

#### THE TIMES MONDAY JULY 1 1985

# **Bad-tempered summit** dims dream of a federated Europe

#### From Ian Murray, Milan



Prime Ministers had been irritated by receiving the Franco-German "Draft Franco-German Treaty on European Union"

attention from the main item on the agenda: improving decison-making procedures. Mrs Thatcher was said to have hold a conference. been particularly angry with Chancellor Helmut Kohl for putting his name to a text she believed largely stolen from a British one

other areas. France wanted to has refused to put his name to a

Jacques Delors, once his trusted mise, Finance Minister and now The Benelux countries had a President of the Commission, practical reason for supporting The two men indulged in an the conference idea. In their

he Treaty of Rome, is the main

point of the conclusions drawn

by the Italian presidency at the Milan summit.

100. As the treaty now stands, any agreements under these articles have to be unanimous. The first deals with the rights of

EEC citizens to set up credit or

banking businesses or to work

in the medical or pharmaceuti-

cal professions anywhere in the

The two articles are 57 and

proposals on technology. Eventually calm was restored and it was agreed France could particularly bad mood from the outset. A number of the wanted to join.

Treaty on European Union" wanted to join. only an hour or so before setting out for the meeting, leaving no proper time to study it. Several of them were then publicly scathing about it for failing to live up to its high sounding title and for diverting from his bathroom on Saturday conference. morning. This included both Britain's ideas for a gentleman's agreement and the proposal to

It was clear that there were some uncomfortable rivalries and between the Italian and West German foreign ministers tish one. and their respective prime The bad temper spilled into minister. Signor Bettino Craxi,

organize a special meeting for letter drafted by his Foreign research ministers to discuss its Minister, Signor Giulio An-Eureka initiative for technologi- dreotti, summoning everyone to cal co-operation. The Benelux the meeting. He had then been countries then appeared to forced to outdo Signor Andreothijack the idea by proposing ti's vociferous support for that the meeting be held in European Union by forcing Brussels under the European through a decision to hold the Commission's aegis. President Mittertand repor-tedly then rounded on M beeen trying to find a compro-

**Reform sought of Rome treaty** 

From Our Own Correspondent, Milan

The European undignified slanging match view it will be impossible to during which M Delors threat- agree the 300 new regulations which the Commission says are needed to open up a true common market unless there are treaty changes which introhold the meeting some time duce compulsary voting by before Bastille Day and invite majority in certain areas. They any countries in Europe, includ-ing those outside the EEC, who wanted to join. unless the veto right is re-

moved. They argue, too, that as Mrs Thatcher will never agree to any such change at a summit there must be a better chance of negotiations a change at

Their optimism seems ill-founded. Britain apart, the Government in Denmark, where at least a third of the population would vote tomor-Young Tibetan monks re-learning the art of blowing ceremonial horns amid the ruins of the Garden Monastery outside Lhasa. The monastery was one

ow to leave the Community knows it could never persuade its Parliament to give the essential ratification to any change.

And Mr Andreas Papandreou, the Greek Prime Minister, is showing no signs of wanting to

see any change. Signor Craxi shares the widespread Italian enthusiasm for the political union of Europe. He believes that ending the veto right will move the Community positively in that direction. But his handling of the Milan summit could well have made his federal dream

that much more remote. Leading article, page 13

murdered Sydney (Reuter) – Australian officials were baffled by the murder of the President of the small western Pacific republic of Palau yesterday, a Foreign Affairs Department spokesman

Leader of

island state

said Mr Haruo Remeliik, aged 53 died after being shot four times outside his house in palau's capital of Koror as he returned home early yesterday from a fishing trip. A Palau Govern-ment official would not com-ment on any motive for the killing.

the disputed territory. Namibia's new "Government of National Unity", formally inaugurated on June 17 by the South African President, Mr P. W. Botha, is the most credible attempt so far by Pretoria to grant a form of self-rule to the former German colony it has

In the first of two articles, Michael Hornsby, Southern Africa Correspondent, discusses the prospects for the regime recently installed by Pretoria in the diverged contents

grant a form of self-rule to the former German colony it has controlled since 1915. It falls well short of what the outside world has long been demanding: an immediate cea-sefire, elections to a constituent assembly and full indepen-dence, all to be achieved under United Nations supervision in accordance with UN Security Council Resolution 435. This route is blocked be-cause South Africa has made the removal of an estimated 30,000 Cuban troops from Namibia's northern neighbour, Angola, a precondition for

future

Mr Mudge: Leader of Namibia's biggest party

of more than 3,000 religious centres in Tibet destroyed on Chinese government orders after 1959.

1966, into joining the "National Unity" regime. The six parties who form the new Government first got together as the Multi-Party Conference, with South Afri-ca's blessing, in September 1983. The biggest is the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance (DTA), a coalition of about 10 ethnic groups led by a million-aire white farmer, Dirk Mudge, which was very much a South

parties draws its support mainly from one ethnic group: the Labour Party (LP) from the

mixed-race Coloureds; the Reheboth Liberated Demo-cratic Party (RLDP) from the Baster People; the South West Africa National Union (Swanu) from the Hereros; The Swapo-Democrats (Swapo-D) from the Ovambos; and the National Party (NP) from the Afrikaans-speaking whites.

'Self-rule' in Windhoek

The DTA is allocated three of the eight Cabinet posts. The other parties have one each. Of the 62 seats in the National Assembly, the DTA has 22, and the other parties eight each. Decisions in the Cabinet or taken where possible are taken where possible

AREA AND RESOURCES: 318,270 square miles (more than three times the size of Britain), much of it desert. Mineral deposits include diamonds, ura-nium and copper. Fishing and cattle farming are the other main sources of income.

#### POPULATION

Pretoria claims 45 guerrillas killed in Angola raid

POPULATION 1,051,700 (1982). Two thirds, mostly Ovambos, are concen-trated in fertile northern region adjoining Angolan border. Break-down between different groups: Ovambo. 516,600; Kavango, 98,000; Herero, 77,600; Damara, 76,800; White (Afrikaans, German and English speakers), 75,600; Nama, 49,700; Coloured, 43,500; Caprivian, 39,500; Bushmen, 29,800; Reheboth Baster, 25,800; Tswana, 6,800; Unclassified, 12.000. Tswana, 12.000.

**Race rivalry could block change** unanimously but otherwise by majority vote.

The new Assembly has substantially more power than the old DTA administration. Pretoria retains ultimate sover-Pretoria retains ultimate sover-eignty under South African law, as well as responsibility for defence and foreign affairs, but otherwise Windhoek has pretty much of a free hand. As the white minority (about 7.2 per cent of the total population) generates more than 70 per cent of total tax revenue, the system not only

revenue, the system not only enable whites to keep blacks out of their schools and hospitals, but also prevents any redistribution of wealth through the tax mechanism.

Whether the new government can carry the white National Party with it in a radical revision of the tax system is, of course, questionable. The six parties could not even agree on a permanent chairman of the cabinet, a job which will rotate Support for the new govern-

ment among two main popu-lation groups (see table), the lation groups (see table), the Ovambos (The main base of Swapo) and the Damaras, also appears to be thin. The attitude of the Hereros, who bore the brunt of colonial oppression daring the German period (1884-1915) and feel no great love for the Ovambos, could be crucial crucial.

Tomorrow: The economy

measures, and in-

**Thousands march** 

Community. The second re-quires unanimity on any EEC laws which "directly affect the establishment or functioning of the Common Market". Dozens of Commission proposals are blocked by one or more members states using the veto rights given them by these Extracts from the President's conclusions (which were not in all cases approved by the

December meeting

## The calling of an inter-gover-nent conference, essentially to igree changes to two articles of **A People's Europe**

The summit thanked the Committee on People's Europe for its initial report and approved the proposals it contained concerning citizens' rights, culture, youth, education and sport. The summit in-structed the Commission and the member states, acting within their respective powers, to take, the necessary implementing structed the Council of Ministers to report to it at is

for union About ten thousand people brought by special train and bus from other countries held a rally in the streets of Milan in support of a European union. There were even small detach-Japanese trade from Austria a way, larger in number than the five who gathered under a tiny Union Jack tied below the big green and white "E" banner of Ministers that Japan should undertake to increase signifithe union movement. cantly and continuously its

tively the conditions for a single market in the Community by 1992 at the latest, in accordance with stages fixed in relation to previously determined pri-orities and a binding timetable. Progress should be both gradual and visible

achieving completely and effec

#### New technology

The summit noted that collective effort to master new technology was a condition for maintaining European competi-tiveness. It therefore decided to give the Community a new technological dimension. It approved and endorsed the

Commission report on the strengthening of technological co-operation in Europe. It gave its support to the French Eureka project for creating a techno-logical Europe and to the Commission's constructive proposals in the same direction.



and the three other tiny states in the 2,000-island Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands were undergoing a change in their formal association with the US.

Mr Remeliik was elected first President of the island republic in early 1981 and was re-elected late last year. He leaves a wife and six adult children.

HILIPPINES CAROLINE ISLANDS

Speaking from Canberra, the spokesman emphasized that the Australian Government, which

Angola, a precondition for putting 435 into effect – and Pretoria is able to ensure, by its support for the Unita insur-gents of Dr Jonas Savimbi, that there is little chance of that condition being met in the near

In the interim, South Africa is hoping to pressurize the South West Africa People's Organization (Swapo) guer-rillas, against whom it has been engaged in desultory war since

African creation and governed alone from 1978 to 1983. Each of the other five small

summit as a whole):

two articles.

#### Institutional affairs

The European Council [the summit] confirmed the need to imporve the operation of the Community in order to give concrete form to the objectives it has set itself, in particular as regards the completion of the inernal market by 1992 and measures to promote a techno-gical Europe. The summit noted that the President of the Council would submit pro-posals for the improvement of the Council's decision-making procedure - the excercise of the Commission's administrative powers and the Parliament's powers, with a view to their early adoption.

The summit discussed in detail the convening of a conference to work out the following with a view to achieving concrete progress on European Union: a treaty on a common foreign and security policy on the basis of the Franco-German and United Kingdom drafts: amendments of the EEC Treaty.

The president noted that the required majority ... had been obtained for the convening of such a conference.

The following Tripos examination results from Cambridge University re announc

The Council of Ministers for was invited to consider the extent to which the convergence which had already been achieved between the member state in the field of inflation and imbalances made it possible to intensify the battle against unemployment. On a more level, the summit general the Commission to invited ubmit to the meeting in December a detailed report on inadequacies of growth and employment in the European economy compared with that of

#### **Internal market**

major competitors.

brought about, with a view to arise

## Economic and social

importance of liberalizing Japanese financial markets and Economic and Financial Affairs internationalizing the yen. It asked the Commission to put all these concerns to the Prime Minister of Japan during his forthcoming visit to Europe.

#### **Famine in Africa**

The summit, aware of the critical situation confronting those African countries affected by drought, noted with satisfaction that the objectives of the Dublin plan [of December 1984] had been achieved and that 1.2 million tonnes of cereals or their equivalent had

It instructed the Council of requirements. It also welcomed Ministers to initiate a precise the fact that two-thirds of that programme of action, based on aid had already reached the the White Paper and the recipients or was en route. conditions on the basis of which It felt, however, that new customs union had been food aid requirements could

The summit endorsed the equest made by the Council of imports of manufactured products and processed agricultural products. It also emphasized the

through Cabinet. "This is something the group will not accept." the Histadrut secretary general, Mr Israel Kessar, said after meeting Mr finally been mobilized by the Community and the member Peres and the Finance Minister, Mr Yitzhak Moda'i.

quoted as saying when the Cabinet met yesterday after-noon, at the start of what promised to be a long and stormy session. Several minis-What particularly incensed Mr Kessar was the Government plan to issue administrative orders that would enable it to make wage cuts and lay-offs in

Johannesburg South Afrian troops killed 45 Namibian black nationalist guerrillas in a 'hot pursuit" raid into southern Angola on Saturday, the chief of

weekend (Michael Hornsby writes). It was the first publicly-an-nounced invasion of Angola in

Peres cuts run into a storm

From a Correspondent, Jerusalem

groups. "What authority does the

economic plan or there will be no Government," he was

tion since Pretoria withdrew what it said were the last of its troops inside Angola on April

The Israeli press reported

that are: subsidy cuts of some

10,000 dismissals in the public

sector, in addition to an across-

the Defence Force, General General Viljoen said the raid Constand Viljoen, said at the was a response to a mortar

It was the first publicly-an-nounced invasion of Angola in pursuit of guerrillas of the south

contravention of its collective ters openly voiced their oppo-wage agreement with the labour sition before end.

Government have to issue such \$300 million which are ex-orders?" Mr Kessar asked in an pected to drive the prices of

interview with Israel Radio. "Israel is not exactly in a state of war at the moment." Mr. Peres was determined to basic commodities and fuel up to 30 to 40 per cent; a 7 to 10 per cent drop in the standard of

of war at the moment." per cent drop in the standard of Mr Peres was determined to win approval for the plan at yesterday's Cabinet meeting. "Either there will be an sation for the price rises; some

niza- Swapo torces had also blown up one wounded, both black drew a bridge and sabotaged tele- soldiers.

which penetrated up to 10 miles into Angola, were to pull out yesterday, but delays could be caused by more skirmishes with Swapo, landmines or the dis-

casualties were one dead and cannot exercise this control.

## British women trail in **European bridge**

From a Bridge Correspondent, Salsomaggiore, Italy

Although the British Open to Austria, who leapfrogged into eam have been faring quite the lead. well in the European Bridge

Championship here against their modest expatitions, the British women's team, world champions and Olympiad runners-up, were languishing in seventh place after six matches. After Round 12 the leading positions are: Austria 228; Israel 224; France 217; Britain 208; Netherlands 206; Poland

On Thursday the men beat Luxemburg 24-6 and Norway 25-4. On Friday they struggled to beat Finland 17-13 and lost to the then leaders, France, by the same margin. A win on 119; Italy 109; Saturday 21-9 against Switzer-land was followed by a 9-21 loss have 88 points.

The inconsistent British

women lost four matches in a row – Denmark 9-21; Iceland 13-17; Netherlands 13-17; and Israel 9-21. Leaders are France 119; Italy 109; Sweden 108; and The Netherlands 105. Britain have 82 points

# **Cambridge Tripos results: geography and law**

phone poles. The South African troops

covery of arms caches, a spokesman said.

The South Africans said their

In February last year, South

Africa signed an agreement with Angola to withdraw all its troops from southern Angola, A condition was that the Angolan Army would control Swapo. The South Africans say their

right to make "hot pursuit" raids is recognized under the agreement if the Angolans

Israel appeared poised for a period of labour unrest yesterday as the powerful Histadrut General Federation of Labour attacked the three-month econ-

omic stabilization plan which the Prime Minister, Mr Shimon Peres, is determined to push THE TIMES MONDAY JULY 1 1985



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## MUDDLE IN MILAN

The European Community, it seems, can make progress only in an atmosphere of crisis and bitterness. Its leaders can solve a problem only at the third or fourth attempt, when all agree that the solution is long overdue and that the present meeting offers positively the last chance to avoid catastrophe. That was the case at Fontainebleau a year ago. By contrast a meeting which everyone approaches with high hopes, proclaiming that immediate crises are now solved and there is a golden chance to make constructive plans for the future, is ipso facto doomed to end in disappointment and recrimination.

So it was in Milan this weekend. Beforehand it looked very promising because everyone agreed on the need to improve and speed up the Community's decision-making procedures. The French, for whose benefit the so-called "Luxemburg compromise" was invented in 1965, had joined the camp of those advocating greater use of majority voting and an end to the abuse of invoking "vital national interests" whenever a state is confronted with proposals it does not like. Even the British, Danes and Greeks, though anxious that this veto right should be clearly reaffirmed, had accepted proposals aimed at limiting its use in practice to bona fide cases.

The British had actually taken the initiative in putting forward proposals not only for streamlining the Community within its existing fields of competence but also for strengthening political co-operation - even to the extent of agreeing to vote always as a block in the UN - and for extending it formally to the (i.e defence) field. "security"

last proposals would These probably have fallen foul of Danish, Greek and Irish opposition but they were an earnest of Britain's new found European zeal.

In exchange, British officials believed they had convinced their French and West German counterparts of the futility of insisting on a new treaty or on formal amendment of the existing one, given the difficulties and delays of drafting and parliamentary ratification that this would involve; from which it followed that to convene an intergovernmental conference for the purpose of drafting a treaty or treaties would be a waste of time. Indeed Britain's very unwillingness to contemplate a new treaty was assumed in Whitehall to rule out this procedure, since there would be no point in drafting a treaty unless all member states were prepared to sign it.

Such impeccable logic, had it originated in another European capital, might be dubbed Cartesian. But, as so often, it left political considerations crucial out of account. M Mitterrand, whose domestic political standing is low, had promised his people "a surprise" on the European front. Chancellor Kohl, anxious to repair the Franco-German relationship after the damage it suffered at the Bonn economic summit, and to restore his country's European credentials after the inglorious attempt by his agriculture minister to veto the farm price implications of that "budgetary discipline" which Germany herself is most anxious to achieve, was happy to go along with whatever, within reason, his French colleague might propose. What both hit on was to spring

on their partners at the very last moment a text labelled "treaty of European union" which in fact was no more than a compendium of already well known proposals, some of them lifted word for word from the British paper - and not its most audacious passages at that.

Signor Craxi, in the chair, was for his part engaged in a contest with his own foreign minister to see who could get most domestic credit for the conduct of the Italian presidency, and had his prestige on the staked proposed intergovernmental conference. Since everyone claimed to be in favour of majority voting, he had the ungentlemanly idea of putting the proposal to the vote. That, of course, is not how Italian leaders are expected to behave. But Signor Craxi has made his reputation by breaking with the postwar Italian tradition of compromise and consensus. He must have thought that the same approach would work in European affairs.

Yet it is hard to see how it can, given that the Community is still an association of sovereign states which have every intention of remaining such. Mrs Thatcher's anger and frustration showed through in her radio interview on Saturday night, but they are understandable. It would be wrong, however, for her to let her prediction that the intergovernmental conference will fail harden into a determination to see that it does. It may not be the quickest way of securing the improvements in the Community that we all want. But it is a way, and it would be better to make use of it than to goad our partners into signing some new treaty which would leave us out.

## THE MAN MOST LIKELY TO

The high-level party and government meetings taking place in Moscow this week will indicate how far Mr Gorbachov has succeeded in consolidating his position. In April 1984 he proposed the ailing Konstantin Chernenko as president, saying that it was in the "highest interests of the state and society" that the party General Secretary should concurrently hold the post of chairman of the Supreme Soviet, the formal title of the head of state. It would

which each new leader criticizes his predecessor for the mess in which he left the economy without offering either fundamental reforms or genuine elections to choose an alternative government.

Mr Gorbachov has certainly spoken at great length about the USSR's economic problems, but it is significant that he should choose to do so in Leningrad, the base of his rival Grigory Romanov, and, most recently, in Dnepropetrovsk, from which both Brezhnev and Chernenko drew their support. He appears to be concentrating on eliminating potential opposition rather than setting out to eliminate the major difficulties, domestic and foreign, with which he should be coping. While attacking the shortcomings of his predecessors, whose supporters still remain in the Politburo and Central Committee, he recently used peak television viewing time to underline to all that his patron, President Andropov, was an honourable exception, simultaneously paying tribute to the vital role of the state security

Romanov, the fourth man in the exclusive group who are members of both Politburo and Secretariat, is now strangely absent from public occasions. The Gorbachov clique is in the

ascendant. By replacing men in certain key posts Mr Gorbachov is not just encouraging the others. Over 60 per cent of the Central Committee hold high positions in government or regional party administration, and appointment to these posts ensures a seat in the top party body. Military chiefs, ambassadors, police, media and cultural leaders account for most of the remaining places, with only a sprinkling of workers, peasants, and women for the sake of appearances. It is widely accepted that the Supreme Soviet is little more than a rubber stamp for the Politburo's decisions, but less widely realized how thoroughly the party Central Committee is dominated by the ruling handful of leaders. According to party rules, some five thousand delegates to the CPSU Congress, which meets every five years, are supposed to name the new Central Committee members, but in practice they are presented with a list and do not appear even to exercise the right of scoring off names. The advice and expertise of Central Committee members is welcome, but what Mr Gorbachov wants now is loyalty. He can think about new policies at home and

others Sir, Forty-six years ago, on July 1, 1939, we, as members of the Hamlet

company, bade a sad farewell to the Lyceum Theatre. However, demo-lition and its proposed translation into a traffic roundabout were averted by the outbreak of war.

is deliberating whether to perpetuate the 200-year-old Lyceum's Lyceum's temporary post-war service as a ballroom or to encourage its restoration, at the expense of others,

could link Covent Garden to the South Bank, others of the commercial seating capacity, larger than either the Palladium or Drury Lane. As actors, we recall simply the powerful associations of what you yourself described then as "an intensely theatrical theatre" and its remarkable intimacy. The transfer of the National Theatre's brilliant promenade Mysteries has successfully rekindled the flame. We welcome another generation's rediscovery of this great theatre and echo the last words spoken from that stage in 1939: "Long live the Lyceum! Long live Ellen Terry! Long live Henry Irving!" A theatre with such Irving!" A theatre with such resonance of the past and such promise for the future cannot be allowed to perish.

# LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

## Control of purse strings in sport

From Mr Christopher Thorneycroft-

Sir, I read with interest the letter from Mr Alan Minter (June 12) on violence at sporting occasions. We obviously endorse Mr Minter's comments on the need to take positive action and applaud his offer to assist in an advisory capacity.

For a number of years we have been closely involved with sports sponsorship and indeed were the main sponsors on the night of the Alan Minter/Marvin Hagler fight referred to in Mr Minter's letter.

However, this latest swing to violence has led us to re-think our strategy for the coming season. As a responsible company, we have to ask ourselves how long we can risk losing the confidence of customers, shareholders, staff and, indeed members of the public.

Millions of pounds are spent each year on sports sponsorship. Without it, many sports would be unable to remain solvent. Britain would undoubtedly lose its "driving force" in many of the sports where it has justifiably become famous on the international sports scene. majority of our great individual "stars" would be robbed of many of the facilities needed to remain

We would rather contribute for the next 12 months money to put British sport back on its feet than continue to spend money on what can only be considered extremely bad image projection.

If other companies were to do likewise, surely it would be possible for the Government/Sports Council to form a committee which would be able to implement ideas rather than continually debate a problem which has been with us for far too long. Yours faithfully

C. THORNEYCROFT-SMITH, Marketing Director, DAF Trucks (GB) Limited, Thames Industrial Estate, Marlow, Buckinghamshire. June 26.

#### **Future of Lyceum**

From Sir John Gielgud. CH and

Today the same owner, the GLC. to full theatrical use. Some talk of how the Lyceum

#### Wrong-footing the Inland Revenue relief that he is no longer "an

was.

others

found.

schemes.

June 26.

contrary:

Yours faithfully,

C. N. BEATTIE,

24 Old Buildings, Lincoln's Inn, WC2

Yours sincerely

TONY CHRISTOPHER,

particular his approval of the new approach of the courts to tax

avoidance whereby artificial schemes will often now be defeated.

mind that antagonism between taxpayers and the Inland Revenue

grew up in years when rates of tax

were confiscatory, eg, income tax at 98 per cent on top incomes. But

there is also antagonism between

those, such as employers, who are made to do the Inland Revenue's

work by collecting tax due from

Mr McCall says that there are

many things wrong with our tax system, as indeed there are. I wish to

mention one kind of thing only, and

that is the enacting of legislation,

promoted by the Inland Revenue,

which is slanted unfairly against the

taxpayer. I will give one example

only, though many more could be

capital gains arising on the disposal of a debt, not being a debt on a security, by the original creditor. Why? Because such debts are likely

to produce capital losses, not capital gains, and relief for those genuine capital losses can then be refused.

to overcome this injustice by an

artificial scheme, but fell victim to

the courts' new approach to such

terms "armed forces" and "comba-

tants" to make greater provision in respect of certain guerrilla fighters.

provide a legal framework regarding

guerrilla fighters aiming at legitimate

targets in the context of an

international conflict. But this is not

the same thing as extending privileges to terrorists. On the

1. The protocol is widely and properly viewed by states as only applying to armed conflicts which are not merely international in

character but are also marked by

military operations of a substantial

The 1977 Protocol I does thus

The Burmah Oil Company sought

There is exemption from tax on

should, however, be borne in

From the General Secretary of the Inland Revenue Staff Federation

Sir, The juxtaposition (June 26) of Mr David West's "an insider's view of Civil Service overstaffing" and Miles Kington's enjoyable "Watch out for this tennis racket" ensured General Secretary, Inland Revenue Staff Federation, Douglas Houghton House, 231 Vauxhall Bridge Road, SW1. that I kept a sense of humour. There was, as you, Sir, must have recognised, propinquity. From Mr C. N. Beattie, QC Sir, I agree with everything which Mr Christopher McCall has said in his letter to you (June 25), in percentage bis encount of the new

Mr West was much more successful than he supposes - at least in the Inland Revenue to which he referred. Revenue staff have gone down 15,000 since 1979; a further reduction of 7,000 is planned by 1988. The department plans to close 164 income tax, 121 collector of taxes' and 44 valuation offices. There is, of course, lots more, all taking us Westward.

#### My worry is the results.

In April, 1979, the total arrears of post was 1.9 million items; in April, 1985, it was 4.8 million items rise of 142 per cent. In April, 1979, 26,000 of these letters had remained unanswered for two months or longer; in April, 1985, the corresponding figure was 176,000 - a rise of 577 per cent.

It is hardly surprising, perhaps, that we are investigating stress and its consequences.

Collectors of taxes have, cur-rently, £1.2 billions of PAYE tax and National Insurance contributions deducted from pay packets by employers but still overdue and unpaid for a month or more.

This is far from all of the story, though perhaps I should add that the contribution which the Revenue is making supplying able, trained people for the so much better paid private sector is on such a scale that it will be years before, for example, the inspectorate recovers from the 139 resignations in 1984 and the even higher outflow expected this year.

If where we are today in the Inland Revenue is the result of the attention of Mr West and others of similar views, it is at least some

#### **Behind the terrorist**

#### From Mr Adam Roberts

Sir, Your leader, "Behind the terrorist" (June 24) makes several sweeping assertions about the ideological underpinning of the current plague of terrorism. One target of your editorial criticism is

the International Committee of the Red Cross, of which you state: Regretably, in 1967 [actually, 1977] a committee of the International Red Cross at Geneva met to update the 1949 texts on the treatment of prisoners of war and voted to extend prisoner of war status, protection and privileges to terrorists... We have been paying for it ever since.

level of intensity. It is not clear from your account 2. The protocol has not been viewed as applicable to recent cases of terrorism, whether of the IRA in the to what particular negotiations you refer. However, if one takes the whole round of deliberations over a decade which led to the adoption by UK or of other groups connected with the Middle East or the Indian ates of 1977 Geneva Protocol I (on international armed conflicts) and Protocol II (on civil wars) it is very hard to justify your sweeping conclusion.



religious congregations; in July a law was enacted suppressing the obligation of Sunday rest; and in 1881 Ferry pushed through an education Bill to laicise the schools.

## FRANCE.

PARIS. WEDNESDAY. JUNE 30. 9.30P.M.

The Jesuit establishments throughout France, with the exception of their colleges for lay pupils, which have another month's grace, were closed today. Shortly after 4 a.m. M. Clement, today. Shortly after 4 a.m. M. Clément, a judicial functionary, and M. Dulac, police commissary, presented them-selves at the gate of the establishment in the Rue de Sèvres, outside which a large number of Catholics, &c, had collected. Claiming admission in the name of the law, they passed into the court and knocked at an inner door, when the Superior, Father Pitot, answered the summons, MM. Chesne-long and de Ravignan, Senators being behind him....

behind him.... M. Clément said he was only performing his duty, and asked where he could find the Jesuits whom he had he could find the Jesuits whom he had to expel. After a fresh protest, M. de Ravignan said that, as the violation of domicile had been consummated, it was useless to make them lose time; he would guide them. M. Dulac was then conducted upstairs, entered the first cell, and found Father Marin reading at a table. "Monsieur, I am ordered to turn you out". "By what right?" "By a mandate which I have read to your Superior." "The mandate is illegal, and I refuse to obey it." "In that case, I must resort to force." "Do so." Two policemen put their hands on the Jesuit's shoulder, and he said, "Very good; I yield to forea." M. de Carayon Latour pushed forward and claimed the honour of escorting him. The second cell was locked, and the commissary went on to Father Pitot's second cell was locked, and the commissary went on to Father Pitot's door. The Father urged that he had a proprietary right, which even the decree of expulsion recognized, and M. Chesnelong, after some parleying, obtained leave for the Superior to remain for the present. Each of the other inmates had the escort of some Deputy or Senator, M. Chesnelong accompanying Father Matignon to the Foreign Mission House, amid cries of "Vivent les Jesuites!" - and many of the spectators, kneeling for the blessing of the expelled. . . The number of the expelled is 13, one of them being an Englishman named Forbes and another a Russian. A considerable crowd has occupied the street all day, but no ingress into the street all day, but no ingress into the premises has been allowed, and since the departure of the Jesuits there have

the departure of the Jesuits there have been no demonstrations on either side. Telegrams have been received from Lyons, Marseilles, Lille, Bordeaux, Rouen, Laval, Avignon, Amiens, Besançon, Limoges, Douai, Clermont-Ferrand, Le Puy, Troyes, Nantes, Bourges, and Versailles describing the expulsion of the Jesuits from their establishments. Only at Bordeaux and Lille has there been any kind of public disturbance, and those preceded and did not accompany the execution of did not accompany the execution of the decrees. At Bordeaux a crowd, which had collected yesterday before the Jesuit institution, was suddenly, according to the Union, charged by the police with drawn sabres, the result being a scuffle, in which a few accidents occurred. Such are the victories achieved by the Republic to-day - victories over the Republic to-day - victories over unarmed and, in many cases, aged men and even the Ultra-Radicals will scarcely boast of them. No doubt allowance must be made for the obligation resting on the Government to enforce the decrees it has issued, while it encourage have caught at the to enforce the decrees it has insued, while its opponents have caught at the chance of turning all Catholic and moderate minds against it. The Government, however, should never have put itself in this position. It should never have proposed a clause the rejection of which incited the Chamber to demand an equivalent, and it should never have revived musty Chamber to demand an equivalent, and it should never have revived musty enactments out of harmony with the spirit of the age. It should never have belied its professions of liberty by applying obsolete laws to communities powerless to defend themselves, except by invoking public opinion. The dispersion of the Jesuits is an act of despotism, and if the Republic revives laws violating personal liberty it is only the substitution of the tyranny of the, multitude for the tyranny of an the substitution of the tyranny of the, multitude for the tyranny of an individual. If it can only pacify the mob by indulging its animosities, nohody is safe. To dig up obsolete enactments for the purpose of oppressing inoffensive citizens is worse than passing new laws, and the aim is even worse than the means. Why are the Jesuits being expelled? Because their teaching is contrary to the present system of government. Such a theory is monstrous. It is more than theory is monstrous. It is more than the confiscation of a liberty, it is the confiscation of the most prized of liberties - liberty of conscience....

# Mental A



be a public setback for Mr Gorbachov if he did not himself achieve this status, having now headed the party for almost four months. But he has already shown great skill in manipulating the Soviet system, helped by the fact that it is unencumbered by democratic restraints.

He is replacing many local officials, industrial party ministers and high-ranking administrators - partly because it gives teeth to his demands for greater efficiency, but mainly because it allows him to strengthen his support in the Central Committee before the 27th Congress next February. Every Soviet leader begins his rule with energetic efforts to improve economic performance; first, to raise the USSR's position relative to the capitalist West, and second, of much less importance, to raise the living standard of the population as some justification for the party's exclusive control. Yet even this objective gives little in the way of legitimacy to a system in

organization on which he too relies to maintain his position. The present KGB chief, Viktor Chebrikov, gained full membership of the ruling Politburo last April, along with two other evident Gorbachov supporters, Nikolai Ryzhkov, the secretary responsible for industry, and Egor Ligachev, the secretary now regarded as the chief ideologist and the party leader's right-hand man. Mr abroad later.

THE OLD COVENANT AND THE NEW

We remain, Sir, your obedient servants

JOHN GIELGUD HARRY ANDREWS, ANDREW CRUICKSHANK, MARIUS GORING, Garrick Club, Garrick Street, WC2.

#### **Objecting to jurors**

From Mr Michael Sherrard, QC Sir, My learned friend, Mr Roger Gray, QC (June 20) paints with too broad a brush. The result is a picture the fairness of which is, to put it at its lowest, questionable

There are many cases, particularly complex frauds, where the ability of urors to understand the evidence on more than a very superficial level is essential to the defence as well as to the prosecution. I do not believe counsel should be criticised for seeking to eliminate those who may appear not to be likely to understand the evidence or who may be swept along adversely to the accused because of the large sums of money

Involved in the accusation. I agree with your leader (June 13) that intelligence judged on sight may be something of a hit and miss affair. As things are we have little

If the Roskill committee does not recommend the abolition of juries for fraud cases it may be that some better and more reliable yardsticks than mere appearances will be suggested as substitutes for preremptory challenges. Let us hope so.

#### **Base** attitude

From Mr R. J. Routh Sir, Mr J. S. Abbot (June 25) finds your headline, "The Tory faces at risk", curious because it is their seats that are at risk.

Does he imply that parliamentary prestige has so diminished that the loss of a seat by a sitting member now carries with it no loss of face as

Yours faithfully. R. J. ROUTH, Egton Cottage, Craven Arms, Shropshire. June 25.

It is 1977 Geneva Protocol I which might appear at first sight to contain provisions that could support your assertions. Article I does say, in language which has been heavily criticised, that the Geneva Conventions apply to "armed conflicts in which peoples are fighting against colonial domination and alien occupation and against racist regimes in the exercise of their right of self-determination ..."

Furthermore, articles 43 and 44 do somewhat extend earlier and more restrictive definitions of the

#### North and South

#### From Professor Miles Irving

Sir, The decisions reached last night (June 17) by Parliament over Britain's international airports will be viewed in the North as further evidence of the withdrawal of our Government from its "one nation" tradition.

This trend of ignoring the needs of the North whilst continuing to develop the South is apparent in every walk of life, from education to opera. Nowhere are differences more blatant than in my own profession of medicine.

Some weeks ago you rightly gave prominence to the 150th anniver-sary of London's St Mark's Hospital. The celebrations were an enormous success, supported by royalty, the presence of a Government minister and a three-page supplement in your paper (May 28). In this supplement I was delighted to read that the hospital had been given regional specialty status, thereby ensuring its future and allowing one of its closed wards to reopen.

Those of us in Manchester with identical interests to the work carried out at St Mark's are attempting to provide a similar standard of specialist services to a much larger number of patients than arc ever seen at that hospital. The people of the North-west descrve specialist services of a quality equivalent to those available in London. We, however, lack the support and resources available to the teaching hospitals and special health authorities of the South-east.

In the last 12 months my own hospital has had one surgical ward completely closed and the phase II completely closed and the phase II provision of a new block postponed indefinitely. We are threatened with even further reductions in the number of beds available for surgical cases and similar cuts are planned at the University Hospital of South Manchester.

One cannot blame the regional health authority for making these cuts, for they have to provide basic health services to all the people in a region which has been neglected for decades. Despite a remedial building programme funded, as the minister will remind us, by an increased grant for capital development not one new

3. The protocol obliges combatants

to comply with the rules of international law applicable in armed conflict and 4. The protocol contains numerous provisions prohibiting attacks on the

civilian population as such. The 1977 Geneva Protocol I is open to several objections, some of them serious. But it does not "extend prisoner of war status, protection and privileges to terrorists" in the way that you imply. Yours faithfully.

ADAM ROBERTS, St Antony's College, Oxford. June 25.

hospital has been completed in our region since the end of World War The divisions between the South

and the North of this country must be healed if we are to have a peaceful and prosperous nation. As a national newspaper at least part of the remedy lies in your own hands. Yours faithfully,

MILES IRVING, University of Manchester, Department of Surgery, Clinical Sciences Building, Hope Hospital, Eccles Old Road, Salford, Lancashire. June 18.

## Protecting golden eagle

#### From Mr Anthony Whyatt

Sir, Direct personal experience supports Lord Burton's view (June 22) that golden eagles kill lambs, against the doubts of Mr Hamilton, of the Royal Society for the Protection of Birds (June 15).

On August 20, 1983, two golden cagles started suddenly from the hillside in front of me as I traversed Ben Odhar Bheag at about 2,000 feet, on the saddle dividing Loch Eilt and Loch Shiel in western Inverness-shire. We ran the intervening

### **Beating off bees**

#### From Mr M. G. H. Rogers

Sir, I am sorry to see that the Sir, I am sorry to see that the correspondence about wild bees has descended into frivolity as a friend of mine was stung to death by a swarm in Northern Nigeria. When I was in Nigeria I always advised a newcomer, if he were to be attacked by a swarm of wild bees, to lie down on the ground on his

attacked by a swarm of while bees, to lie down on the ground on his stomach and to cover his face and neck with his shirt. These are the most vulnerable parts of the body since bees go for the moisture surrounding the mouth.

Yours faithfully. M. G. H. ROGERS,

Croftside, Harrow Road, Dorking, Surrey. June 24.

seventy yards to discover what had preoccupied the birds since my companion, who had supervised, a golden eagle sanctuary, felt sure they had been feeding. As the eagles soared in the strong

westerly wind we came upon their orey, a deer calf which had just been killed, its throat and belly torn open, tufts of hair scattered on the hillside above and a trio of anxious hinds a hundred feet below. While we examined the calf its eyes started to laze, showing how recently it had been killed.

By late August a deer calf is a good size, and bigger than a contemporary highland lamb: there is no question but that this calf had been killed by the two eagles. There is equally no doubt in my mind that these vast and magnificent birds despatch lambs in the same way.

Yours faithfully. ANTHONY WHYATT, Campden Hill Square, Kensington, W8. June 26.

#### **Deus ex machina?**

#### From Mr Gerald Priestland

Sir, Wimbledon struck by lightning (report, June 25): I feel we might make a significant advance in theology if it could be confirmed that the Bishop of Durham has tighter for the universe tickets for the tournament.

GERALD PRIESTLAND. Temple Fortune Lane, NW11.

The Vatican and the Jews appear to have misunderstood each far less reason for Jews in Israel other again. More than once in and elsewhere to study the nuances of Vatican documents the past some act by the Pope or some curial department meant on Christian-Jewish relations for to be warm and conciliatory, has signs of some advance or retreat been received on the Jewish side if the real bone of contention. with irritation or worse. In the latest case, the Vatican sought to amplify, mainly for the benefit of teachers of religion, a 1974 document which was itself a commentary upon the famous 1965 decree of the Second Vatican Council called Nostra Actate. The Vatican presumes that teachers are familiar with those earlier landmarks in Christian-Jewish relations, and therefore found it unnecessary to repeat all the earlier ground covered in them; Jewish scrutineers of the text rather inevitably find the 1985 document inadequate and incomplete. In the version for British consumption, at least, 1985 appears with 1974 as an appendix; it would have been better still had 1965 appeared as a second appendix, to emphasize that all three should be read together, and they should not be regarded as supplanting each other. They are, in any case, in diminishing order of authority. "Notes for

council. That the relationship is accident-prone is not surprising, and

teachers" cannot be equated to

a solemn declaration by the

recognition of the state of Israel, was removed from the arena. As it is, Jewish commentators have seized upon the latest Vatican utterance to complain that it does not put the question of Israel's existence in a religious context, but describes it as a matter of international law. So it is; and in accordance with international law the Holy See ought to exchange ambassadors with Israel forthwith. The reason usually given for not so doing, that Israel's frontiers are not yet guaranteed by international treaty, is to make its status (in the eyes of the Holy See) hostage to the political interests of Israel's enemies. That is extraordinary and scandalous. It is not to be wondered at if Vatican statements which touch on the matter are read without much goodwill or benefit of the doubt. In fact both Nostra Actate and

this latest essay contain a most positive sentiment towards the Jews, whose far-reaching significance has hardly yet been grasped on either side. It is the doctrine, based on Romans II vv28, 29, that the Covenant the remedy is very much in the between God and the Jews has it.

Vatican's hands. There would be not been abrogated by the Incarnation but still applies.

The latest document recalls the words of the present Pope in 1980: "... the people of God of the Old Covenant, which has never been revoked ...". Cardinal Johannes Willebrands, head of the Vatican section concerned with the Jews, said in a remarkable lecture in Britain earlier this year that theologians must urgently explore what this doctrine meant. Though he did

not spell it out, what is to be explored is this: if the concept of "Chosen People" is still the valid, in Catholic teaching, why not also the concept of the "Promised Land"?

As it was Cardinal Willebrands's section which also issued the document now at issue, it has to be assumed that what distinguishes the two approaches is their context. One is unfinished business for theological speculation to digest; the other is for teachers to pass on in the classroom, and therefore limited to what is settled and established. It is in accordance with what is settled and established that the Holy See should recog-nize Israel; indeed it is difficult to see how the other more theoretical question can be fairly examined in an open-minded way if political and diplomatic factors are allowed to complicate

# ours faithfully, MICHAEL SHERRARD, 2 Crown Office Row, Temple, EC4, June 20.