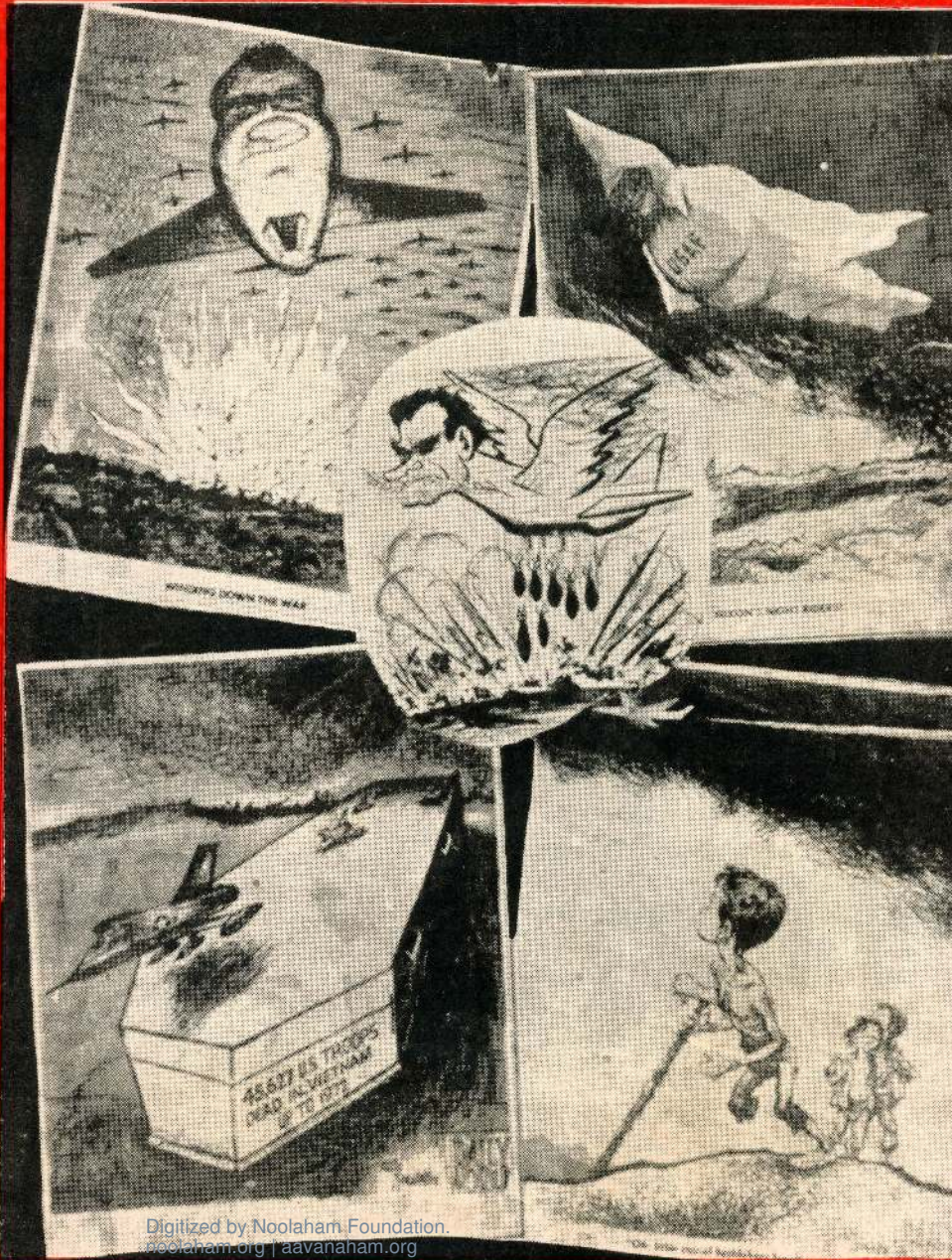
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NIXON IN MOSCOW



Nixon's Gamble - Who Won?

To help South Vietnam to stand up to Hanoi's unexpectedly powerful offensive launched on March 31, President Nixon escalated the air bombing of North Vietnam. But this was of little avail and the three-pronged attack mounted by the DRV began to shake the foundations of the South Vietnamese government. When Quang Tri fell, Nixon took the unprecedented step of dropping mines outside all North Vietnamese ports. The *Newsweek* 22/5, in a leading article entitled NIXON'S VIETNAM GAMBLE, stated that the mining of waters outside North Vietnamese ports was looked on with apprehension by the American people. It had brought the biggest confrontation with the USSR since the Cuban missile crisis ten years ago. The *Newsweek* said President Nixon had taken "a step his predecessors in the White House had repeatedly shunned as too risky..." What intrigued many was "how would the Soviet Union retaliate?", and *Newsweek's* view was that "at the very least, everyone seemed to agree, the men in Kremlin had little choice but to cancel next week's Moscow summit....." But, Moscow did not. The Kremlin displayed much more restraint and maturity than most Americans had expected.

There was no doubt that Hanoi's actions were solely determined by her own interests. The growing *detente* bet-

ween Peking and Washington was a matter of deep concern to Hanoi, but with Nixon going to Moscow DRV's leaders felt continuing confrontation in Vietnam might be superseded by negotiation--before Hanoi was able to secure total victory. Just before Nixon's visit to Peking, Hanoi had visibly prepared for an offensive and this had rushed Nixon to step up his bombing of North Vietnam. But this escalation did not stop the Peking summit. The Moscow summit was of even greater concern to Hanoi because Russia was the supplier of DRV's sophisticated weaponry. Hanoi's offensive on March 31, (not the best time or weather for an offensive), threatened to throw a spanner into the Moscow summit. Nixon reacted in a predictable manner as he had done before the Peking summit too. He escalated the bombing and went a step further and mined the waters outside all DRV ports. This undoubtedly satisfied the American *ego* and this flourish of bravado will no doubt help Nixon with the US voters. If Peking and Moscow also behaved in the same predictable Nixonian manner "to save face," there would have been no Peking summit or a Moscow summit. And, what is worse, world tensions would have escalated instead of decreasing as they have done after the two summits. It was suggested in many quarters that Moscow

had been prompted by Hanoi's offensive preparations in Janu-

ary whilst Peking had returned the compliment at the end of March, but there is no evidence that the USSR and China have been playing this Jekyll and Hyde game in this instance. Hanoi's leadership is astute and subtle enough to have worked it out on its own. Hanoi is determined to secure a military victory in Indochina and needs the assistance of both the USSR and China, unencumbered by the co-existential web of *detente*, to achieve this objective. American *ego* and prestige understandably resist a total military defeat of its Indochinese allies in South Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia, though the US now seems willing to have a negotiated peace with coalition governments in the regions outside DRV control.

Nixon went to Moscow on May 22 as scheduled. The war in Vietnam had become bogged down in a stalemate. But in spite of the dark clouds over Vietnam, Nixon signed a number of significant agreements in Moscow including one curailing strategic nuclear weapons. The only inconclusive agreement was one about trade, but trade problems could not be finalised until the outstanding questions of Russia's debts to the USA from the Second World War, under Lend-Lease etc., are resolved. But, judged by any standard, the Moscow Summit was a tremendous success -- in spite of Nixon's gamble in Vietnam.

On The Constitution

by SERENDIB

THE NEW REPUBLIC of Sri Lanka (Ceylon) was brought into being 43 minutes after the stroke of twelve noon on Monday, May 22, 1972. This was the time set for the new birth by the astrologers advising the Government.

The *Daily Mirror*, 23/5, with a flourish of pardonable rhetoric claimed that "...Ceylon, the world's oldest monarchy, broke away from the shackles of alien rule, to emerge as the youngest free, sovereign and independent Republic of

Sri Lanka. At the time set by the astrologers as the most auspicious moment, the island snapped its monarchist rule which began reportedly with the landing of Prince Vijaya and ended with 157 years under the British Crown. At a simple but poignant ceremony, evocative of the rich cultural heritage of the nation held at Navarangahala yesterday, the legislators ushered in for the 13 million people of this country a Republican Constitution promising a new era of socialist democracy..."

The *Sun*, 23/5, took an even more high falutin' attitude and said "...It was indeed an epic event which signalled the closure of one chapter in history and the opening of a new one filled with immense potentialities..." The *Daily News*, 23/5, was much more prosaic in describing the event, and merely said: "The Republic of Sri Lanka was born yesterday afternoon when the President of the Constituent Assembly, Mr. Stanley Tillekeratne, signed the certificate declaring the new constitution adopted..."

Though the daily papers and the weeklies of the political parties had streamer headlines and enthusiastic reports about the historic significance of the event, it was a fact that there was no spontaneous public enthusiasm, such as was

witnessed immediately after SWRD's electoral victory in April 1956, or after Mrs. B's first electoral triumph in July 1960, or after the UF election landslide in May 1970. Both in the towns and in the villages, the ceremonies on May 22 were purely on an official basis and not all the propaganda blasts from CBC seems to have moved the ordinary man from the frustrated apathy into which he has sunk under the burden of high prices and chronic shortages of essential goods. In Kandy there was reportedly a turnout of 50,000 on May 24, according to the most enthusiastic report, but this number was small considering the fact that the Tooth Relic was being "exposed" to the public.

UF ENTHUSIASTS find it difficult to explain why public enthusiasm was so limited: they say that the people had begun to take the new Republican Status for granted. More detached and objective observers feel that the ordinary man has adopted a watch-and-wait attitude. He knows that the name plates and the rules of the game are being changed, but he does not know what is in store. He had voted for the UF believing that the millennium would be ushered soon after victory, but he was disappointed. The ordinary voter does not want to be disillusioned again. He does not want to place all his hopes in the new Constitution especially when the U N P and other

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parties have not accepted the new Constitution. Although the UNP has only a poor parliamentary voting strength, the 48% of the electorate which voted pro-UNP in 1970 is still anti-UF, though what percentage of it is still pro-UNP is uncertain. In the same way, it is highly problematic what percentage of those who had voted UF in 1970 would still vote UF today. So much has happened between May 1970 and today that it would be unrealistic to think, as some UF enthusiasts wishfully like to believe, that the voting sympathies of the public are what they were in 1970.

THE GOVERNMENT also seems to wishfully believe that the Republic would infuse new enthusiasm into the ordinary man. It is claimed that "another election pledge" had been fulfilled. This "fulfilment" is an empty and sentimental one, and unless concrete benefits flow almost immediately, the new Republican Constitution would become a political joke.

The Constitution has undoubtedly appraised for three groups: (1) the Buddhists who are happy that Buddhism has been made the *de facto* state religion, (2) the Sinhalese, especially the ultras, who are happy (chauvinistically speaking) that Sinhala had been made the sole official language from Pedro to Dondra, and finally the intellectualised Left who seem to think that all that was necessary in a new Republican Constitution was a declaration

of faith that the country was being taken towards socialism with a constitutional embargo on private property and fundamental rights which might be used to turn the country on to the road of private capitalism.

The Buddhists and the Sinhala ultras think that surrender to "socialism" with protective barriers against private property was a small price to pay for establishing a Sinhala Buddhist Republic. They fondly believe that permanence for posterity has been achieved for a pure Sinhala Dīpa where the racial, religious linguistic and cultural minorities could be easily and quickly assimilated as true-blooded Sinhalese and Buddhists within a short time. What they feel is "transitory" about the situation is that there are minority groups and peoples who have to be assimilated. Until this assimilation takes place, they think that a strong but tactful government was essential; and that, to achieve this objective the Leftists were a useful asset.

The intellectualised Left are deeply conscious that in order to have a Republican Constitution with a Socialist orientation they have had to sacrifice major principles in regard to secularism and minority rights which are sacred to Marxists and socialists. The Leftists argue that this "surrender" to the Buddhist and Sinhala ultras was only temporary to achieve socialism through democratic processes.

The *Nation*, the organ of

the intellectual Left in the UF, seems to be highly conscious about this aspect of the dynamics of this Constitution. In a most apologetic note in its bumper issue of May 22, 1972, the *Nation* in its last page column under the title NOW TO PROVE OUR SOCIALIST PURPOSE stated: "Part of the problem of evaluating constitutions is the difficulty of realistic appreciation of their limitations. It is as easy to ridicule the significance of constitutions as to exaggerate their potentiality. Constitutions do not guarantee social objectives of any kind. They only frame the political conditions that can lead to the attainment of those objectives. The rest is a function of political leadership, of mass political consciousness. For this reason constitutions are important. Because if the correct framework is not provided within which the political struggle can proceed, the tasks of both leadership and struggle become complicated. The test of a good constitution therefore is its appropriateness to the social ethos of the country and the ideological aims of the dominant political leadership. A conflict between them must lead either to peril for the constitution or suppression of mass politics."

THIS IS the most apologetic plea one can think of for a constitution which was "drawn up" by the golden brains of the Left movement in Ceylon. Between the lines, what *Nation*

suggests is that a constitutional framework had been created so that a forward-looking political leadership could in the contemporary social ethos utilise the situation to attain certain socialist objectives.

Then the *Nation* goes on to give the reasons why Leftists should accept the Constitution. With cynicism which is revealing, it stressed that the Constitution was not "either divinely inspired or a framework of the state for all time to come". The *Nation* frankly admitted that the present Constitution was only for a period of transition.

"The outstanding feature of the new Constitution of Ceylon is the basic consideration it has paid to this problem of the social ethos and the outlook of the dominant political leadership..... With frankness and realism it seeks to provide a framework for the limited historic period of the transition of our society to Socialism..... The new Constitution of Ceylon, therefore, bears the hallmark of the parliamentary process that gave it birth. In that sense it embodies the consensus currently obtaining in the political life of the country. It is not an ideal constitution, but that which enables the different social groups to press forward with the struggle for their separate social aims without resort to violent civil warfare....."

The passage quoted shows the logic and methodology of the Left as represented by the

Nation. What was necessary was, it stressed, to have a framework which could be used by the UF leadership to achieve the objectives they have in mind. The process is described in some detail in the sophisticated idiom which only intellectual elite of the left could understand.

This discourse is intended to convince the intellectuals on the Left into whom doubts have crept in about the new Republican Constitution, that the LSSP was capable of handling the situation in a way that would ensure socialism. This is certainly an under-estimation of the Sinhala and Buddhist ultras, but that is another matter. The *Nation* is confident, however, that the Left knew what it was about.

"The limitation of the conditions in which the Constitution has been framed manifests itself in the fact that the Principles of State Policy are general directive principles intended to guide the making of laws and the tasks of government of the country, but cannot be enforced through resort to any court of law. In other words, the freedom has been conceded to those classes and groups within the nation who do not accept the necessity of a Socialist democracy, not to implement these principles and even to oppose them without violating other provisions of the Constitution. Their participation in the consensus on which the Constitution is founded consists in their acceptance

of the right of the Constituent Assembly, and the masses of people that stand behind it, led by the United Front Government, to take the country towards the implementation of the Principles of State Policy. If they oppose this right and obstruct the attempt of the UF Government to implement these Principles of State Policy, they will be opting out of the consensus. The Constitution provides the necessary powers

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End of Monarchy

by

AGASTYA

IT IS at all times difficult to stand aside detached and contemplate upon events which are tumbling down all around us. Somewhere and at some point events always impinge on every one of us in a way which provokes the inhibitions and allegories in each of us to incite us into indignation, irrationality or fanatical admiration. To acquire detachment and objectivity in the world of today is a difficult exercise, but is something worth striving for.

At the moment, everyone is shouting slogans about the virtues of a Republic. We have been a monarchy, it is asserted until now for over 2500 years. For the last 150 years or more, a British King or Queen has been our monarch. Before that for 150 years or so, it was the Dutch monarch, and for a yet earlier 150 years, the monarch of Portugal was acknowledged as the King of those parts of maritime Ceylon ruled by the Portuguese.

Before that, for over 2000 years, it is asserted, Ceylon had a history of monarchy as recorded in Pali in the *Mahavamsa* and the *Culavamsa*. During this period there have been more than one monarch contemporaneously ruling differ-

ent parts of Ceylon, but the basis of sovereignty and government in Ceylon was monarchy. Even before the Vijayan era, there was no doubt that the country was ruled by kings and queens. So it would be correct to say that for the first time in its history Ceylon has chosen to assume a Republican status.

WE PART company with the British Queen on May 22. Whether the parting will be graceful, courteous or abruptly sharp, will depend on the temper and mood of those leaders of the Government and the UF who are having the maximum say in the matter of setting up the new Republic. There is however no doubt that much of the glamour surrounding monarchs and kings has worn out. India recently abolished the privy purses of princes and it will be only a matter of time before the class of princely overlords are forgotten in India—but they will no doubt be replaced by other kinds of overlords. Britain still finds it useful to keep its monarchy, so does Japan, and both cost the taxpayer a pretty penny.

In Japan, there is still great respect for the monarch and Emperor, but in Britain the most outrageous criticism about the monarchy is now made. A British (Scottish) MP, William Hamilton, has carried on a one man campaign against the British monarchy and thus has naturally aroused indignation among conservative elements in Britain. But it is nevertheless interesting to

note what Hamilton has to say. A marxist commentator writing a syndicated article for leftwing newspapers and journals had a piece in early February this year which was published in many left papers: He said: "One of these days, the people of Britain are going to react against a system in which millions of common people are paid \$39—\$52 a week while Princess Margaret gets \$1,040 a week 'to go to theatre premiers and cocktail parties,'" said William Hamilton, warning to one of his favourite subjects. "If the British Royal family were dumped into the Thames River, he said, I would regret the loss of life but that's all If I had a chance to debate the monarchy on television with Prince Phillip (Queen Elizabeth's husband), I would ask him how he justifies the money Parliament gives him and his family" said Hamilton, a leftwing member of Parliament. "I would tell him," Hamilton said, "that we encourage them to breed like rabbits. The hereditary principle in the monarchy is less selective than that of a stud farm. There, you can at least choose your stock. In a hereditary monarchy, we have to take what comes along." Queen Elizabeth has four children—three sons and a daughter.

"Hamilton fought against a proposal in Parliament last year to give the Queen a 106 per cent pay raise. It was approved despite Hamilton's contention that it was 'shameful.' He said it was hard to understand.

why when millions of ordinary Britons are paid less than \$52 a week, 'Princess Margaret should be paid \$1,040 a week to go to theatre premiers and cocktail parties. I think there is going to be an upsurge among the common people when they see how badly this question of royal wealth is handled and how they, the royal family, refuse to discuss their enormous private wealth,' Hamilton said. 'The ordinary people are going to react and in 20 to 30 years I see the end of the monarchy or in 50 years at most. I don't think there is any hope of the monarchy disappearing in the immediate future,' Hamilton said. They have a very excellent public relations officer in Prince Philip, who is full of glittering repartee. He is very good at it. The hereditary institutions of Britain have a very good sense of self-preservation and I think they'll preserve themselves for a few years yet. But when Prince Charles comes along, the people will be a lot more cynical,' Hamilton said. Charles was likely to be middle-aged when he comes to the throne. 'He could be the greatest nit-wit in the world but he still will be the monarch,' Hamilton said. 'He probably will marry someday because Parliament has already guaranteed his widow \$156,000 a year. There is likely to be no shortage of offers.'

Hamilton conceded Queen Elizabeth does her job reasonably well. But there are thousands of young women in my

constituency in Scotland who could do it better.' Hamilton said one of the problems to getting rid of the monarchy is that "the British people have been brainwashed from the cradle to the grave into thinking the monarchy is cheap at the price... That is a lot of rubbish," he said.

IT WAS a coincidence that in the same first week in December 1971 when India abolished the privy purses, a British Parliamentary Committee recommended that the Queen be granted a 106 per cent increase in her 'pay'. As from January 1972, her 'civil list' funds would increase from £ 475,000 to £ 980,000 a year. Other members of the royal family were also awarded increases and all these were later approved in Parliament with only William Hamilton's voice raised in protest. One important recommendation by the Committee was that the civil list be reviewed at least every 10 years.

Not all members of the committee agreed with these recommendations. A stinging attack on the increases came from Labour party leftwinger William Hamilton. He said the royal pay review "represented the most insensitive brazen pay claim made in the last 200 years". Hamilton wanted the Queen's pay out to 100,000 sterling a year and said the Queen Mother's income (95,000 pounds) should be reduced to the level of a retired Prime Minister. He said Princess

Margaret should not get any public income at all—"since she has a working husband and since her public engagements appear to be extremely limited in number it is not right, to ask the taxpayer to continue payment of this annuity." Free housing accommodation should be ample recompense for the princess he said. The committee had recommended her income be raised from 15,000 pounds to 35,000 pounds.

AFTER 1815, Ceylon's contact with monarchy was a distant one. Before that, even though the maritime areas from 1505 AD owed allegiance to the monarchs in Portugal and Holland respectively, Ceylon still had a King in Kandy. But for the last 150 odd years, Ceylon's monarch was over the seas, in far away Britain.

From May 22, however we will have a President, nominated by the Prime Minister. That certainly is a big change. But a change will come in Britain also, but as Hamilton says it may take a long time.

The British made the last King of Kandy a prisoner and sent him into exile in India where the King and the members of his immediate family were paid "pensions". When they were first paid, the amount may have been handsome enough, but a hundred and twenty five years later pensions had become a beggarly pittance by the sheer devaluation in the real value of money. This columnist knew of one wing of the Kandyan royal family in a

small town in S. India struggling along on a pension of seventy five rupees a month.

I do hope that the fate which overtook the Kandyan Royal family does not overtake the British Royal Family. But there is no saying what will happen. The great wealth of the Romanovs and Hapsburgs disappeared overnight. Surviving members of many European monarchies ended up as waiters and waitresses.

Everything which has a beginning has an end. So also with Monarchy.

A few monarchies like the British, Japanese and the Iranian are still surviving in comfort and wealth, but many others are tottering into poverty and even ignominy.

The days of monarchy are numbered.

IT
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REACHES
THE
PEOPLE
WHO
MATTER

JAPAN—3

Rising Sun In Pacific

by
TOM ENGELHARDT
and JIM PECK

BEHIND THIS INCREASED PUSH OF AMERICAN capital towards the Japanese domestic market lies a desire of America's "multi national" corporations to make the Japanese economy far more intensely interdependent with the "world market"—that is, US corporate planning and control. The Japanese Government and its *Zaibatsu* allies have fought fiercely against this, because they know that the significant entry of America's corporate entities into Japanese industry will radically alter the operation of the Japanese economy and their control over it. As Robert Guillain, *Le Monde's* Japan correspondent explains: "They fear that American directors or co-directors will refuse to play the game as it is understood in the Japanese business world... that the delicate co-operation between administration and business will not work with them and that they may not be amenable enough to follow voluntarily the guidance of the Government planners. They feel that there will be... completely new kinds of conflict within the firms, in which the whole traditional structure—

methods of hiring, promotion wages—will be turned upside down."

Japanese manufacturers have long followed the tactic of forming export cartels. The powerful Ministry of Trade and Industry (MITI) officially sanctions and protects such cartels, causing US businessmen to refer to the whole economy as "Japan, Inc". By getting together, *Zaibatsu* who might compete within Japan cooperate to gain exports. Last year, for instance, seven trading companies banded together with three Japanese steelmakers to obtain orders for 10 million dollars worth of pipe for the Trans-Alaska pipeline. A Sumitomo Trading Co official candidly explained the rationale of cooperation: "If we compete against each other overseas, it's no use; some foreign company may get the job. We have to present a joint front against the overseas competitors." The impact of American capital could easily disrupt such operations, forcing key decisions to be made outside Japan. In a sense, Japan's giant *Zaibatsu* are their own multinational corporations—capable of providing a host of services and rationally able to coordinate their commitments. That is why they pose such a challenge to the US.

Naturally enough, actual US investment in Japan is relatively low—just over 1 per cent of total US overseas investment. Moreover, in most sectors of the economy, foreign

investors control only around 5 per cent of the market. There are exceptions. Prior to 1964, Tokyo allowed foreign firms to set up yen-based companies (companies financed from abroad but unable to send profits home). Among those who took advantage of this was IBM, which now controls about 70 per cent of Japan's computer market through a wholly owned subsidiary. Major oil interests, Coca Cola, Pepsi Cola, and the aluminium industry, among others, took advantage of the agreement.

Another type of American capital penetration in recent years has taken place in the Japanese car industry. Throughout the 1960s competition within Japan was intense. Now only the best of a dozen Japanese companies remain powerful: Toyota and Nissan (Datsun). Detroit's response has been to buy into the smaller and rather vulnerable Japanese firms. Thus Chrysler bought into Mitsubishi Motors; GM holds 34 per cent of Isuzu; and Ford is trying to purchase 20 per cent of Toyo Kogyo (owner of the rotary engine Mazda). However, Japanese Industry has so far successfully fought off US attempts to gain entrance into the more powerful car firms. As one disgusted American businessman remarked; "By the time the Japanese Government liberalizes foreign investment in the automobile industry, it will probably break it down into the sparkplug industry, the left fender industry, etc."

Though Japanese industries are generally fighting hard (with the help of their Government) against loss of control, the picture is confusing. Japanese policy is in disarray as the Government, economic organizations, and industrial associations haggle over details of the new policy. Facing the gathering coercive force of the US economy, the question is only one of how much to give in and on what interests. Certainly, this has caused an unpleasant scramble in the Japanese business community, each industry looking out for itself.

OF ALL AREAS OF POTENTIAL FUTURE CONFLICT, Japan is most vulnerable in the area of oil. Japan's need for oil has risen at a rate more rapid perhaps, than that of any other country in the world. As late as 1955, Japan used only about 10 million tons of oil per year. Today, it consumes 180 million tons per year. By 1980 it is estimated, Japan's needs will be in the vicinity of 750 million tons.

Japan produces, domestically less than one million tons—a figure which has remained stable for a long time. Ninety nine per cent of its requirements in oil must come from abroad, must come in fact almost wholly from sources controlled by the US (or other Western countries.) About 85 per cent of this oil does not even come from Asia, but from the Middle East, by a tortuous route through the Malacca Straits.

Not only are the Japanese

dependent on American sources for their oil, but their domestic oil industry (including refining in which Japan is second in capacity in the non-socialist world) is one of those most penetrated by American capital. It was an industry which the large international corporations (particularly Shell and Standard Oil Esso) were able to sit on almost from the beginning of the American occupation. Today, the biggest Japanese oil companies have only 50 per cent Japanese ownership, and, though their presidents are always Japanese, vice-presidents, chief directors and other high officials are often foreigners.

What, of course upsets the Japanese ruling class the most is that, unlike almost all other products it imports, for oil it must rely so heavily on one nation. Though theoretically the Soviet Union is an alternate source of oil, up to now political factors have prevented Japan from accepting anything but minuscule amounts of oil from there.

Since 1965, Japanese companies have been prospecting for oil; and since 1967, there has been an active Government/private corporation, the Japan Petroleum Development Corporation (Japex), set up solely to try to find alternate sources. In fact in the last few years newly formed Japanese companies and consortia have been involved in a frantic search for new oil fields and new oil concessions. Alaska, Indonesia, Sumatra, Iran's Lucrastan oil fields, Western Australia, New

Guinea, the coastal shelf off Vietnam, and recently even in Japan's own backyard, the waters around the Tiao Yu-tai (Senkaku) Islands where there are overlapping claims by Japan, Korea, Taiwan, and the People's Republic of China. The Japan-Taiwan dispute which developed over these tiny islands led a Japanese naval vessel to remove a Chinese Nationalist flag from the islands. As for other claims, including Peking's, former foreign Minister Kiichi and Aichi said: "Without doubt the Senkakus are Japan's and there is no reason why Japan should negotiate with any foreign country on the matter."

But, despite the desperation of Japan's moves the results have been disappointing. As sociologist Franz Schurmann has explained: "American companies have the capital and the drilling technology to dominate the oil market: Japan, for all its spectacular advances, lags badly behind. Thus if the present trend continues, Japan will find itself in a situation similar to 1940, where virtually all its oil sources were in unfriendly hands, chiefly American, British, and Dutch. Then it needed oil for its war machine. Today it needs oil for its booming economy. But the dependence is the same: the most vital energy source for any advanced industrial nation is oil and will remain so for a long time, and those sources for Japan are now and will be in foreign hands, this time overwhelmingly American."

Given its dependence on the US trade relationship, its need for US-controlled oil, and the usefulness of US support in its military expansion, Japan is not likely to soon junk its alliance with the United States. Despite its anger over present US policy, the US still offers Japan a powerful global ally.

There are as well, strong domestic factors reinforcing this Japanese ruling class in its alliance with America. Popular sentiment is still strongly opposed to nuclear armament, and a rapid government move in this direction would cause "avoidable conflicts".

It is a fear of Japanese Right-wing militarism, not Japan's military role, that concerns Washington. A "high administrative official", widely quoted in the Japanese press to be Nixon, said that the security pact is partly designed to "police" Japan against the revival of "militarism".

The violence of Leftist student protests in the 1960s, tended to obscure the increasing power of the Right-wing. "More Rightist organizations are active in Japan today than there were during World War II—and they have triggered off more incidents than their pre-war counterparts," reports the *Far Eastern Economic Review*. Rightist forces form a hard core which offers indispensable support to Japan's political and economic establishment. They threaten the left whose strength has dwindled under relentless official pressure. Security measures are tight: Government

intervention in education (directed at regimentation of the system) more direct—even extending to a steady removal from textbooks of reference to World War II. On the Left, only the relatively "moderate" Japanese Communist Party, whose membership increased to 300,000, has grown in recent years. The Right on the other hand, can muster the support of nearly three million people—with strong representation in the Liberal Democratic Party, business, journalism, the arts, religion, science, education, and the judiciary.

The whole rightist mystique was brought to the fore in a blaze of publicity in late 1970 when novelist Yukio Mishima (in strict observance of the traditional Bushido ritual) committed suicide. On a more popular level, the glorification of violence is good film box office today. Films glorifying *yakuza* (gangster) figures are sure-fire money makers for all audiences; so too are those lauding the virtue and violence of the samurai.

AS FOR THE IMMEDIATE FUTURE OF THE SATO Government, its main worry is the increasing disenchantment of the business community and the LDP itself. Japan's political parties, as Robert Guillain noted, "are in fact leaders with no following, a high command that has no rank and file". Their funds come from the businessmen and industrial managers, who (together with their allies in

the bureaucracy), run the country. And it is these business interests who have been uneasy about the American and Chinese response to Japan's growing power.

It was, however the announcement of Nixon's trip to China which put the kiss of death on the Sato Government, for the possible long-term "loss" of the China Market is a divisive issue among Japan's business leaders. And the Chinese, for their part, have been emphasizing the growing contradictions between the Americans and the Japanese. The *People's Daily* succinctly states the current Chinese view: "Japanese militarism wants to make a comeback by relying on US imperialism, whereas the latter strives to tighten its control over Japan economically, politically, and militarily fastening her firmly to its war chariot. US imperialism has no wish to see an independent prosperous and strong Japan in Asia. While calling Japan a 'close partner', it is actually ready to betray her at any time" The Chinese are now trying to explore the nature of these contradictions between Japan and various countries of South-east Asia, and between Japan and the US itself.

In April 1970, Chou En-lai emphasized some of these areas of potential conflict when he set forth "four principles" governing Peking's future trade with Japan. There would be no deals with firms actively involved in South Korea, in Taiwan, collaborating with the US in

Vietnam, or involved in joint ventures with American firms. In July and August 1970, a considerable number of companies were excluded from the China trade. They included dummy corporations set up specifically for the China trade by the four major trading companies — Mitsui, Mitsubishi, Marubeni, and Itoh. Forty other companies which had participated in the 15th meeting of the Japan-Republic of China Co-operation Committee received the same treatment—including New Japan Steel, Japan Air Lines, Mitsubishi Heavy Industries, Sumitomo Chemicals. Others, like Asahi-Dow, were excluded as joint US Japanese companies.

The response among Japanese businessmen has been surprising, though not conclusive. Some, like those in chemical fertilizer production, who already ship some 60 percent of Japan's production to China immediately ceased sales to Taiwan. Others have simply shifted policy — fearful that they will have no access in the long run to China. Five of the six Japanese shipping lines serving Taiwan have suspended service. Japan Air Lines cancelled its service to Taiwan. Japan's two largest banks, Mitsubishi and Fuji, agreed last September to accept the Chinese principles. A remarkable volte-face was made when Shigeo Nagano, head of Japan's Chamber of Commerce, and Chairman of Nippon Steel which had close links with both Taiwan and South Korea, said

recently that his company would now faithfully follow Chou's "four principles".

There are certainly strong limits to China's leverage on the Japanese business community. One is simply the size of the China Market. China's trade in 1970 was just over a billion dollars and, though it is likely to grow, its appeal still lies in its long range prospects, not its present reality. In addition, vested interests in Taiwan and South Korea, particularly the latter, are not going to shift. Mitsubishi especially has sunk vast sums into these areas.

A division of functions among Japanese firms is one immediate answer to the present difficulties. Yet pressure is building for a change of policy, while not on Korea, at least on Taiwan. Last September former defense head Yasuhiro Nakasone was the first top LDP official to state that the Peking Government was China's legitimate Government, that Taiwan belonged to China, and that it was time Japan came to terms with these facts. "It is absolutely impermissible," Nakasone told a Chamber of Commerce meeting, "for us to harbor ambitions of taking Taiwan back, or advocating its independence or reasserting Japanese economic control." Japanese reaction to Sato's almost pathetic decision to support Taiwan in the UN has been savage and bitter even within the ruling LDP.

Today Japanese business leaders are scrambling to re-assess

Farmers Set New Targets: In The Green-House of Europe

Avocado to England

Celery to Italy and Germany

Bananas to Rumania and Greece

Peaches and Nectarines to France and Belgium

Milch cows to Iran

Melons, Strawberries and Flowers to almost everywhere else

THE above is a short and rather haphazard list of Israel's farm exports to the world. Indeed it is one of the near-miracles of modern Israel, considering that less than half-a-century ago the land was still mostly a wilderness and had to be reclaimed from the desert. Moreover, the fact of exports of farm produce means that they are over and above the demands of the home market. This, too, is part of the tremendous progress of Israel's economy in general, and agriculture in particular in recent years.

One has only to recall how in the early 1950's, the Government was obliged to impose

a severe austerity regime with strict rationing because there was not enough food to go round. At that time, it was said that there were only food stocks to last two months in the country's warehouses. All this has irrevocably changed, and Israel has today one of the most mechanised farming economies in the world. No wonder that thousands of farmers and experts have come to study how Israel does it. At the Ruppin Agricultural Institute one can see Greeks sitting side by side with Turkish farmers to see how best to extract the maximum from a none too hospitable soil.

BRITISH KNOW-HOW: A concrete indication of this progress was the recent British Agricultural and Food Processing Exhibition—Brigatex, held in Tel Aviv, which brought 50 British firms to exhibit agricultural equipment, farm machinery, packaging and storage techniques and the results of British agricultural research.

Satisfactory business was transacted and a compliment was paid to Israeli farming by Mrs. Margaret Thatcher, the Secretary of State for Education and Science, who opened the Exhibition as the official

British Government representative. She noted the big potential for British farm machinery in Israel, adding: "Israeli farming is really dynamic. You have two to three harvests a year, and you do excellent work in the developing countries. So if our farm machinery is welcome in Israel, it will be welcome in the other countries too." As a housewife, the Minister also had warm words on Israeli exports to Britain, particularly strawberries, flowers and avocados.

Cont'd.

Japan-3

their position on China and their economic relations with the United States, Taiwan may be the price they are willing to pay. That, at least, is the Chinese hope. What is at stake is not Taiwan, however, but the political and economic direction of Asia. Japan wants its economic links with the US to remain profitable, as they are today. She wants to be able to export her goods without the threats of US protectionism. But Japan does not want her economy opened to US capital. Nor, as Chou's principles of trade make clear, does China.

All that is clear in Japan today is that Japanese leaders, angry and confused, are beginning an arduous re-assessment of their global relations. "We are not 'war criminals' now," complained the director of Mitsubishi, "but 'export criminals'."

MARKETING ACHIEVEMENT: Behind the complicated mechanism of getting these fragile fruits, flowers and vegetables from the growers in Israel to the shops in London, Hamburg, Lyons, Stockholm and so forth, stands Agrexco, (short for Agricultural Exports Company). Its brand name Carmel, has become quite famous. Whoever would have thought only a few years back that Israel would become the main supplier of avocado to Europe? As for flowers, during the Christmas period alone Israel exported 28 million flowers through Agrexco in October - December 1971—an increase of 43 per cent over this same period for 1970.

Agrexco's forecast for the present season is to export 78,000 tons of farm produce at an approximate value of \$19.5m. Agrexco has been in operation for the past 14 years, but only recently with the advance in farm and marketing techniques has it really been forging ahead—in 1956-7 it exported 37,601 tons of produce, an amount which almost doubled by 1970-71 season (6,222) and the upward trend continues.

Behind these figures there also lies the "green revolution" in the West Bank where, irrespective of the Arab population's political future, agricultural prospects are rosy under the tuition of Israel's farming experts. Instead of melons, the West Bank farmers have been taught to introduce diversified, including industrial crops,

which has meant a steep rise in their income and living standards. The modernisation of West Bank farming has far-reaching socio-economic implications, not to mention of course ultimate political ramifications. For the present, Agrexco has also extended its services to West Bank farmers and sells their produce abroad too.

What worries the men who run Agrexco is how best to transport the produce and bring the flowers, fruits and vegetables with the Carmel brand to the markets of Europe (and East Africa, South Africa and the US) on schedule and undamaged. This is a difficulty that exercises their ingenuity. After initial problems with El Al, things are now working with air transport and Agrexco is going to rush produce, particularly strawberries, in 275 flights in the present season, compared to 175 flights last year, but with almost double the space available for cargo.

NEW ROUTES: Similarly there are plans to stop shipping direct to British ports, because it works out too expensive. Instead Agrexco intends to ship produce to Marseilles and then overland by train and truck. It has already made a start on this and discovered that the new method is quicker than the sea voyage. Agrexco is also expanding the use of containers from three such shipments a week last year to 10-12 in the present

season. Indeed, containers will carry one-fifth of Israel's farm exports this year.

Most interestingly Germany tops the list of Israel's customers for farm produce, taking 29 per cent in the last season. The UK came next with 18 per cent, France third with 18 per cent, Switzerland next with 10 per cent, Italy fifth with 6 per cent, Scandinavia with 5 per cent, and the remaining 14 per cent spread out all over the world.

According to a group of German buyers who visited Israel recently, farm exports to their country can be increased, especially strawberries and avocados. They praised the high quality of Israeli farm products reaching the German market, and noted that Israelis keep to timetable in contrast to such competitors as Spain and North African countries.

FLOWER POWER: An eyewitness study of how flowers are handled is a fascinating experience. The flowers are cut in the morning and conveyed on the same day to Agrexco's packing house adjoining Lydda Airport. The packers work amid the perfumes and riotous colours of flowers, taking great care in packing them. They are put aboard the cargo planes at evening tide and flown to their destination by night. The next morning they will bring the freshness of the Sharon and the bright air of the Negev to London, Paris, Oslo and Stockholm.

Modern accounting has a big

How The Language Problem Has Been Solved

Moscow,

THE SOVIET UNION is a Union of 15 equal Republics, a union of many peoples inhabiting these Republics: Russians, Ukrainians, Turkmens, Armenians, Estonians and others. There are as many languages as peoples. But the Russian language serves as a means of intercourse of the peoples inhabiting the huge territory of the Soviet country. The bourgeois press frequently refers to imaginary processes of language assimilation in the USSR, to the so-called "Russification of peoples speaking other languages."

Even before the revolution Lenin came out consistently for the equality of all peoples and languages of tsarist Russia. After the revolution, not

Contd.

In Israel

role to play in ensuring proper contact with overseas customers. Even before the flowers are flown away, the buyers in London and Stockholm know all the necessary details. The computer in the Agrexco office in Tel Aviv carries all the data on each carton of flowers—and fruit and vegetables—adds it all up, and within an hour or two produces the total data, which are then flashed via telex to the main marketing office of Agrexco in the EEC at Frankfurt.

only were all the language privileges abolished but concrete measures were taken for the development of the languages of the peoples of former tsarist Russia. The specific features were studied of the phonetic system, grammar structure and vocabulary of peoples that had no written languages. About 50 nationalities of the USSR acquired a written language of their own for the first time in their history. Principles of terminology in various fields of knowledge and spelling were elaborated for them.

At the Fourth Writers' Congress of the USSR (1967) it was proudly pointed out that now literature was issued in the Soviet Union in 72 languages and before the revolution only in 13 languages. In old Russia, on the territory of nearly all the present Union Republics, there were no higher educational establishments or research institutes, and correspondence and clerical work was conducted only in Russian.

In the USSR, however, a wide network of general education schools, specialised secondary schools, and higher educational establishments has been set up where tuition is conducted in national languages, correspondence and clerical work in the local bodies, publication of literature and periodicals, radio and televi-

sion programmes, etc., are effected in the national languages.

MUCH ATTENTION is paid in the Soviet Union to the development of national languages not only because this is one of the indications of the equality of nations. Development of the native language enables the broad masses to raise their cultural level and create new cultural values in the shortest space of time. National languages play an exceptional role in the spreading and mastering of communist ideas in the Soviet multinational country.

In the USSR the Russian language, as one of the most developed world languages, performs a tremendous social function as an international language. It helps to bring peoples and their cultures closer together. The great thirst to study the Russian language in the USSR (and abroad) is a perfectly natural phenomenon and no nationalist "Russification" bugbear will force people of today to give up studying the Russian language.

Every right and possibility is ensured to Soviet citizens to acquire an education in their native language, and this is only their right, but not duty. The equality of nations in the USSR, apart from everything else, consists in the fact that every citizen is free to study or to teach his children in the language he prefers. If some parents send their children to schools of other languages:

Russian, Ukrainian, etc., and now also special English, French and other foreign language schools), this is their right, and any pressure (even moral, upon their will would be the same violation of the Leninist policy of national equality as forcing them to study other foreign language.

THE EQUALITY of socialist nations and nationalities is ensured by the fact that all of them are granted the same socio-economic conditions for development, and their material and cultural requirements are satisfied to an equal degree.

The unprecedented flourishing of nations, the development of highly moral and most humanistic national relations in the USSR have become possible thanks to the socialist system, as a result of the extensive work conducted by the Communist Party in fulfilling the Leninist national policy.

—APN

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IN CHINA

What Happened to Lin Piao

Following is an article speculating on internal political developments in China which appeared recently in the influential French daily, *Le Monde*. The article written by *Le Monde* correspondent Claude Julien from Peking, is reprinted for the information of TRIBUNE readers.

IT WOULD BE INCORRECT to speak of a "power struggle" in China simply because there is friction between the political hierarchy and the military leadership—the friction largely responsible for the Lin Piao affair. The phrase is wanting in that it implies a struggle for power as an end in itself.

What has been happening in China has rather been a clash between two schools of thought on how to use power—a clash which the Chinese refer to as "a confrontation between two lines." It is obvious that the struggle probably began in an effort to reach the very top, the men who define China's foreign and domestic policies.

Just as former President Liu Shao-chi's "revisionist" line was eliminated by the cultural revolution, an "opportunist" line which had been emerging in the last few months has been suppressed and replaced by

Mao Tsetung's and Premier Chou En-lai's "proletarian" line.

A CONVERSATION I had with a Chinese official sheds a revealing light on the subject.

He recalled the campaign undertaken by the "revolutionary committee," and the "struggle between the two lines" which he said was far more valuable than the work of any one person. His style was discursive, periphrastic. "Extreme left deviations" were beginning to emerge, he said. But in reality these were only a cover for "right-wing positions."

Then he switched to generalities, dealing with abstract subjects and re-examining anecdotes connected with travels but which had nothing to do with the question I had asked. He expatiated on questions of history, then went on to point out that the controversy between the two opposing camps had an effect on foreign as well as domestic policies. That, perhaps, was a useful clue.

Needless to say, the speech rambled on for much longer. Everybody was satisfied. Not a word was said about Marshal Lin Piao yet everything had been said.

The first bone of contention between the two hierarchies was the extent of the purge within the party ranks. Quite early

in the movement, Mao Tsetung tried to contain the damaging effects by pointing out that the real "traitors" were a mere handful and that the good party militants, misled by their revisionist leaders, would soon be restored to a role in the structure once they owned up to their mistakes.

The truth is that on the local level very few party officials were eliminated. In one Peking district with a population of 400,000, where the Chinese Communist party has a little more than 2000 officials, only seven were pronounced "incorrigible" and sent to "work the soil under the direction of the masses." Seven out of 2000 is indeed a great deal less than the 5% which is often cited officially.

Much of the weeding out during the cultural revolution took place at the highest levels, although there were just as many "revisionists" in the middle and lower ranks. While the party takes a lenient view of all those who believe or pretend that it was their ignorance which took them down the slippery path of deviationism, it deals mercilessly with those who, "knowing full well what they were doing," set out to "accomplish their dark designs by taking advantage of their comrades' ignorance." The "ignorant" should be re-educated and the others drummed out of the Party.

THIS IS HOW Liu Shao-chi "and his cronies" were eliminated.

In any event all wanted the strongest and purest of parties but they crossed swords with Mao, who understood the danger of intransigence and Chou, who feared the party would be shattered. Responsible officials I met say that the partisans of a thorough going party purge had slipped into "leftist deviationism which in reality has a cover for rightist attitudes."

The official view seemed to be that ultra-leftism plays into the hands of the right because, pushed to extremes, it weakens and paralyzes the party, sapping its strength and depriving it of men who might be salvaged. A similar controversy broke out over defining foreign policy and it is no accident that it came to a head over the proposed visit by President Nixon to China. Here again the official viewpoint is that the ultra-left position, highly defensible on the grounds of its theoretical purity, would in today's world context have provided China's opponents with ample ammunition.

The Chinese leadership had to decide whether it was a betrayal of its own and world revolution to deal with the leading representative of imperialism. For Chou En-lai the answer was simple: It mattered little whether the discussions with the Americans proved successful or came to nought: what was important was not to seem obstructionist by refusing to talk when the opponent wanted to.

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In 1971 the "leftists" opposed the Nixon visit. officials now feel that, if their view had prevailed they would have done a disservice to the revolution and given China the image of a nation opposed to any move to reduce world tension.

But other problems have stirred up similar disagreements. When, for example, Prince Sihanouk decided to establish himself in Peking after the Gambodian coup in 1970, China had to decide between the purist notion of restricting support to the "Red Khmers"—veterans of a long struggle without too much hope of victory in the near future—or, in the interests of an effective revolution, welcoming the ousted prince and backing a united front against Lon Nol.

BY OPTING for Sihanouk, the Chinese widened the basis of the "anti-imperialist" forces and contributed to a more cohesive revolutionary movement in all of Indochina. The "leftist" theory was attractive but in practical terms it would have pitted a far smaller force against the "Lon Nol clique." The split became clearer with the complex problems presented by the rebellions in East Pakistan, Ceylon and the coup in Sudan. The "leftists" in Peking wanted to support the oppressed minorities, but it was the "revolutionary realism" of Mao and Premier Chou that won the day.

Arguments on similar lines might have taken place over

the question of entry into the United Nations had the timing been different. But the General Assembly vote took place after the elimination of what is being termed the "leftist deviationist current which in effect masked a right position",

The confrontation must be seen in the context of the "tri-polar" universe to be thoroughly understood. Peking has in fact to decide which of the two hostile forces, "American imperialism" or "Soviet social-imperialism" is the most dangerous. I put the question myself to a number of highly placed Chinese officials. The answer, without detailed examination or comparison, was simply that the Soviet threat is at this particular moment closer and more pressing in geographical terms.

The Chinese press refers to a number of carefully chosen historical precedents to throw light on the cases of officials recently removed from power. Peking papers recall, for instance, the removal of Kao Kang, who was charged in 1954 with attempting, with Stalin's support, to establish an "independent kingdom" in Manchuria.

REFERENCES are also made to the case of Wang Ming, the leader of the so-called "group of 28 Bolsheviks." In 1932 Wang Ming published a work in which he expounded the Comintern view of the Chinese revolution — in opposition to the "peasant line" favored by Mao. The publication drew an

attack from Mao directed against the "leftist" tendencies and "rightist" opportunism of Wang Ming who, now 64, has been living for years in Moscow, where he contributes to the Soviet's anti-Chinese campaign.

Another name from the past is Peng Teh-huai, eliminated from the leadership after the Lushan conference of 1959. He had been Defense Minister but adopted the Soviet position and criticized the "great leap forward" of 1958. His fall was, however, accompanied by three decisive factors: Mao, perhaps not entirely voluntarily, gave up the leadership of the state; Liu Shao-chi became President — a post from which only the cultural revolution toppled him; while Lin Piao succeeded him as Defence Minister and helped Mao back to the forefront of the political stage.

The press also comes up with references to Peng's deputy at the defense Ministry, Huang Ke-sheng, and Kao Kang's deputy, Jao Shu-shih, who were also purged from the leadership. Huang, like Peng, was suspected of collusion with the Soviets.

All these individuals, either before or after the party seized power in China, followed or came round to the Soviet position and some of them were accused at the time of "leftist opportunism" a charge which is again levelled today. So it was hardly surprising that a Nov. 30 editorial carried in the Chinese newspapers denounced

"persons having illicit relations with foreign powers."

It is hardly worth pointing out which "foreign powers".

It is to create further guarantees against "Soviet social-imperialism" that Mao and Chou got rid of the leftists and uncompromisingly rigid party members who pressed for a more sweeping purge and opposed any dialogue with Washington. Soviet troops on the Chinese frontier have been reinforced and the internal crisis comes much more clearly into perspective seen from an international angle. The way the crisis shook out is a triumph for Mao's "proletarian line" both at home and on the diplomatic front.

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Reflections on "Population Engineering"

BY PATRICK R. DANIEL

"THE disruption of social cohesiveness and the sense of community in the villages, abuse and misuse of resources as well as of environment in many a developing country need correction". This appears in the last instalment of a series of three on "Population Engineering," advocated and written by Professor K. Kularatnam in the last three issues of the *Tribune*.

What Professor Kularatnam describes of developing countries is the exact state at which developed countries have arrived. Some of the older countries, and some of the new, of the developed nations, are still major exporters of food, but in the greatest of them all, the USA, the confusion seems incredible. One particular sign of this seems to be the mental instability of a large segment of the population. There are enough statistics on this matter to prove this.

In any country you will have the rich and the poor. In a socialist country, like Russia, albeit communist, the excerpts from the biography of Stalin's daughter have shown that the total resources of the State were Stalin's disposal. He

did not have to draw on his pay, which nevertheless was stacked on his table. In any socialist state, the rulers have the resources of the state at their disposal, and the managerial class have the power, whether they be managers of industry or managers of departments.

In a country run on capitalist lines, the power lies with those who have the ability to create capital, especially on credit lines, and the managers and the officials have to play to their tune. Life consists in a circular movement of creating new wants, from washing machines to the latest television or electrical gadget.

WHAT HAS all this to do with "Population Engineering" one may ask? What we are concerned with here is the morality of "Population Engineering" and the cause of the "Population Explosion".

If we examine the lives of those of the older nations who have reached the acme of what we call civilization, how do they like to spend their leisure hours? What they want to do is to fish and to ride to hounds, to hunt, and particularly to stalk. They like to get closer to nature, in a more refined (or is it more cruel?) way than our modern "hippies". And this

is exactly what the poor man is not allowed to do, unless he has the gumption to do it.

The particular physical exertion that goes into riding a horse, or into walking or working behind a plough, takes away those energies that are used excessively in bed with a partner of the opposite sex. This is the true way to keep down population. But no—horses are virtually forced off the road, and every man is encouraged to buy a car—except in a country like ours (and good thing, too) where sheer shortage of foreign exchange restricts the import of cars—but, there are enough buses to take their place. ("We would rather go one mile in a bus than walk it", would come to most people's lips.) Population explosion began with the start of the industrial era; improvements in hygiene were merely ancillary to it.

NOW, it is a fact that is often ignored, that the very countries which may reasonably have been expected to solve their economic and industrial problems, the developed nations, are the very countries which have failed to do so. You have only to live in them and to read the daily papers, to know this.

And yet, we, the developing countries, put our faith in five-year plans, statistics, economic progress, and the whole gamut of these exercises which have led to the environmental mess in industrial Europe and America. AND BY THESE

VERY EXERCISES WE ARE ENCOURAGING THOSE VERY FACTORS WHICH LEAD TO POPULATION EXPLOSION - physical energy which can only be used up in bed, because there is no other way of using it up.

Then, to catch up on the population growth - or rather dampen it - we bring in highly dubious artifices, like contraceptives, abortion, sterilization, which themselves bring in a whole new field of matters relating to anthropology, which will have yet to be explored.

What madness is this ?

contd. from p. 3

Tribunania

for the Government to deal with them then.

"It may be asked whether it is sufficient for the Constitution to content itself with Principles of State Policy that cannot be enforced, both on the present Government and on Governments to come. Will not the return of a reactionary Government, based on a capitalist party or a combination of capitalist and other reactionary parties or groups, not be able to reverse the steps towards Socialism taken by the Government of today and to proceed in a direction that contradicts the Principles of State Policy while such a Government is in power? Such an eventuality may very well take place. But such an eventuality

will be enabled only if the present UF Government fails to implement the Principles of State Policy adequately to weaken the reactionary classes that sustain anti-Socialist political formations. All the conditions have been provided for the UF Government to implement these Principles of State Policy during the next five years. If the Government fails to perform its tasks effectively during this period, it will have nobody to blame but itself. And it will be a serious reflection on its political capacity and sincerity of purpose. In an important way, the Constitution has given the people a powerful means of weighing the performance of the Government at the end of six years, and passing judgement on its record. Nothing could be more democratic. It is up to the Government to prove its Socialist purposes."

THE LSSP seems cocksure that the socialist purpose of the Government could be established through this Constitution which was only for the transitory period. The political Right has undoubtedly suffered a major setback about having entrenched clauses in the Constitution regarding property rights, but the Right is not so easily eliminated in a democratic process. Many of them will henceforth operate under Buddhist and Sinhala slogans whilst mouthing pro-socialist catchwords of a mild and innocuous nature.

This is the technique of JR and there is no doubt that he will persuade a sizable section of the UNP and the big business diehards to adopt this strategy. Dudley Senanayake stands for a frontal confrontation stressing "principles," whilst JR was willing to adopt Trojan horse tactics in order to break the alliance between the Buddhist and Sinhala enthusiasts from the political Left and thereafter form a new coalition of the centre and rightwing elements. The Nation is acutely aware of this, and in the idiom which the Left understand it went on to conclude thus: "Why then have we referred to the limitations of the Constitution that derive from the circumstances of its framing? The answer is that, if the issue of the road to Socialism had been decided, not merely by an endorsement of a future programme and a choice of leadership, but by an actual social struggle in which spontaneous mass action had established collective ownership of property, the Constitution could well have made the Principles of State Policy binding on every action of Government. Not to do otherwise would have brought in question the displacement of capitalist forms of property that mass action had already brought about."

THE FORWARD, 20/5, took a straightforward line under the rousing headline HAIL TO THE NEW REPUBLIC OF SRI LANKA. It said:

The inauguration of the new free, sovereign and independent Republic of Sri Lanka on May 22 is a proud, happy and historic event. To the United Front Government, it marks the fulfilment of a solemn pledge given to the people in the 1970 General Election. But even more than this to the people of Ceylon the establishment of the new Republic signifies that their long struggle for political independence has been substantially completed."

The *Forward* then went to trace briefly the political history of Ceylon during the contemporary era, drawing attention to the turns and twists which arose when the British were the supreme power in the island and in the South Asia region. The *Forward*, quite correctly pointed out that 1956, with SWRD coming to power, marked a major political watershed in the history of the island. It went on to say: "After the defeat of the UNP in 1956 and the establishment of the late Mr. S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike's Government the first of these, namely the removal of British bases was achieved. But it was not until after the victory of the SLFP - LSSP - CP United Front in 1970 that a Constituent Assembly was set up and a new Republican Constitution drawn up. The Constitution of the free, sovereign and independent Republic of Sri Lanka which has come into existence is not, of course, a hundred per cent perfect document. It contains some defects and obvious compromises.

But nevertheless it makes a significant forward step in our freedom struggle, which is heartily welcomed and supported."

The *Forward* significantly admits that the Constitution was "not a hundred per cent perfect document." And that "it contains some defects and obvious compromises", without specifying what these defects were. And, without examining whether these defects and compromises would prove fatal, the *Forward* hailed the new Constitution as a "significant forward step."

Then it went on to recount the acceptable features of the Constitution; "For the first time we have a constitution that the people of Ceylon have framed for themselves. The Soulbury Constitution under which we lived from 1947 to May 21, 1972 was drawn up by an imperialist Commission and imposed by the order of a foreign monarch. Previous constitutions were likewise imposed. We now have a Republic in place of a foreign monarch. It is the people of Ceylon, and not a foreign monarch, that are now the source of all power.

"The restrictions on the sovereignty of the elected legislature, which were a feature of the Soulbury Constitution, have been removed. The establishment of a socialist democracy, the development of state collective and co-operative forms of property and the abolition of exploitation of man by

man have been accepted as objectives of state policy and included in the constitution. Fundamental rights of individuals and groups are also, for the first time, included in the new constitution. All these, and others, are welcome features."

WHILST the *Nation* did not refer specifically to the opposition to the Constitution, the *Forward* did and characterised the entire opposition to the Constitution as emanating from "reactionary forces and the vested interests" which had opposed the Constitution because private property rights had not been safeguarded as a constitutional guarantee. But the *Forward* seems to have ignored the opposition from quarters which cannot be labelled as "reactionary forces or vested interests" against many fundamentally objectionable features in the Constitution, e. g. the throwing overboard of secularism and the refusal to safeguard constitutionally the linguistic and cultural rights of the minorities. The *Forward* oversimplifies the position thus: "The new constitution has been accepted in the teeth of opposition from the reactionary forces and the vested interests. These vested interests fought hard to have the right to own private property (i. e. capitalism) accepted as a fundamental right and guaranteed constitutionally. Their failure to achieve this central aim is the main reason behind the decision of the UNP and the

Federal Party to oppose the new Constitution."

Whilst it is true that the UNP and the FP openly proclaimed their faith in private property, their objections to the Constitution were not based solely on this single question of private property. But even if the UNP and the FP were left alone, what the *Forward* does not seem to realise is that a large number of other people, intellectuals, workers and peasants, have serious apprehensions about the new Constitution that it might well provoke and promote fissiparous tendencies which may bring greater disharmony than ever before.

But the *Forward* ignores these very real possibilities and expressed the fervent hope that a drive for economic independence and reconstruction would submerge all opposition and take the country forward. Whether this wishful hope of the *Forward* can be realised in practice is yet to be seen. The first basis for any economic development is national unity, and there can be very legitimate grounds for thinking that this Constitution would lead to greater disunity than before. "The fight for independence, however, does not end with the achievement of political independence" said the *Forward*. "The most difficult and complicated task of winning economic independence, resisting attempts of neo-colonialist penetration of the economy and advancing to

socialism along a non-capitalist road still remain to be achieved. Let all progressive forces resolve to use the new political independence that has been achieved as a weapon in the struggle for the achievement of these other aims."

Like the *Nation*, the *Forward* believes that "these other aims" could be achieved under the new Constitution which would bring comfort to the "progressives", socialists and other like-minded people. But the snake in-the-grass rightwingers who have now taken refuge as Sinhala ultras and Buddhist evangelicals also believe that they can achieve their own separate "other aims" and in the process eliminate the Left and the Marxists under the hammer blows of one religion, one language and one culture. Some Left intellectuals still talk about the "class struggle", but it is yet to be seen whether an alliance between "progressives" and religious, language and cultural ultras will bear beneficial fruit.

THE PRIME MINISTER too referred to the opposition to the Constitution, but mainly that which came from the minorities. The three-day hartal and boycott on May 22, 23 and 24, in the North and East was highly successful, and though it was marred by a few acts of irresponsible rowdiness, there was clear indication that the Tamils, as a whole, rightly or wrongly, were not for the Constitution. The assurances of the LSSP, the CP and Tamil

SLFP chieftains like Thuralappa and Kumarasurrier have also not had much impact on the political thinking of the Tamils.

The PM, however, took a firm line as any Prime Minister should. In her speech in Kandy on May 24, she appealed for unity asking people to forget the minor shortcomings in the Constitution. The *Daily News* report of the relevant parts of her speech read as follows: ".....Our new Republic is born at a time when we are engaged in an economic war. We have to win this war in order to survive. Wars can only be won if the citizens of that country have the stamina, the endurance, the patriotic will, the discipline and a readiness to sacrifice in the interests of the country. I have an abiding faith in our people and particularly the youth, and I am certain that their co-operation and efforts would not be lacking as we continue our strenuous and difficult efforts towards economic emancipation.

"On this occasion I therefore appeal to each and every citizen of this country and most particularly to the youth who would be our future leaders and take over the mantle of leadership from us to eschew narrow and sectarian ideas: not to waste their precious time in disunity, bickering and following destructive tendencies, but unite as one in the cause of our nation. What I am appealing for is a not a dull and deadening uniformity.

"What I am saying is not that there should not be a dialogue of differences of opinion and criticism; what I am saying is that a national dialogue must be directed towards the construction and the regeneration of the country. We must have the maturity as well as the patriotism to channel our critical efforts towards assisting the constructive effort and not with an idea of disuniting and destroying.

"We must also have the maturity to realise that the way of destruction however tempting and gainful temporarily, cannot but lead to dire consequences in the longer run. Therefore I am appealing for a sense of priorities, a sense of patriotism rising above party politics or other issues when it comes to matters of national importance or consequence....."

After this introductory preamble, she went on to the question of national unity and warned elements seeking to rouse communal passions that irresponsible action would lead to a "conflagration" which will prove disastrous to the country. This is what she said: "...When speaking of the possibility of our forgetting long term achievements in the temptation to gain short-term ends I was reminded of another important matter. Ours is a nation, although the great majority of whom are Sinhalese also consists of various other important minority groups. We have been living together in peace and harmony as one people for

many centuries. It is true that we have had certain ups and downs in this process and this is not uncommon with human beings with human emotions. But by and large, we have certainly had no serious communal problem in our country when compared to many other countries and we still do not have this.

"But these issues can be raised by politicians and by other interested parties in order to ensure a short-term gain for themselves — a harvest of votes leading to power and position for themselves and their families. This could be a very tempting prospect. In this process tiny issues would be deliberately magnified perhaps some small human error blown up into monstrous proportions: brave poses struck that even lives would be sacrificed for the cause: sometimes the possibility of extra-territorial loyalties and outside assistance brandished as a weapon of intimidation.

"Those who indulge in these things should realise that they are playing about with innocent human lives. Once the irrational takes over and once hysteria takes hold, it is going to be very difficult to prevent disorder and destruction. This is why I stated earlier in my speech that we must be very careful that we do not look to the short-term only, forgetting the insuperable problems that would be created in the long run. This is why I say that it is highly dangerous to rake up issues which are virtually now

dead, such as the communal issue in this country, lest some slumbering spark ignite a huge conflagration once again. If I am convinced of any one thing, I am convinced that the least of our problems is the problem of unity. People of good sense among our citizens are ever-growing. It is now much more difficult for designing people to stampede the people of this country into narrow and destructive ways. Here again, on this auspicious occasion, I would like to make an appeal to every citizen of this country to take a long hard look at what is happening around him and to refuse to be taken in by any set of designing or cunning individuals who would lead them along paths of despair and destruction.

"It is difficult to build; and it perhaps takes a longer time to build than even the limits of our patience. But there is no way other than a long sustained and patient effort at nation-building. In this process, there could be the occasional minor setback. This is in the nature of human fallibility. But in the ultimate result, this is the only path that we can take..."

Finally, after appealing to workers and peasants specifically to work harder to produce more, she admonished public servants and called upon them to discard their old bureaucratic methods of work which still continued to hinder progress. And she concluded, ".....Now I wish to conclude and, in concluding, I would

like to say that Constitutions are not magic wands which transform societies overnight, turning poverty into riches or hunger into plenty. Constitutions are only instruments by which efforts are enabled to be made to mobilise the people to work towards their own salvation. This is the lesson that must be realised by everyone today, for, as the Buddha had stated over 2,500 years ago — *In our own efforts lies our own salvation.....*”

The Prime Minister has cautioned the nation that the Constitution cannot be a magic wand to bring in the millennium overnight. But the Prime Minister herself does not seem to be aware of the seeds of potential danger which are embedded in the new Constitution. A strong UF leadership, armed with Emergency Powers derived from the Public Security Act, which has been entrenched in the Constitution, may be able to keep fissiparous and anti-national trends under control, but the validity of a Constitution will ultimately be judged on the consensus it is able to evoke, and not on the power and force emanating from the armed services of the country.

NIXON IN MOSCOW

U. S., USSR Sign Space Co-operation Pact

by ALEXANDER M. SULLIVAN

Moscow, May 24,

THE UNITED STATES and Soviet Union have put into place two more important building blocks as they go about creating what President Nixon hopes will be a structure for peace.

As long as he has been President, Mr. Nixon has stressed the need for nations and especially the great powers to work not merely for a climate of peace, but for creation of a structure of peace made up of bilateral and regional agreements. The President has made plain that he considers the summit meeting with Leonid Brezhnev and Aleksei Kosygin vital not only for the agreements which would result, but even more fundamentally for creating and strengthening the habit of cooperation between the White House and the Kremlin.

And so the just-signed agreement for a joint rendezvous and docking mission in 1975 involving a Soviet *Soyuz* spacecraft and an American Apollo capsule part of a larger design Mr. Nixon is weaving in international affairs. Mr. Nixon signed the agreement, with Premier Kosygin acting

for the Soviet Union, in St Vladimir's hall of the Grand Palace May 24. At the same time, Secretary of State Rogers signed for the United States an Agreement to expand U.S.-Soviet cooperation in science and technology. Like the two accords signed May 23 on joint undertakings relating to health and the environment, they are executive agreements not requiring Senate concurrence.

AFTER THE TWO PACTS were signed President Nixon and Mr. Brezhnev, the Soviet Party Secretary General, moved their discussions from the Kremlin to a Moscow suburb. The afternoon conference involved the President, Mr. Brezhnev, Soviet President Podgorny, Premier Kosygin foreign Minister Gromyko and Ambassador Dobrynin. Other U.S. participants were Secretary of State Rogers, National Security Affairs Adviser Henry A. Kissinger, and Assistant Secretary of State for European Affairs Martin Hillenbrand.

Meeting with newsmen, White House Press Secretary Ziegler and Tass Director, General Zamyatin, said the two hour session was devoted to “the



whole range of issues" involving Europe, including a European Security Conference and mutually balanced reduction of force in Central Europe.

Mr. Ziegler noted that the United States supports the concept of a European Security Conference, but feels strongly that such a conference "should be carefully prepared" so that concrete results might follow it. Mr. Ziegler recalled that Secretary Rogers pointed out last week that preparatory work on the Conference could begin, now that the West German Treaties with the Soviet Union and Poland have been ratified.

Mr. ZIEGLER branded as "premature" reports circulated in Moscow saying agreement has been reached on Strategic Arms Limitation. Both Mr. Ziegler and Mr. Zamyatin said negotiations on Strategic Arms Limitation are continuing. Mr. Ziegler called the report "totally speculative" at this point, adding "it is premature to make any comment on the subject."

As of May 24 Mr. Nixon and Mr. Brezhnev have spent some 12 hours in private discussion and meeting with their aides. Mr. Ziegler has called the atmosphere of the discussions businesslike but cordial, and Mr. Zamyatin adds the talks are "frank, businesslike, concrete and constructive."

The President sees the Soviet-American co-operation implicit in the four Agreements signed

thus far as a possible framework for mutual benefits to the countries and to the world. As Mr. Ziegler noted, the President is convinced that "by extending man's knowledge of his universe, and broadening man's practical ability to shape a better life, the co-operation we undertake today will benefit not only the people of the United States and the Soviet Union, but all the peoples of the world. President Nixon is gratified and encouraged by these important forward steps in Soviet-American relations."

Mr. Nixon outlined his blueprint for international affairs in 1969 in what has come to be known as "the Nixon Doctrine." In essence it provides that the United States, adhering to its treaty obligations, will forge a new partnership with its friends while offering a hand of co-operation and conciliation to nations which might once have been considered adversaries.

The President couples the doctrine with the obligation of nuclear powers to exercise restraint in their relations with each other as well as third countries.

ONE OF THE PURPOSES of the summit meeting, in the President's mind, is to create a body of officials on each side with a vested interest in assuring—in time of some future crisis — that all the paths of Soviet-American co-operation are explored before a possible confrontation occurs.

Both the Space Agreement and the Science and Technology accords meet that criterion. The Space Pact calls for a rendezvous in space in 1975 between American and Russian spaceman. Sent into orbit from separate launching pads on different days, the two space craft would link-up in space and dock. Astronauts would exchange places in the capsules with Cosmonauts.

Meeting the Agreements' objectives will mean that American and Soviet space teams together so that each is familiar with the other's ground control stations and spacecraft. The agreement provides that personnel of each country will train for the mission at the other's space complex. Crews will be able to understand and respond to commands from earth in both Russian and English.

The Science and Technology Agreement will provide more intense co-operation between the two countries in non-sensitive areas of basic and applied research. More exchange programs are contemplated, with more personnel involved in each of the programs.

NEXT WEEK

AGASTYA —

Contemporary Notebook

SHERLOCK HOLMES —

Is It True ?

PERTINAX —

Economic Development.

FROM THE EDITOR'S DESK

★ Astrology and the Sri Lanka Constitution

On the day Ceylon was proclaimed as the Republic of Sri Lanka, President Nixon arrived in Moscow, and if what he has achieved there can be considered auspicious, then UF astrologers must be happy that they have picked on a winning day. But what may be sauce for a gander in the zodiacal orbit of Moscow's astral plane may be poison for a goose in Ceylon's celestial perspective.

There are astrologers in Ceylon who say that May 22 was inauspicious so far as Ceylon was concerned. It was no doubt the tenth phase of the waxing moon, *dasami*, a phase on which many legendary heroes of Indian (Hindu) mythology scored major triumphs, and on the basis of the PM's horoscope it was a day for a signal victory. It was no doubt an unqualified victory for the PM and the UF she led. All enemies and rivals were buried in defeat. The UNP was in tatters with the JR-Dudley feud rising in bitter crescendo. The FP was sulking in many scattered tents. Others who saw defects in the new Constitution were isolated and powerless. All voices of dis-

sent and opposition were lost in the outer wilderness. It was a day of victory and triumph—May 22 was for the United Front led by Mrs. Bandaranaike.

BUT DISSENTING ASTROLOGERS point out that the kind of victory which a *dasami* brought was not always the best for a new constitution. Enemies have a capacity to recuperate, recoup and reform—for a fresh attack. There are 24 to 26 *dasamis* in each calendar year, and each one had a separate and individual characteristic. The May 22 *dasami* came when the fiery *Agni* nakshetra was high in the astrological heavens of this region—from May 3 to May 27, and cautious people avoid initiating anything big or monumental when the *Agni* nakshetra dominated the scene. *Tribune* knows nothing of astrology or its mysteries, nor is *Tribune* interested in drawing political conclusions from astrological data, but a great deal of astrological gossip filters into our office, in the same way political gossip does, and we are only retailing some of the gossip which has reached us to keep our readers abreast even on the astrological front.

These pessimistic astrologers point out that the lordly Jupiter was in retrogression from April 25 in the zodiacal sign of *Dhanus*, (this retrogression will go on until August 25), and on May 26 in its retrogression it moved from the asterism *Purvasaddha* to the asterism *Mula* (and it will remain in this asterism until November 11). The ruler of the current Aquarian age, Saturn, remains for the whole of the year in the zodiacal house of *Vrsa*; but on April 7, Saturn had entered the asterism of *Rohini*, and on July 27 it will move to the asterism of *Mrgasirsa*; and Saturn will retrograde from October 2 on *Mrgasirsa* asterism until it moves to *Rohini* on December 12 (and Saturn continues its retrogression until February 13, 1973). So much for Saturn.

Of the slow-moving planets, *Rahu* will move from zodiacal sign of *Makara* to *Dhanus* on September 27 (Ketu will at the same time move from *Karkata* to *Mithuna*), but *Rahu* will remain in the asterism of *Uttarasadha* until October 26 and Ketu in *Punarvasu*. Of the quicker moving planets, Mercury was in *Mesa* on May 22 and it moved out to *Vrsa* on May 26. Venus was in *Mithuna* on May 22, in the asterism *Ardra*, but it started retrograding on May 27 and the retrogression continues until July 9. Mars was in *Mithuna* on May 22 in the asterism of *Satabhisaj*. And if one threw in the three extra planets to which astrologers in

the West pay so much attention: Herschel was in the sign of *Kanya* retrograding from January 23 to June 21 and on May 22 it was in the asterism *Hasta*, Neptune was in sign of *Vrischika* retrograding from March 7 to August 14, and on May 22 it was in the asterism of *Anuradha*, and lastly Pluto was retrograding in *Kanya* from January 4 to June 9, and May 22 it was in the asterism *Uttaraphal*.

THE TERMS used above are in Sanskrit terminology. *Tribune* has not yet obtained the official Sinhala equivalents of these terms in Roman alphabets. Great care has been taken to avoid any Tamil terms lest it cause allergic repercussions among the ruling elite of the day. The English (rather Greek) equivalents are to hand, but it would not be politic to refer to them at a time when this island is breaking away from its western moorings.

The relevant astrological information on a factual basis have been set out above for anyone to draw inferences and make deductions and then predict the future of the Republic of Sri Lanka. But such predictions are not easy. There are 12 houses of the zodiac, there are 9 (plus 3) planets and 27 asterisms, and each one of them is in constant flux and movement.

Inferences and deductions are astrologically made on the basis of positioning at a given moment of time. The crux of

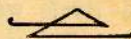
the problem, in the present instance, is what the stars hold out for the future of Sri Lanka during the era of the new Republic which was delivered into the world at 12.43 p.m. on May 22. The impact of each of the planets and the asterisms as between themselves and in relation to the signs of the zodiac at the precise time of 12.43 p.m. has to be worked out in order to arrive at conclusions. It is also necessary to divest oneself of subjective inhibitions, predilections and the like in order to make an assessment. The impact of the planets and asterisms on the different signs has to be co-ordinated and interwoven in order to get to anything like reality. The process has to be dynamic and not mechanical. Such, according to the theory of the astrologers, is the way to make predictions.

But as far as one can see it is almost impossible for the human mind to co-ordinate all these factors, some of them with contradictory and conflicting propositions, and give an astrological assessment. Every prediction must have shortcomings. Perhaps a computer may one day be invented for the purpose, and in the meantime astrological predictions *per se* tend to be erratic, evasive and confusing.

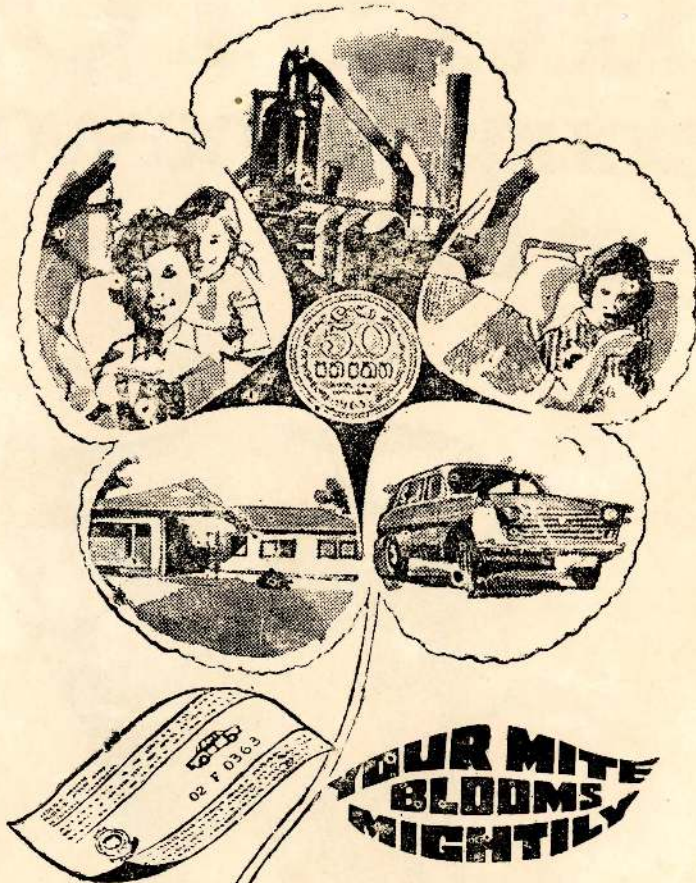
Even if the rules of astrology are correct, being divinely-inspired and revealed to us as it claimed the human brain as we know it in the midst of all the confrontations and tensions in

which humans are placed, it is next-to impossible to make a proper astrological evaluation according to the rules ordained. If one can get a fifty percent score, it will be extremely good. But, in spite of these limitations, astrologers continue to make interpretations and assessments of men and matters.

Tribune has not yet seen an astrological evaluation of the new Republic of Sri Lanka. What astrological impact this new birth will have on the country is one matter, but another equally important aspect is what the impact would be on the leading political and governmental elite of the day. Will the Establishment undergo many changes? Leaving aside astrology, the LSSP assessment of the Constitution, on a political basis, is that this Constitution was a temporary one appropriate for a short period of "transition to socialism." If the main framers of the Constitution view it in this light, can pessimistic astrologers be blamed for thinking that there could not be cosmic stability in the new Constitution.



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