

Vol. 25 No. 15 — October 25, 1980 — Rs. 3-00

TRIBUNE



26TH YEAR OF PUBLICATION



Marx, Engels & Lenin

Now available complete Works of LENIN

45 volumes, each

Rs. 7.50

full set

Rs. 300.00 only

also available first 14 Volumes of the
52 Vol. edition of collected Works of

MARX & ENGELS each Vol.

Rs. 37.50

We can reserve for you the other volumes on request.

(all volumes are beautifully bound for your library
collections).

We can also supply individual Works of
MARX, ENGELS & LENIN in separated editions.

People's Publishing House Ltd.,

124, Kumaran Ratnam Road, Colombo 2.

76, Galle Road Colombo 4.

Telephone: 36111.

Letter From The Editor

ON THE COVER we have two Kandyan dancers in an exultant pose of victory. This is only to remind the Government that whilst it has many significant achievements to its credit to celebrate, it should not regard its successful deprivation of the civic rights of Mrs. Bandaranaike, especially the final blow brought in a surprise special amendment to the Electoral Law to make it illegal for her to canvass for candidates or speak on election platforms, as something to crow about or proclaim as a triumph of high morality. It is soulfully uplifting to speak about cleansing public life, but until concrete and meaningful steps are taken to investigate the suspicious actions of highly placed UNP VIPs, ordinary people will remain sceptical about UNP promises to do unto the UNP wrongdoers what they have done to Mrs. Sirimavo Bandaranaike, Mr. Felix Dias Bandaranaike and Mr. Nihal Jayawickreme. It is one thing to authorise the Presidential Commission to extend its investigations to the first three years of this government's rule, but it is an altogether different matter to convince people that something definitely will be done. It is easy to be self-righteous but we must not forget the words in the Bible (St. Luke 6: 41-42) "..... And why beholdest thou the mote in thy brother's eye, but perceivest not the beam that is in thine own eye? Either how canst thou say to thy brother, Brother, let me pull out the mote that is in thine eye, when thou thyself beholdest not the beam that is in thine own eye? Thou hypocrite, cast out first the beam out of thine own eye, and then shalt thou see clearly to pull out the mote that is in thy brother's eye..."

..... Whilst there is no doubt that President Jayewardene's hands are clean, there are many in UNP's ruling hierarchy whose actions and reputations have begun to stink to the high heavens. As far as *Tribune* can ascertain the punishment meted out to Mrs. Bandaranaike is felt by most people to be unduly harsh and severe and a wave of sympathy has begun to swell at all levels of humanity in the island. It is difficult to say whether the SLFP and the Opposition can utilise this surging wave of sympathy to make a significant impact at the next elections, but the UNP will not add to its popularity or prestige by what it has done unless it removes the beam of its own eyes. The Party has now launched a series of meetings to explain "to the people all over the island why former Prime Minister Sirimavo Bandaranaike was stripped of her civic rights". Explanations are no doubt called for but no explanation will satisfy unless Government takes immediate measures to cleanse the UNP of at least a few of those who are alleged to be corrupt or have misused power. It is not difficult to impose deterrent punishment on a defeated opponent, but it is another matter to overcome party loyalties, personal friendships and political affinities to bring powerful stalwarts of the ruling party to the dock. The machinery of investigation is in the hands of the Establishment and it is the easiest thing to hush up or white-wash embarrassing evidence. Will all UNP spokesmen who now make exuberant speeches that the punishment inflicted on Mrs. Bandaranaike is not vindictive, rise up to the occasion and ensure that UNP MPs over whom dark clouds of suspicion have begun to gather are properly and fully investigated in the open after *prima facie* cases have been established in private? This will be the true test of UNP *bona fides*.

TRIBUNE

Ceylon News Review

Founded In 1954

A Journal of Ceylon
and
World Affairs

Editor, S. P. Amarasingam
Every Saturday

October 25, 1980

Vol: 25.

No: 15.

TRIBUNE

43, DAWSON STREET,
COLOMBO-2

Tel: 33172.

CONTENT S

—EDITOR'S NOTEBOOK	
Mrs. Bandaranaike—3	p. 2
JOURNEY TO INDIA	
—Surprise	p. 3
CUSTOMS	
—What's Wrong?	p. 5
CHRONICLE	
—Oct. 8-15	p. 5
COMMISSION	
—Charges & Findings	p. 9
PLAN IMPLEMENTATION	
—Past Activities	p. 13
EAST GERMANY	
—New Currency	p. 15
VIETNAM POLICY	
—Nguyen Co Thatch	p. 16
SOVIET UNION	
—Peace Memorandum	p. 18
SOVIET VIEW	
—Iraq-Iran War	p. 18
PAKISTAN	
—Zia-Ul-Haq	p. 19
LETTERS	
—Rupee Companies	p. 20
GRAMA SASTRA—26	
—MNC' Pest	p. 22
DDCs	
—ACTC View	p. 22
FILM FOCUS	
—Sir John	p. 24
TURKISH COUP	
—FRG View	p. 25
TURKEY	
—Russian View	p. 26
GULF WAR	
—Brzezinski	p. 28
INTERNATIONAL	
—Kampuchea, Afghan	p. 29
CONFIDENTIALLY	
—Tractors	p. 32

EDITOR'S NOTEBOOK

Mrs. Sirimavo Bandaranaike—3

Colombo, October 20,

With a surprise special amendment to the new electoral law, more disabilities were added to the deprivation of civic rights envisaged in the Presidential Commission Act to send Mrs. Sirimavo Bandaranaike into total political exile for seven years—unless Parliament reverses the position earlier, but this is unlikely in the lifetime of the present Parliament. Whether in 1983 the country will elect a Parliament that would restore civic rights to Mrs. Bandaranaike is anybody's guess. In practical terms, only a presidential pardon can immediately change the position, but whether this will be done before the parliamentary and presidential elections in 1983 and 1984 is doubtful. But as an act of magnanimity, the pardon may be given immediately after both elections.

The Leader of the Opposition, Mr. A. Amirthalingam had pleaded for such a pardon during the debate last week, but there has been no response to this from any quarter. Mrs. Bandaranaike is not likely to ask for it. It would not be in the interest of SLFP's political image to ask for it. The TULF does not have enough political punch to make its request immediately effective. Only the President, *sui generis*, unilaterally, can take the initiative, in the matter. Will he?

The SLFP seems to have been taken by surprise by the action the Government has taken. Right up to the end, many SLFPers were hoping against hope that "it will not happen"—they seemed to be labouring under the mystique that "it cannot happen here.... not to Mrs. Bandaranaike.....". That is perhaps why the SLFP had played a lone hand right up to the end. It did not even seek the support of the others in the Group of Five—SLFP, LSSP, MEP, CPC and TULF (CPSL is not in it)—which had been put together during the days of the ill-fated General Strike (that never got off the ground). It was probably thought that any attempt to get "left" support would prejudice the High Command of the UNP which some SLFP stalwarts thought might show some leniency if the SLFP remained a fully bourgeois party without any Left affiliations. It was this kind of political miscalculation that had led to the break-up of the coalition in 1975 and the continued SLFP insistence to plough a lonely furrow in the 1977 elections and thereafter. It also probably accounts for the meaningless threats uttered by immature enthusiasts on SLFP platforms—thus playing straight into the hands of the Government.

It was only after the Government had threatened to impose an Emergency in the afternoon of October 14 and take appropriate action under it, that the SLFP seems to have woken up. According to Left circles, the SLFP late in the evening of October 14, after Mrs.

Bandaranaike had called off the demonstrations for October 16 (when the Parliament was due to debate the Bills to deprive her of civic rights and expel her from Parliament) that a quiet approach was made to the LSSP and other groups to see whether any joint political strategy could be planned for the ensuing period.

The Group of Five is however no longer what it was. The TULF has drawn close to the Government with the DDCs scheme for economic development. The SLFP had also antagonised the TULF by its attitude to the DDCs and the SLFP circles had launched attacks on the Tamils in general and Thondaman in particular for collaborating with the UNP. The CPSL is still not in the picture—because leading sections are allergic to Mrs. Bandaranaike (as some minority sections in the LSSP also).

The Press Conference Mrs. Bandaranaike held on the morning of October 13 was significant for many reasons. It was a well-organised affair—for the first time in the history of the SLFP after the death of S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike who knew how to handle the press. During the time Mrs. Bandaranaike was in power, the press was dealt with in the most cavalier fashion—until the recalcitrant papers were taken over after which they stopped being newspapers. In defeat, Mrs. Bandaranaike kept aloof from the press and the only press conference she held was for the foreign newspapers men (with a few chosen local ones thrown in) in support of the Pol Pot regime during the June 1978 non-aligned Ministerial Conference in Colombo. By all accounts, that Pol Pot Press conference held at the SLFP office was a total fiasco.

By comparison, the October 13 press conference held at the Bandaranaike residence at Rosmead Place, was a grand affair. The entire press corps had been informed by telephone—the circular letters about the conference had arrived a day after—and there was a full turn out of the local and foreign press. Mrs. Bandaranaike was assisted by two lawyers—Attorneys-at-Law Kularatne (an old time SLFP stalwart) and Gamini Iriyagolle (a retired Civil Servant turned lawyer, son of the redoubtable Iriyagolle who came into politics on the 1956 Bandaranaike bandwagon and later became a UNP Minister)—and to the disappointment of the Press the lawyers dominated the Conference and took most of the time with legal subtleties and intricacies. Everybody present however was conscious that the legal battles were long over in spite of the pending Writ applications (belated and academic)—and that the tussle now (and for a long time) was solely on the political plane.

Mrs. Bandaranaike alone provided the answers to some of the questions, which were uppermost in everybody's minds. What she said was no different from the line of propaganda the SLFP journals *Dinakara* and *The Nation* had been plugging for some weeks. President Jayawardene was punishing her and the SLFP in a vindictive manner, she said, for refusing to join a national government in July/August 1977. She had

not gone before the Commission because she had no faith in it. The UNP was anxious to eliminate her because they were selling the country to the foreign capitalists. And so on and so forth.

Many newspapermen at the press conference had felt that it would have been better if she had been assisted by senior SLFP politicians rather than the lawyers who provided only material for a legal thesis in which no one was interested. No new political ammunition was provided and the impression that the Bandaranaike family was still seeking to play a lonely hand in the SLFP was further strengthened. Deputy leader Maithripala Senanayake and former Minister Hector Kobbekaduwa were on the premises mingling with the pressmen and the SLFP activists there. The Press Conference would have had added validity if the two had been available to answer questions rather than the attorneys-at-law. Felix Dias Bandaranaike too was present but he was keen about selling his own line about his own case—which even the SLFP seems to have abandoned a long time ago.

To understand the current strategy of the Bandaranaike family in the political confrontation with the UNP (which began way back in 1952 when SWRD broke away from the UNP) and to see if any changes are likely immediately one must examine the way the SLFP propaganda machine has worked and what it still continues to put out. This will be examined in the concluding part next weeks.

In the meantime there are a number of questions about the SLFP that many political observers keep asking. Will the SLFP now seek a new anti-UNP front (in the framework of proportional representation and district lists?) Will the SLFP (and its allies) be able to plan a strategy to cope with the realities of the new political era that has erupted on this country with a vast mass of a-political or non-political young people (brought into existence by short-sighted and narrow Sinhala Only language policies and stupid educational experiments which cut them away from world knowledge and international trends)? Will the SLFP and Opposition parties be able to formulate strategies to suit present day realities without dissipating their energies of threatening vengeance on the UNP and boasts about restoring the old order under the 1972 Constitution?

(To be Concluded)

JOURNEY TO INDIA 1980—1

THE SURPRISE

by S. P. Amarasingam

It came as a surprise.

I was asked whether I would be willing to go to New Delhi to attend a Regional Meeting of delegates from South Asian countries to discuss the recommendations of UNESCO's MacBride Commission Report

on the problems of *Communication and Society—Today and Tomorrow*—a Report by the International Commission set up to study communication problems and to suggest ways and means of reaching out towards a new, more just and more efficient world information Order. This meeting at New Delhi, under the auspices of UNESCO, was under the organisational care of the Indian Institute of Mass Communication (IIMC).

The request came to me from the Ministry of State. As this was the first time in the forty five years I have been involved in controversial political journalism that such a request to represent Sri Lanka at an international or regional conference (however small or inconsequential) was made, I asked the official who spoke to me whether there was not some mistake. No government has so far thought fit to pick a maverick unpredictable non-conformist like myself for an assignment of this kind.

The official assured me that there was no mistake. The Minister concerned had made the choice and was keen that I should go as he wanted to break the tradition of sending only officials or members of the favoured hierarchy to represent the country at specialised meetings of this kind: that he was anxious to draw on the expertise available outside the narrow confines of officialdom. Knowing Minister Anandatisa de Alwis as I do—this goes back a good forty years—I was aware that in many appointments and selections for scholarships he had refused to follow the usual practice of confining the choice to officials and their favoured nominees. He had himself come from outside the ranks of bureaucratic privilege and he is not allergic to persons who have by choice or by the compulsion of convictions or circumstances been thrown into the seeming wilderness outside the ruling Establishment.

But, even then, I had not expected him to pick me to be an official delegate. Intrinsicly I am congenital critic. I am and have always been a critic of every government and every Establishment. It is an inborn second nature that has grown upon me. I have also taken for granted that my life has been and will continue to be outside the bounds of governmental preference. Even during the regime of the so-called progressive parties, in spite of my long-standing ideological affinities to socialist thought and practice, I was regarded as a political hazard because of my innate predilection to offer criticism wherever necessary or whenever possible.

I have, in recent times, had occasion to place on record that the Jayewardene government has been willing to maintain a dialogue with *Tribune* in spite of the serious criticisms the paper has levelled against some of the policies and programmes of this government. How long this state of affairs will continue is hard to say. Even a cursory glance through the pages of *Tribune* since July 1977 will show the sustained regularity of the criticism this paper has levelled at some policies and programmes of the Jayewardene Government—much more than against earlier governments. But so far *Tribune* has suffered no disabilities or been

subject to any discrimination or harassment—as often in the past.

When the request came from the Ministry of State to attend the New Delhi meeting a retrospective thought flashed through my mind that the only time *Tribune* had been invited to be part of an official delegation was when S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike was Prime Minister. I was nominated to be a member of the first Press delegation to the People's Republic of China. This was in April/May 1958. Although I had ideological sympathies for some of the policies of the S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike Government, I was very critical of a large number of programmes and attitudes that Government had adopted especially on domestic issues. *Tribune* had even published a revealing biographical sketch by James T. Rutnam of the Bandaranaike of Horogolla (in the issue of July 19, 1957) entitled "The House of Nilaperumal" to show that no stigma should be attached to the word 'Tamil' as some racialisists were seeking to impose. This article was published at the height of the chauvinist fervour invoked by the Sinhala Only Movement. S. W. R. D. had chuckled when he read the article and the only remark he had made was that there were no factual mistakes in it.

In spite of this article, and in spite of criticisms levelled at the Sinhala Only language policies of his government, SWRD had made me a member of the Press Delegation to China which toured that country and North Korea for four/five weeks and a further week was cut short because of the outbreak of communal riots in the Island.

The 1958 Press Delegation to China was significant for a number of reasons. It was the first and only time that a representative of a weekly paper was included in a delegation of this kind. Foreign trips, scholarships, delegations have been and continue to be the monopoly of the big daily newspaper groups. There have been occasional exceptions in the case of party activists who have strayed into the realm of the Fourth Estate. The other delegate this year was S. B. W. Amunugama, Manager of PTC-Reuters. He was also a non-official but with expertise on the administrative problems of a "national" News Agency like the Lanka-puwath (which now seeks to replace PTC-Reuters).

When I mentioned to a friend—and a long-time reader of *Tribune*—that I had accepted the invitation to go to New Delhi as an official delegate, he asked me whether some people might think that *Tribune* was getting "too close to the Government" and whether this would blunt the paper's critical edge. I argued that even if a few stones were thrown—it is in the nature of man to question motives, suspect intentions and cast aspersions—what I write and what *Tribune* publishes will be the litmus test of the paper's attitudes in the ensuing period.

Over the years, *Tribune* has suffered and survived so many tribulations on account of the inevitable zig-zags in thinking that result from the tumultuous onrush

of contemporary history, that I have developed a cynical detachment to accusations that what the paper said was the outcome of lobby pressure, arm-twisting or Establishment manipulation. Without such intellectual and spiritual armour to provide immunity against the barbs and darts of criticism life will not be worth living. Many who cannot immediately understand why particular comment is made, find an easy way out by asserting that it was only one more case of straying from the narrow path of integrity, although this explanation may be furthest from the truth. Mistakes cannot often be avoided because full information is not always available and much information is not forthcoming unless some criticism is made or a loaded bombshell is dropped. The intricate way in which information, comment and even allegations creep into the columns of newspapers and periodicals is a story in itself. One acid test of a paper's objectivity and a journalist's honesty is the willingness to accept a mistake and make amends in print.

To come back to this trip to New Delhi, this Regional Meeting consisting of delegates from Afghanistan, Bangladesh, India, Nepal, Pakistan and Sri Lanka was first scheduled to start on August 23. But owing to a request from some countries, the meeting was postponed to September 8. I was informed that the UNESCO would provide the tickets for travel and also would pay the *per diem* subsistence allowance for the duration of the conference. Delegates were expected to reach New Delhi on September 7.

As the Commonwealth Heads of Government Regional Meeting (CHOGRM-2) was to be held in New Delhi from September 4 to 8, I thought that I should use this ticket to reach New Delhi earlier, if possible on September 3 to cover CHOGRM-2.

This is the genesis of my 1980 journey to New Delhi. My first trip to the Indian capital was in March/April 1942 thirty eight years ago. The ostensible purpose was to cover the Cripps Mission for a weekly called *Kesari* but the real purpose was to see India in the ferment of a national struggle. Incidentally, *Kesari* was published by some activists of the Jaffna Youth Congress famous (or notorious) owing to its rejection of the Donoughmore Constitution and the boycott of the 1931 elections in the Northern areas. *Kesari*, (it is one of the Sri Lankan periodicals which I was associated before *Tribune* was started), did not survive the Second World War in spite of infusion of strength from enthusiasts in the South to make the now world-famous film-maker Lester James Peiris the Editor of the paper in its penultimate days.

(To be Continued)



With The Customs?

We publish below a copy of a letter sent to the President by Mr. K. V. S. Vas, Correspondent of the Madras Hindu about the "unwarranted detention of Madras Hindu by the Customs at Katunayake" together with a note from the Editor.

I very much regret to have to appeal to you periodically on the above subject.

Your Excellency has always said that the Press in Sri Lanka is free and that there is no press censorship in this country. It is quite true. Otherwise the Opposition parties in this country will not be able to publish their own newspapers and periodicals, unfettered by governmental interference or dictation. But it is unfortunate that the Customs authorities at the Katunayake Airport continue to implement an outdated Censorship law which requires the "scrutiny of High-ups" of certain news items which in the arbitrary opinion of the Customs people, are "objectionable".

The funniest part of all this is the fact that while such items of news are permitted to be published in local newspapers and widely circulated (because there is no press censorship in this country), the same news items when they appear in Indian newspapers are objected to by the Customs people (assuming the role of press Censors) and detain the newspapers for scrutiny by the "High-ups".

The Madras Hindu dated Monday, the 8th October 1980 contained a short account of a news published in the SLFP organ Nation in which Mrs. Bandaranaike had alleged US meddling in the internal affairs of Sri Lanka. The story was not born out of the imagination of the Hindu correspondent. Neither was it his own story. It was only a short record of a story that had gained wide publicity through the Nation. The story itself is reported to be a speech made by Mrs. Bandaranaike at a public meeting at Kandy.

In spite of the fact that the story had already been published and read by Sri Lankans and heard by the people through the mouth of Mrs. Bandaranaike at Kandy, the Hindu which carried a gist of the story has been detained by the Customs yesterday at Katunayake Airport for "scrutiny by the High-ups". I do not know under which provisions of the Law the Customs people detain the newspaper parcels.

Whenever I make personal representations to you, the Customs people keep quiet for two or three months and once again play the same game. I shall be grateful if you will kindly take serious note of this and be pleased to issue necessary instructions to the Customs to avoid unnecessary inconvenience to the

readers of the Hindu in Sri Lanka who include your goodwill also.

Thanking you very much,

K. V. S. Vas

Correspondent,
The Hindu, Madras.
219, Jampettah Street, Colombo 13.
10th October 1980

Editors Note:

Time and again Customs officials have shown that they are incapable of properly exercising the discretionary power vested in them to detain newspapers whenever they think that something "objectionable" has been published. Whilst pornography, obscenity and even the portrayal of new techniques of crime came through without let or hindrance, Customs have often (far too often) "detained" prestigious newspapers that carried news items that have appeared in Sri Lankan newspapers and have been carried by all the wire services. There's something wrong and rotten in the state of Denmark (Customs) for this kind of thing to happen over and over again.—Ed.

+ + +

SRI LANKA CHRONICLE

Oct. 8 - Oct. 15

DIARY OF EVENTS IN SRI LANKA AND THE WORLD
COMPILED FROM DAILY NEWSPAPERS PUBLISHED
IN COLOMBO.

CDN—Ceylon Daily News; CDM—Ceylon Daily Mirror; CO—Ceylon Observer; ST—Sunday Times; SO—Sunday Observer; DM—Dinamina; LD—Lankadipa; VK—Virakesari; ATH—Aththa; SM—Silumina; SLDP—Sri Lankadipa; JD—Janadina; SU—Sun; DV—Davasa; DP—Dinapathi; CM—Chinthamani; WK—Weekend; RR—Riviresa DK—Dinakara; EN—Eelanadu; IDPR—Information Dept. Press Release.

WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 8: The Special Presidential Commission which is investigating alleged misdeeds of the government of former Prime Minister Mrs. Sirimavo Bandaranaike has started work on its new assignment to investigate alleged abuses committed in the first three years of the present government; the Commission's terms of reference were extended last week to cover the three years up to July 31, 1980 and was also given time until September 28, 1981 to report back; all representations, in quadruplicate, should be addressed to the Secretary, Special Presidential Commission of Inquiry, to reach him on or before January 4, 1981. Sri Lanka has signed a Pact with the People's Republic of China to launch a Sino-Sri Lanka Joint Shipping Service between China and West African ports; under the agreement, the Shipping Corporation can utilise China's 500-strong fleet

to ship tea, spice and other general produce to ports in the western coast of Africa. A limited WHO project of sterilisation for dogs, as part of the government's rabies eradication programme will be launched in the country shortly. Coconut production for the first six months of this year fell by 20 percent seriously affecting the coconut export industry; the value of coconut exports products fell by 30 cents during the first half of this year—CDN. The government will inaugurate a coastal shipping service on October 20; initially four chartered vessels will first carry goods to South India and later to neighbouring countries in addition to calling at Galle and Trincomalee ports; it will finally be expanded to carry passengers too. Mahaweli waters will flow to the Northern Province once the Randenigala and Moragahakanda reservoirs are built and for that purpose a new channel 97 miles long will be cut; this assurance was given by Mr. Gamini Dissanayake—CDM. Sri Lanka export shipments to Persian Gulf markets are now being levied an additional war-risk freight insurance premium. The Asian Development Bank today approved a 12.8 million US dollars concessional loan to Sri Lanka to help develop a project in its tea industry, the single most important industry in the country. Mrs. Sirimavo R. D. Bandaranaike will continue to be the Sri Lanka Freedom Party Leader, SLFP sources said yesterday; there would be no change in the party's leadership even if Parliament passed the resolution depriving her of her civic rights and expelling her from Parliament on October 16. The sale of infant milk foods under brand names is to be banned from next year; all infant milk foods will have to be sold under their basic formula of manufacture—SU. A large number of Buddhist priests will meet in Kandy on the 10th to demand that the government withdraw the proposal to remove the civic rights of Mrs. Bandaranaike—DK.

THURSDAY, OCTOBER 9: An international construction company, Costain International Ltd., will get the giant tender for the construction of a variety of buildings on the Mahaweli development sites; the value of the tender is Rs. 250,610,741. The Insurance Corporation of Sri Lanka has accepted that the Grindlays Bank building which was gutted by fire last Saturday night, was a total loss; the Bank had been insured for Rs. 45 million and the Corporation would make an interim payment of Rs. 10 million on Friday. The Commissioner of Inland Trade, M. Ramalingam, is looking into complaints by electricity consumers regarding alleged inflated electricity bills under the provisions of the Consumer Protection Act; consumers have also protested against the "Fuel Adjustment charge" entered every month in electricity bills which were sometimes more than the actual electricity consumption charge. Upali Travels Ltd., will inaugurate its scheduled domestic air service with a flight to Jaffna and back from Colombo tomorrow; initially flights will be to Jaffna and Batticaloa on alternate days; the price of a ticket to Jaffna was Rs. 635 and to Batticaloa Rs. 550—CDN. The Cabinet yesterday decided that the purchase, lease and any other charges on land including private

land (i.e. mortgage) by foreigners should receive the prior sanction and approval of a single authority. The appeal in the Kalawana election petition was dismissed yesterday by a three-Judge Bench of the Supreme Court; in this case Mr. A. H. B. Pilapitiya, Deputy Minister of Posts and Telecommunications, had appealed against the order of Mr. Justice M. M. Abdul Cader, declaring his election to the Kalawana Seat in the general election of July 1977 as null and void—CDM. Colombo Mayor Sirisena Cooray admits that the city fire brigade is ill-equipped; they have a snorkel which is only 65 feet tall in a city where high-rise buildings are sprouting like mushrooms after a shower; the fire engines are old and outdated and not in perfect mechanical condition; "but yet we have to tackle fires like the enormous blaze at Grindlays Bank on Saturday"—CO.

FRIDAY, OCTOBER 10: Former Prime Minister Mrs. Bandaranaike and a key Minister in her Cabinet Mr. Felix R. Dias Bandaranaike yesterday filed applications in the Court of Appeal seeking writs of certiorari to quash the findings and recommendations of the Special Presidential Commission appointed by President J. R. Jayewardene to investigate and report on alleged misdeeds during their regime; they have requested the Court of Appeal to transfer their applications to the Supreme Court; the Court of Appeal has accordingly made order transferring the two applications to the Supreme Court; both applications will come up for notice in the Supreme Court today. There are signs of gathering momentum for greater economic collaboration between Sri Lanka and Japan, Prime Minister R. Premadasa told Japanese businessmen and industrialists at a luncheon meeting in Tokyo yesterday. Police yesterday disallowed a meeting scheduled to be held in Kandy today; police sources said this had been done in the interests of law and order; the Anunayake Thera of Malwate Chapter, the Ven. Rambukwelle Sri Siddhartha Sobita, announced yesterday that he had nothing to do with the proposed meeting; his name had been used without his permission; he was contemplating legal action against those responsible; Ven. Sirimalwatte Ananda Thera said any report that he was attending the meeting to express sympathy for Mrs. Bandaranaike were incorrect. The Bank of Ceylon has increased interest rates payable on its Non-Resident Foreign Currency (NRFC) accounts effective October 1; the new rates are Pound sterling 10%; US Dollar 8%; Deutsche Mark 7%; Swiss Franc 2%; the earlier rate was seven per cent flat for the pound sterling and US dollar only—CDN. All government Members of Parliament and Ministers now abroad have been told to return to Sri Lanka before October 16. Inaccurate billing of consumers was due to human and computer error and not a case of fraud, Ceylon Electricity Board General Manager J. K. I. Phillips explained yesterday—SU. The applications filed by former Justice Minister Felix R. Dias Bandaranaike, former Mayor Janab A. H. M. Fowzie and fifteen other M.Ps and M.M.Cs. have been rejected by the High Court—DP. The Insurance Corporation of Sri Lanka has decided to donate a sum of Rs. 2,660,000 to the Colombo Muni.

cipal Council for the import of fire fighting equipment suitable for fighting major fires immediately—VK.

SATURDAY, OCTOBER 11: The Supreme Court yesterday directed notice to issue returnable on October 15 on the Special Presidential Commission following applications by former Prime Minister, Mrs. Sirima Bandaranaike, and Mr. Felix Dias Bandaranaike, for Writs of Certiorari to quash the findings and recommendations made against them by the Commission. A spokesman for the Joint Committee of Trade Union Organisations (JCTUO) said yesterday that they had drawn up a petition to President Jayewardene on behalf of the strikers who had lost their jobs. A petition on behalf of the July strikers was yesterday handed over at the President's Office by a four-member delegation of women. It was accepted by Mr. W. M. P. B. Menikdiwela, Secretary to President J. R. Jayewardene; earlier about 300 women demonstrators, most of them dependents of the strikers assembled at the "Guru Medara" on Sir Chittampalam Gardiner Mawatha from around 7 a.m. but were dispersed by noon; they had planned to stage a demonstration by going to the President's office to hand over the petition—CDN. The nitrogen content of the water table in the Jaffna Peninsula has increased by more than 100 fold posing a severe health hazard; the nitrogen content had increased from a ratio of ten parts for every one million parts of water to 150 to 165 parts per million parts of water over the past five years and this was chiefly attributable to the excessive use of nitrogen fertilizer in this region—SU.

SUNDAY, OCTOBER 12: Government will bring legislation to ensure that no administration will be able to violate the principles of democracy in Sri Lanka, President J. R. Jayewardene said at the Army Day celebrations at Ratmalana yesterday. Iraqi President Saddam Hussein's special envoy Mr. Jassaf Mohamed Khalaf, who is now in Colombo, yesterday accused Iran of aggression in the Iraq-Iran conflict and called upon non-aligned countries to exert pressure on Iran to listen to the voice of sanity—SO. Government has placed the Armed Services and the Police on a general alert and put into operation a security scheme to prevent sabotage and disruption of normal services in the city from tomorrow; nearly 4000 policemen from various parts of the country will be brought into the city tomorrow morning to enforce a complete ban on demonstrations of all kinds and patrol selected areas to prevent sabotage—WK. About 25,000 people have applied to the Minister of Transport for employment in the CGR; in their applications they say that they have nothing to do with the strikes on 16th, 17th and 18th July but that they were forced to take part by being threatened by unionists—VK.

MONDAY, OCTOBER 13: The Sri Lanka Electricity Board has launched action against errant meter readers following a spate of complaints from consumers including a Cabinet Minister that their electricity bills have been heavily inflated; twelve meter readers have already been interdicted and more interdictions are

to follow. President J. R. Jayewardene, speaking at a mass rally at Dehiwela yesterday said, "on the 16th of October 1980 Parliament will consider whether the political way of life practised by the 1970-77 Government should be followed in the present and in the future; personalities, friendships, relationships and political parties are not relevant in this context; it is the political policies they represent and follow that are being considered, Permits issued to private operators to ply buses and vans carrying passengers have been suspended from today until midnight October 17. Mr. Maithripala Senanayake MP for Medawachchiya has given notice to the Speaker, that the Opposition proposes to raise a point of order, that Parliament should not discuss or debate on October 15, that two resolutions seeking to impose civic disabilities on Felix Dias Bandaranaike and Mrs. Sirima R. D. Bandaranaike, that the matter is subjudice—CDN. A big police security operation comes into effect from today to thwart any attempts by mischief makers to disrupt normal life in the City of Colombo—CDN. Attempts are now being made by SLFP speaker at their meetings to abuse the members of the Government, to threaten Members of Parliament, to prevent them from attending Parliament, to surround the residences of Members of Parliament, including the President and the Prime Minister, to march on Parliament and to shed blood in the streets, President J. R. Jayewardene, disclosed yesterday. The Defence Ministry has directed the Police to prosecute those responsible for inciting people to violence at public meetings—SU.

TUESDAY, OCTOBER 14: Prime Minister R. Premadasa returned last night after a 17-day tour of USA and Japan. The Iran-Iraq war has hit Sri Lanka's spice exports with cardamoms and cloves suffering very heavy setbacks, trade sources said yesterday. Twenty high officials of the Fisheries Corporation, including the General Manager (Operations), personal manager, a chief mechanical engineer, manager, Planning and Research Division and a medical officer, were yesterday sent on compulsory leave for alleged inefficiency, mismanagement and total ineffectiveness in the corporation; some more officials will be sent on compulsory leave in the next few days; yesterday's decision was taken on the instructions of the Fisheries Minister Festus Perera by the Secretary to the Minister, Anura Wera-ratne who is also the acting Chairman of the Corporation. The Mahanayake of the Kotte Kalyani Samagri Dharma Maha Sangha Sabha, the Ven. Labugama Lankananda Mahanayake Thera and the Ven. Rambukwelle Sri Siddhartha Sobitha Anunayake Thera said yesterday that their names had been dragged in unnecessarily stating that they were to address a meeting at the Natha Devale premises to call on the government to withdraw the resolution which seeks to impose civic disabilities on the leader of the SLFP Mrs. Sirima Bandaranaike; their names had been included in the posters without their approval. Police said yesterday that there was likelihood of mob violence in and around the Fort area from about October 14 to 17; they have

warned workers, residents and other people here against loitering in this area; police have also asked owners of vehicles to take protective measures and avoid parking in the Fort area. Heavy and incessant rain, in Colombo and the suburban areas has been reported by the Meteorological Department with Ratmalana recording the highest rainfall during the past twenty four hours. Mr. Felix Dias Bandaranaike, has written to the Speaker of Parliament asking him to defer the consideration of the resolution to deprive him of his civic rights, until the Supreme Court makes its final order on his appeal asking that the Commission recommendations be quashed—CDN. The police had to use tear gas and baton charge a crowd who attacked the police and attempted to go in a procession towards Hyde Park yesterday morning from the Sri Lanka Freedom Party Headquarters at Darley Road, Colombo. Mr. Ratne Deshapriya Senanayake, a former Junior Minister in the Sirima Bandaranaike Government was taken into custody by the Polonnaruwa Police with ten others yesterday; police said they will be produced before the Polonnaruwa Magistrate today—CDM. The United National Party had made several attempts to remove her from politics since 1960. Satyagrahas and all types of campaigns were tried to achieve this and the deprivation of civic rights is its last attempt said Mrs. Sirima Bandaranaike at a press conference at her Rosmead Place residence yesterday to explain as she said to "the people and the world at large" her view on this matter—SU. The Ceylon Shipping Corporation has planned to start a cargo service from Sri Lanka to India, but prior to that, a coastal shipping service will be put into operation to transport foodstuffs and other essential goods to the provinces—DP.

WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 15: The Government yesterday decided to declare a State of Emergency throughout the country to head off a bloodbath planned by the Opposition's Sri Lanka Freedom Party of former Prime Minister Sirima Bandaranaike; "it has been brought to the notice of the government that at meetings of the Sri Lanka Freedom Party which have been freely permitted, and presided over by its President, Mrs. Sirima Bandaranaike inflammatory speeches are being made inciting her supporters to shed blood; riot in the streets; come to Colombo on the 16th October with weapons; kill the President and the Prime Minister; raze the Parliament building to the ground; prevent Members of Parliament from attending Parliament on the 16th etc. etc. The speeches may misguide few of her supporters to break the law and harm innocent members of a peaceful community; these speeches have been tape-recorded and the authorities are considering filing action in Court against those who made them; in the meantime, a few persons who have made such inflammatory speeches in contravention of the law, have been produced before Courts and remanded; four persons who were produced before the acting Chief Magistrate of Colombo Mr. A. Mahesan by Inspector Jayasuriya of the CID for allegedly making statements inciting people at various places were all

ordered to be remanded." The United Nations might pick 1982 or 1983 as the International Year for the Homeless, Prime Minister, R. Premadasa said on his return home on Monday night after visits to America and Japan—CDN. The United National Party will hold a series of public meetings to explain to the people the Government's decision to disenfranchise and expel Mrs. Sirima Bandaranaike from Parliament; the first meeting will be held at Nugegoda on October 21 presided over by the President, Mr. J. R. Jayewardene; according to informed sources the UNP will hold public meetings at all places where Mrs. Bandaranaike held meetings recently. Mr. Felix Dias Bandaranaike against whom a motion of civic disability will be moved by the Prime Minister tomorrow, will not be allowed to address Parliament; Mr. Bandaranaike had requested the Speaker that he allowed to address Parliament; according to the Speaker, Mr. Barkeer Markar, the request made by Mr. Bandaranaike cannot be acceded to as there had not been any such precedent—CDM. All liquor sales outlets in the country have been closed for a five day period commencing yesterday; it will apply to liquor sales outlets including wine shops but not to restaurants where liquor is sold to be consumed in the premises; the order will be effective up to October 17—SU. Death sentence will be imposed on persons who attempt to prevent Members of Parliament proceeding to Parliament, obstructing them from doing their duties or attempting to obstructing them from doing their duties; Emergency regulations will be enacted with sufficient provisions for such sentence—DP.

OFFICIAL EXCHANGE RATES

Official Exchange Rates of Commercial Banks to their customers for Telegraphic Transfers fixed on Tuesday this week were as follows:—

CURRENCY	PER 100 UNITS	
	Buying Rate	Selling Rate
U.S. Dollar	Rs. 1719.50	Rs. 1722.50
Sterling Pound	Rs. 4102.00	Rs. 4108.00
Deutsche Mark	Rs. 950.20	Rs. 951.80
French Franc	Rs. 409.65	Rs. 410.35
Japanese Yen	Rs. 8.2275	Rs. 8.2425
Indian Rupees	Rs. 220.80	Rs. 221.20

Charges And Findings

MRS. SIRIMA R. D. BANDARANAIKE

ALLEGATIONS

1. "That you did seek to circumvent and or defeat the purposes of the Land Reform Law No. 1 of 1972 by alienating the shares which were owned by you and your daughter, Miss Chandrika Dias Bandaranaike, in the allotments of land mentioned in annexure A. 2. That you sought to alienate the allotments of agricultural land mentioned in the Annexure A 2 which, at the time of such purported alienation were vested in the Land Reform Commission in terms of the Land Reform Law.

N. 5 (a) Notwithstanding the fact that you had already made declarations to the Commissioner of Inland Revenue for the purpose of Wealth Tax in respect of the allotments of Land mentioned in "A2" for the year 1969-70 and 1970-71 you did after passage and certification of the Land Reform Law. No. 1 of 1972 revise the valuations set out in the declarations in respect of the said lands.

(b) "By the aforementioned act, you did seek to obtain from the Land Reform Commission monetary advantages by way of higher compensation calculated on the basis of such enhanced valuation.

No. 3. "You caused an allotment of land 37 acres in extent from and out of Horagolla Estate to be declared a sanctuary under the Fauna and Flora Protection Ordinance to defeat the purposes of Land Reform Law, No. 1 of 1972 and to enable you and/or the members of your family to continue enjoy the possession of the said allotment of land.

No. 4 "By representing that an allotment of land which was occupied by Mr. G. W. K. de Silva had vested in the Land Reform Commission you did seek the assistance of the Police and the Land Reform Commission to have the said occupant evicted from the said land."

FINDINGS

On the evidence placed before us, we have the only explanation given by the Respondent in the statutory declaration made by her under Section 13 of the Land Reform Law as to why these alienations referred to in Allegation 1 were made within one week prior to the coming of the operation of the Land Reform Law, viz. "transfer was for valuable consideration." In the circumstances this explanation is not sufficient in Law. The supercilious and cavalier manner in which this explanation was given is indicative of the respondent's attitude towards the Land Reform Commission in relation to its query in cage 22.

The Respondent could not have in the circumstances, alienated from Lands by those deeds, P 378 and p 379.

From the fact that she had made a claim for compensation on the basis of the re-valuation made in 1975 and from the fact that she has chosen to justify this inflated claim we cannot resist coming to the conclusion that the motivation for this enhanced claim based on the revised was to obtain undue monetary advantage by way of higher compensation as set out in the Allegation.

On the evidence placed before us, we find that allegations 1, 2 and 5 are established.

However facts do not establish misuse or abuse of power, fraudulent act or corruption contemplated in section 9 of the Special Presidential Commission's of Inquiry Law. Nevertheless, they revealed conduct which is far from proper, considering the high office held by the Respondent at that time. This conduct, in our view, could have obstructed and embarrassed the officials of the Land Reforms Commission in performance of their duties in terms of the provisions of the Land Reforms Law.

The evidence does not establish that the Respondent originated this idea of creating a sanctuary. We think that it is irrelevant whether it was suitable or not for a sanctuary. What she appears to have done was to agree to someone else's suggestion. What she is culpable of is that she permitted the LRC to give her son more land than he should have got, when, as the Prime Minister, she had a moral duty to prevent errant LRC officers from doing that. The charge, however, is not that. We hold that the allegation is not established.

— We find the allegation proved and that she is guilty of abuse and misuse of power.

No. 6 "That even after the conditions precedent for the continuance of a state of emergency had ceased to exist, you did continue to recommend to the President that such conditions did in fact exist and that you did thereby cause the state of emergency to continue until it lapsed on 16th February 1977".

No. 7 "By the aforesaid act you did seek to suppress legitimate political opposition to you and your Government and to harass and interfere with the rights and liberties of your political opponents."

No. 8 "That you did approve of a course of action which resulted in unlawful actions which were calculated to disrupt and prevent the Satyagraha organised by the United National Party at Attanagalla in December 1973.

No. 9 "That you did cause the eviction of (a) the Rev. Meetiyyagoda Gunaratana and (b) the Maha Sangha Peramuna from the premises occupied by them at Baudhaloka Mawatha, Colombo".

No. 10. "Whilst the Criminal Investigation Department had, on the directions of the Inspector-General of Police given on the 9th of April 1976, been conducting investigations into the alleged threat on the life of Mr. J. R. Jayewardene, then Leader of the Opposition, you did on or about 26th April 1976, direct the Inspector-General of Police that no complaint made by a politician should be investigated without your permission."

RECOMMENDATIONS

* We find Allegations 1, 2 and 5 are established but they do not constitute any misuse or abuse of power, corruption or fraudulent act. We find that Allegation 3 is not established.

* We find that Allegations 4, 6, 7 and 8 are established and they constitute misuse or abuse of power. We find that Allegations 9 and 10 are established and they constitute abuse of power. Accordingly, in terms of Section 9 of the Special Presidential Commission of Inquiry Law, No. 7 of 1978, as amended by the Special Presidential Commissions of Inquiry (Special Provisions) Act, No. 4 of 1978, we recommend that the Respondent Mrs. Sirima R. D. Bandaranaike be made subject to civic disability.

MR. FELIX R. DIAS BANDARANAIKE

ALLEGATIONS

No. 1. "You did, directly or indirectly for your use or benefit, hold or enjoy rights or benefits under a contract or contracts with public bodies, to wit:

- (a) The Marketing Department and/or
- (b) The National Milk Board".

— On the material placed before us, we are satisfied that the Respondent abused her powers by approving of a course of action, which resulted in the unlawful acts which were calculated to disrupt and prevent the Satyagraha organised by the UNP at Attanagalla on the 9th of December, 1973.

We find all three Allegations 6, 7 and 8 established and that the Respondent is guilty of abuse or misuse of power.

— On the totality of the evidence, we are indeed satisfied that the Respondent followed up the threat levelled against Rev. Meetiyyagoda Gunaratana and the Maha Sangha Peramuna in her speech in Parliament in November 1970 and caused their eviction from their premises in Baudhaloka Mawatha by Mala Fide use of the Land Acquisition Act.

We find that the Respondent has abused her power and is consequently guilty of Allegation 9.

— By this rule the Respondent was seeking to interfere with the performance of a legal duty by the Police, to enable her to act partially to the detriment of politicians of the opposition. We find this allegation proved and hold it is an abuse of power by the Respondent.

FINDINGS

—We accordingly hold that Allegation 1 has been established and that he is guilty of "corruption" in that he being a member of Parliament and a Minister of State continued to have contracts with the state for his benefit and thereby vitiated his integrity.

MR. FELIX R. DIAS BANDARANAIKE
ALLEGATIONS

No. 2. "You did make a false declaration to the Land Reform Commission on 27.11.72, that you had sold a 3/7th share of Naiwala Farm to your mother-in-law, Mrs. B. W. Jayasundera, on 17.2.72 and received consideration of Rs. 100,000 for the sale by cheque No. B/11-78693 drawn on the Bank of Ceylon, Colpetty."

No. 3. "You did cause (a) the High Commissioner for Sri Lanka in the United Kingdom, and (b) the Ambassador for Sri Lanka in the United States of America to release for the personal use of yourself and/or your wife Foreign Exchange out of funds held for official use."

No. 4. "(a) You did obtain through G. B. Wickremanayake, brother-in-law of your wife, who was Chairman, Oils and Fats Corporation, an enhanced quota of poultry food and credit facilities for the Naiwala Farm, of which you and your wife were shareholders."

(b) You did obtain that same concession mentioned in (a) above, to wit: enhanced quotas and credit facilities for Palm Grove Farm of which your wife was a co-Director with the said Wickremanayake."

No. 5 (a) "You did wrongly vest G. B. Wickremanayake, who was your wife's brother-in-law with the powers of Secretary to the Ministry of Finance whilst a Secretary was already functioning."

(b) By such act you did enable the said G. B. Wickremanayake to exercise control over (i) Customs officers, and (ii) the Gem Corporation whilst he was a gem dealer:

(c) You did appoint the said G. B. Wickremanayake as a Director of the Development Finance Corporation of Ceylon whilst an application for a loan by Three Acre Farms, of which the said G. B. Wickremanayake was a Director, was pending before the said Corporation."

No. 6. "You were concerned in giving information to G. B. Wickremanayake the brother-in-law of your wife about a reduction in the Import Duty in relation to cars in order that undue financial advantage may thereby accrue to Palm Grove Farm of which your wife was a Co-Director along with the said G. B. Wickremanayake."

No. 7. "Did create a post of Additional Legal Draftsman in order to accommodate your brother-in-law O. M. de Alwis".

No. 8. (a) You did on 11.2.77 direct the Director of Public Prosecutions to file indictment by 14.2.77 in the High Court charging G. M. Premachandra, who was the Chief Organiser of the United National Party for the Mawathagama Electorate and the United National Party candidate for Mawathagama with the murder of Hitthamige Abeyratne even though investigations in connection with the death of the said Hitthamige Abeyratne were incomplete.

FINDINGS

In the circumstances, we are satisfied that, though the alienation was calculated to defeat the provisions of the Land Reform Law the declaration made by the Respondent to the Land Reform Commission with regard to the fact of sale of the share of Naiwala Estate was not a false declaration. Accordingly we do not find that this Allegation has been established

1. For the reasons stated above, in our view Allegation 3 is not established.

—We accept the evidence of the Respondent, supported as it is by documents that Mr. Wickremanayake was doing him no favour by giving his farm enhanced quotas of poultry food and credit facilities. In our view, Allegation 4 (a) and (b) have not been established.

—We find that the Respondent has abused his power as Minister of Finance and accordingly Allegation 5 (a) is established.

We are of the view that the Allegation 5 (b) is established and the Respondent guilty of abuse of power.

That matter is the subject of a separate Allegation. Allegation 5 (b) (i) is not established.

—The appointment is highly suspect, but the allegation is not proved beyond doubt and therefore not established.

—We find that Allegation 6 is not established.

—Consequently, we find that this Allegation is not established.

—We find that by directing the D.P.P. to make a decision to indict Mr. Premachandra, the Respondent had pressurised the D.P.P. and thereby interfered with a judicial process. In doing so, he has abused

MR. FELIX R. DIAS BANDARANAIKE
ALLEGATIONS

FINDINGS

(b) You did attempt to secure the detention of G M. Premachandra by—

- (i) directing the Criminal Investigations Department through the D.P.P. to take the said Premachandra into custody whilst he was on bail on an order of the Magistrate's Court of Kurunegala pending the filing of indictment against him.
- (ii) directing the Director of Public Prosecutions to give such direction to the Police as set out above'.

No. 9. You sought—

(a) to vary the rules applicable to categories of offences of which the Criminal Justice Commission took cognizance to prevent N. S. Jabir whom you appointed Special Commissioner of the Beruwela Urban Council being prosecuted for an alleged violation of exchange Control laws;

(b) You did direct the Exchange Control Department to compound violations of Exchange Control laws alleged to have been committed by the said N. S. Jabir whilst proceedings were pending in respect of the said violations before the Criminal Justice Commission."

No. 10. "You did, between 19.6.75, the date of handing in of nominations and 18.7.75, the date of elections to fill a vacancy in the National State Assembly for the Colombo South Electoral District, cause officials in your Ministry and the Police to examine and investigate, contrary to normal practice, an election offence alleged to have been committed by J. R. Jayewardene, the United National Party candidate in order to cause prejudice to his election campaign."

No. 11. "You did, by obtaining the signature of alleged witnesses to affidavits prepared by you or at your instance, seek to procure evidence that Gamini Dissanayake had been guilty of contempt of the Constitutional Court."

No. 12. "You did interfere with the Police and impede the maintenance of law and order during the proposed 'satyagraha' of the United National Party at Attanagalla on 9th of December 1973."

No. 13. "You did advise the President that it was the opinion of a Prison Medical Board that further incarceration of T. N. de S. Wickremasinghe, a person serving a prison sentence upon due conviction by the C.J.C. could endanger his reason when in fact such an opinion had not been expressed by the Board."

No. 14. "You did assist Edmund J. Cooray, a person whose presence was required in connection with violations of Exchange Laws to leave the island'.

his power over the D.P.P. with intent to do harm to a political opponent. We find the Allegation established and the Respondent guilty of abuse of power.

—We are satisfied that Allegation 9(a) and 9(b) are not established.

—In conclusion, we are of the view that this Allegation has been established and that the Respondent has abused his powers as a Minister. We find him guilty of abuse of power.

—In the light of the evidence placed before us, we do not find this allegation established.

—We hold that Allegation 12 is not established.

—However, we are unable to infer that the Respondent has acted "male fide" in this matter. The allegation therefore is not established.

—In view of the fact that the Attorney-General had advanced the Respondent that he had no objection to Mr. Cooray's departure from the island, we hold that the allegation is not established.

MR. FELIX R. DIAS BANDARANAIKE

ALLEGATIONS

No. 15. "You did, when a complaint regarding a threat to the life of the Leader of the Opposition had been made, instruct the Police that no complaint made by a politician should be investigated without the prior sanction of the Prime Minister and did thereby impede such investigations, whilst shortly thereafter you directed the Police to investigate an alleged threat to our own life".

RECOMMENDATIONS

We find the Respondent guilty of corruption in respect of Allegation 1 and of abuse of power in respect of Allegations 5 (a), 5(b) (ii), 8 and 10. Accordingly in terms of Section 9 of the Special Presidential Commissions of Inquiry Law, No. 7 of 1978, as amended by the Special Presidential Commissions of Inquiry (Special Provisions) Act No. 4 of 1978 we recommend that the Respondent, Mr. Felix R. Dias Bandaranaike, be made subject to civic disability.

MINISTRY OF PLAN IMPLEMENTATION

Past Activities And Programme For 1981

In the *Tribune* of August 30, 1980 we published a letter to the Editor critical of the work of the Ministry of Plan Implementation. To put the record straight we publish extracts from the Performance Reports especially from the publication "Past Activities and Programmes for 1981". The Secretary to the Ministry of Plan Implementation, Dr. Wickrema Weerasooriya in presenting this report stated: "This report has been prepared in order to appraise officers of this Ministry and others who are interested, the past, present and future activities of the various Departments/Divisions of this Ministry.....I would welcome any comments and suggestions so that we can improve the service we provide and our performance in the future."

THE MAIN OBJECTIVES of the Ministry of Plan Implementation are as follows: 1. Formulation and appraisal of Plan Implementation strategies; 2. The co-ordination of the implementation programme of Government and Non-Government agencies for the achievement of national objectives; 3. Evaluation of the performance of institutions and enterprises engaged in economic activities; 4. Dissemination of information concerning achievement of plan targets; 5. Regional Development; 6. Administration of the Job Bank Scheme and the Income Support Scheme; 7. Formulation and Imple-

FINDINGS

—Therefore, in this matter we see no abuse of power and therefore the Allegation is not established. We, however, deprecate the rule that the Prime Minister should decide first whether the Police should commence investigations or not when a politician made a complaint. However enlightened and just a Prime Minister may be subjective factors even insidiously impinging on the mind in the decision making cannot be ruled out.

mentation of population policies 8. Food and Nutrition Policy Planning; 9. The development of statistical services in relation to development strategies; 10. Formulation and Implementation of Programme to prevent and reduce environmental pollution.

In pursuit of the above objectives, the Ministry of Plan Implementation undertakes the following functions: 1. Appraisal of Plan Implementation; 2. Monitoring progress of Public and Private Sector Investment Programme; 3. The implementation of national, regional and electoral economic plans; 4. Census of population, agriculture, industry, fisheries and other socio-economic activities; 5. Control and overall supervision of the Department of Census and Statistics; 6. The appraisal and co-ordination of implementation strategy through National Operation Room; 7. Provision of training and consultancy services in respect of techniques relating to Project Implementation; 8. Provision of managerial skills to development Ministries for result-oriented implementation of plans; 9. Co-ordination and implementation of fertilizer distribution in Sri Lanka.

IN ORDER TO CARRY OUT the above functions of the Ministry, several institutions and functions were assigned or continued to be assigned to this Ministry. The following institutions continued to be assigned to the Ministry: (a) The Department of Census and Statistics; (b) The Regional Development Division; (c) The Employment and Manpower Division; (d) The Population Division; (e) Food and Nutrition Policy Planning Division; (f) The National Fertilizer Secretariat; (g) The International Year of the Child Secretariat; (h) The Women's Bureau.

The Ministry's function of monitoring public sector performance is performed mainly by the publication of *Quarterly Reports on Performance* and the maintenance of the National Operations Room. The *National Operation Room* is to be redesigned with modern equipments

such as display units and it is also envisaged that a data bank with the help of a computer will be established in the future. A visit to the National Operations Room has been a regular feature in the itinerary of visiting foreign delegations. One of the important delegations to visit National Operations Room early this year was the Parliamentary delegation from the Netherlands. Officials of several High Commissions have been frequent visitors to the N.O.R. With renovation of the N.O.R., we hope that not only foreign missions but also Ministries and other relevant authorities will make extensive use of the new facilities at the N.O.R.

The practice of publishing the Quarterly Report on Performance within six weeks of the relevant Quarters continues to be vigorously maintained. The document was revised to include information pertaining to the utilisation of foreign aid, Acts of Parliament etc. and in addition comments on the overall performance of the economy with special reference to fiscal and monetary policy measures implemented. The Quarterly Performance Report will completely revised from the 2nd Quarter 1980. It will contain reports from Development Ministries, special reports on the three major programmes of the Government and also some indications of Private Sector Performance. Course, Seminars on Network Analysis, Time Management Production Measurements etc. were conducted during the course of the year. It is envisaged that similar courses and seminars will be held in the future. Ministry was also involved in the preparation and obtaining signatures of the OPEC petition which is to be sent to OPEC. About 3.2 million signatures have been collected. 1.08 million are from school children. While the public was made aware of the impact of increase in oil prices on cost of living the government experts the OPEC to consider the petition favourably.

Two divisions concerned with Agriculture and one each on Industry, Economic Overheads and Social Overheads continue to perform the functions and special studies.

AGRICULTURE SECTORAL DIVISION

Agricultural Development Authority. The Agricultural sector on a request by His Excellency the President is evaluating progress reports submitted by the Agricultural Development Authority. Upto date progress reports have been examined in respect of 23 electorates. Several problems involved in institutional matters, seed supplies, fertilizers, storage, pricing, cropping problems, forests and illicit felling, irrigation infrastructure, servicing deficiencies etc. have been identified.

These matters have been brought to the notice of the Development Secretaries and the respective Secretaries and the Heads of the Departments. The sector has been closely monitoring the ADA programme as this has been a new institution set up to strengthen the agricultural diversification programme in the village and the estate sectors. The reports also give coverage to the Plantation sector and minor export crops as

well and the deficiencies in these also have been highlighted. The sector is also taking action to remedy these deficiencies as far as possible and where problems are chronic or continue to remain unresolved are brought to the notice of His Excellency the President.

Appraisal of the FAO/Sri Lanka joint report on Food Grain Information and Management System. The Agriculture Division with the F.&N.P.P.D. did a study of the Food Grain Information and Management Systems. The findings of this report have been submitted to the National Food Policy Committee. The National Food Policy Committee has requested the Agriculture Division to examine the recommendations made in the report with the assistance of a high powered team. A comprehensive report on the subject has been submitted to the National Food Policy Committee has requested the Agriculture Division to examine the recommendations made in the report with the assistance of a high powered team. A comprehensive report on the subject has been submitted to the National Food Policy Committee.

World Food Programme. The Agriculture Division appointed a steering committee to evaluate the utilisation of food aid under the World Food Programme. This Committee has met twice. On the initiative of the work done by this Division the following areas have been benefited. Youth settlements in 6 Districts were provided aid (Puttalam, 6-youth settlements; Kalutara, 1-youth settlements; Nuwara Eliya, 8-youth settlements; Mannar, 2-youth settlements; Jaffna, 2-youth settlements). Arrangements have also been made to provide food aid to Visvadamu and Mulaitivu youth settlements.

The Division also took action to include food aid assistance to training centres and farms of the National Youth Services Council. Food aid also have been strengthened for Shramadana and minor irrigation work and other works launched by the Ministry of Rural Development.

Subsidiary Food Crops. During the past year 2 reports on subsidiary food crops were tabled by Dr. Mervyn de Silva to the National Food Policy Committee. The reports have highlighted the reasons for reduction in crop acreage, shortfalls in production and other constraints which have prevented the realisation of targets set for this sub-sector, specifically in the Mahaweli Project subsidiary food crops programme. These observations and recommendations are receiving the attention of the National Food Policy Committee. *Irrigation Infrastructure.* Government has decided to complete minor irrigation work under an accelerated programme in 1980-81. A sum of Rs. 30 million have been allocated for this work. The Division has been requested to accord high priority to the monitoring of the programme. This is being done. *National Agriculture Diversification and Settlement Authority.* The Division is taking action with the State Plantation Corporation and the Land Reform Commission to absorb surplus agriculture labour from the National Agricultural Development and Settlement Authority.

It is monitoring the re-forestation programme in the project area coming within the purview of NADSA. *Service Functions.* The Division in addition to the above functions is involved in servicing the Agricultural and Environmental Panels of the Mahaweli Development Board, Mahaweli Development Board, River Valley Development Board, Water Resources Board, Sevanga Sugar Co-ordinating Committee, Agriculture Economic Committee of the ARTI and Fertiliser Secretariat. The Division also services the National Food Policy Committee, along with the Market Assessment and Research Unit. *Loan for Urea Project.* The Division successfully negotiated the cost over-run of Rs. 10 million US dollars as a supplementary loan to the Urea Project with the co-lenders (KFAED, KFW India and Kuwait). *Food Surveillance.* The Division presented a paper at an International Seminar in Manila sponsored by the FAO/UNDP on Food Control needs and means. On the basis of our country report, the Seminar recommended that Sri Lanka should be provided assistance by way of training and consultancy to technical personnel at middle and field levels working on the subject of food control. A project has been formulated and this is being implemented. The TCDC consultation also recommended that Sri Lanka should make out a case for Food Control Infrastructure Development through its UNDP country programme. This has been done.

INDUSTRIES SECTORAL DIVISION. *Principal Activities.* The Industries Division performs the task of monitoring all activities falling within the purview of the Ministry of Industries and Scientific Affairs, Ministry of Textile Industries and the Ministry of Rural Industrial Development. In addition to monitoring progress on all new industrial projects undertaken in the public sector, a study of all existing public sector industrial units with regard to their efficient utilisation of capital assets and increase production were pursued.

As regards the later aspect, at the request of the Chairman, National Paper Corporation, a conference was summoned by Secretary, Ministry of Plan Implementation to discuss the problem of obtaining paddy straw for Embilipitiya Paper Mill. Subsequently Secretary, Ministry of Plan Implementation appointed a committee comprising of representations from the R.V.D.B., National Paper Corporation, State Timber Corporation, and Forest Department to study and make recommendations regarding steps to be taken for the systematic cultivation of Eucalyptus, Pine Kenf etc. with a view to the long term solution of the problem of raw material to Embilipitiya Paper Mill, while the Conservator of Forests functions as the Chairman of this Committee, the Head of the Industries Division of the Ministry functions as the convenor.

The Committee met number of times during this period and a 10 year programme for supply of pulp wood to the Embilipitiya Paper Mill has been conceived. For the year 1980 the pulpwood demand is 45,000 cu. yds. The Forest Department has released 150 acres of Eucalyptus plantations at Pattipola and 500 acre

of Cyprus plantations at Conical Hill to the State Timber Corporation for the 1980 supplies. The Committee continues to meet once a month to review the supply situation.

Special studies on the following: 1 Crimes in Sri Lanka; 2. Preparation of a booklet on 'Career Prospects in Sri Lanka in all three media was done by this division.

Prima Flour Milling Complex. The Ministry continued to act as the implementing agency of the Government for the establishment of the Prima Milling Complex at China Bay. As regards the progress of this Complex, all civil construction work has been completed. Installation of machinery and equipment is also nearing completion. Work on the installation of the unloading tower cranes and the sonar docking system is in progress. The Mill is expected to go into trial production in September 1980. There are at present over 400 persons directly employed at the site by Prima. Once the Mill is in full production; the Mill will provide employment to about 700 persons a permanent basis.

(To Be Continued)

—X— —X—

EAST GERMANY

New Currency Regulations

Berlin October 10

From 13.10.80 by order of the Ministry of Finance of the GDR private visitors to the GDR are required to change the equivalent of a minimum of 25 Mark of the GDR for each day of their stay. For children between 6 and 15 years of age the corresponding amount is fixed at 7.50 mark of the GDR. This regulation applies to all private visitors from non-socialist countries. It is totally unfounded to conclude that by introducing these regulations any attempt whatsoever was made to prevent visits and travelling, especially from the Federal Republic of Germany or West Berlin. The existing agreements on travel and traffic are in no way affected by the stipulations on compulsory minimum exchange. The new regulations have been introduced since the former stipulations regarding minimum exchange requirements fixed in 1974 are no longer in accordance with the present situation. It is well known that after 1974 currencies of non-socialist countries have considerably lost their value.

On the other hand, in the GDR retail prices for all basic consumer goods have remained unchanged also during this period, that means the purchasing power of the GDR-Mark has increased in comparison with currencies of non-socialist countries. Is the sovereign right of each state to allow necessary adjustments either by way of spontaneous market forces or as it is the case in a socialist society, by making necessary arrangements in a planned way.

What is effected by the new regulations is the speculation with currency of the GDR in West Berlin. The GDR Finance Minister pointed to the abnormal situation that in West Berlin 1 Mark of the FRG is changed into 5 Mark of the GDR. This is possible only by violating laws of the GDR because GDR currency is not allowed to be taken to non-socialist countries. By cashing in on illegal actions a citizen of the West Germany or West Berlin had thus been able to get for instance in a restaurant of the GDR a good meal for one West German Mark, where as at home he should have paid for the same amount of at least 16 Marks.

It is the height of hypocrisy when Western News-agencies bemoan the fate of poor old people affected by the measures of the GDR. It is not the fault of the GDR that a meal in a restaurant of their own country costs 16 Mark. After all it is no secret that capitalist inflation mainly hits the poor.

ADN states in this connection: According to the calculations of the Economic Research Institute at the Ministry of Finance of the GDR, the purchasing power of the GDR Mark in comparison with the D-Mark of the Federal Republic of Germany has developed as follows:—

	GDR	FRG
1975	1 Mark	1.09 D-Mark
1976	1 Mark	1.17 "
1977	1 Mark	1.19 "
1978	1 Mark	1.22 "
1979	1 Mark	1.25 "
1980	1 Mark	1.29 "

In the case of tourism and typical tourist expenditure (i.e. traffic visit of restaurants and cultural shows, purchase of typical tourist articles) the purchasing power of the Mark of the GDR is even considerably higher. The relation is as follows:—

- One day tourist visit: 1 Mark (GDR)=2.30 D-Mark (FRG); Seven days tourist visit:—1 Mark (GDR)=1.78 D-Mark (FRG); Visit of relatives in the GDR: 1 Mark (GDR)=1.86 D-Mark (FRG).

—ADN.

(+)

VIETNAM: FOREIGN POLICY

Nguyen Co Thach

—extracts from UN speech—

Mr. President,

.....At present, the aggressive imperialist forces are trying to join international reactionary forces in their attempt to drive mankind into a new arms race, rekindling the cold war and undermining peace and international detente. The expansionists

and hegemonists are trying to sow discord among nations, to push countries into a chaos and to clamour that the Third World war is inevitable..... However, the possibility to push back war and to defend peace now is greater than in the period before the Second World War and the 1950s and 1960s. Gone is the time when imperialism relied on its money and means of war to rule over peoples, especially since the US defeat in the Vietnam war.....

Over the past 35 years, the world people have had the great happiness to live in the longest peaceful years of this century. During this period, however, we Vietnamese people, who joined the allied forces in the fight against facism and militarism in the second World war, have not enjoyed a single day of peace. With their ambition to crush our people's will for independence and freedom, the colonialist and imperialist forces successively imposed the bloodiest and longest colonial wars on the people of Vietnam and the other Indochinese countries. Since 1975, the reactionary rulers of our Northern neighbour have worked hand in glove with imperialism in conducting an all-round hostile policy towards the Socialist Republic of Vietnam, waging a war of aggression against Vietnam, impudently interfering in the internal affairs of the people on the Indochinese Peninsula and now threatening war against our people.

We all remember that in the past, colonialism and imperialism cooked up the story that "Vietnam is an instrument for expansion of China and the Soviet Union, and concocted the Tonking Gulf incident as a pretext for their criminal war of aggression against the Vietnamese people. Today, to disguise their expansionist and aggressive policy, the rulers of the sole Asian country that has nuclear weapons have also claimed that Vietnam is an instrument for Soviet expansion in Southeast Asia. The fact is that over the past 35 years, Southeast Asia has been one of the most unstable areas in the world, the only area where gunfire has never ceased. After World War 2 many Southeast Asian countries quickly became victims of colonialism wars. Then came the US imperialists bloody war in Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea. Also over the past 30 years and more, the rulers of the most populous country, in the world through their overseas citizens and bandit gangs who pass themselves off as the most revolutionary, have interfered in the internal affairs of Southeast Asian countries, provoking protracted civil wars and rebellions, sabotaging the peaceful life of the people in the region and inciting those countries to oppose one another. They have so far lodged territorial claims both on land and on sea with almost all neighbouring countries. With regard to the eastern sea, they have ambitions to turn it into their own lake. They occupied Vietnam's Hoang-sa (Parcels) archipelago in 1974 and are claiming sovereignty over the Truong as archipelago Spratly Islands and have defined their territorial waters in the South China as encompassing the entire whole exclusive economic zones and continental shelves of Vietnam, Malaysia, Indonesia and the Philippines.

After the US defeat in Vietnam, the northern hegemonists on the one hand provoked a military conflict in Vietnam, northern border areas, and also used their henchmen headed by Pol Pot to launch a war against Vietnam from the Southern border, thus invading Vietnam from two sides. At the same time, they seriously threatened the security and independence of Laos. The Kampuchean people's uprising in co-ordination with the Vietnamese people's war of self-defence overthrew the genocidal Pol Pot-Ieng Sary regime, shattering their vicious scheme. Not resigning themselves to their defeat, they continue to threaten war, frenziedly conduct sabotage, and seriously threaten the security, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea. At the same time, they pressed other countries to carry out an embargo against the three Indochinese countries and launched a world-wide slander campaign against them. They hope to dominate the peoples of these countries.

Taking advantage of the special situation of Laos which has a small population and no sea, they have sought to put pressure on this country, threatened intervention, carried out sabotage, instigated reactionary forces in Laos' western neighbour to make slanderous charges against Laos and provoke border conflicts as a pretext for cutting supply routes and carrying out an economic blockade in an attempt to subdue Laos and split it from the other two Indochinese countries. They have rejected all proposals aimed to cease hostilities and restore peace on the Vietnam-China border and to re-establish normal relations between the two countries. They have twice rejected the proposal for holding the third round of Vietnam-China negotiations as they pledged to do in the last six months of 1980. They continually threaten to teach Vietnam a second lesson that constitutes an impudent challenge to an independent and sovereign country. It is an expression of the hegemonist of a big nation which gives itself the right to teach lessons to other countries just as the US assumes the role of international gendarme and considers any area in the world as vital to its security interests.

It is well known that over the past 35 years, the peoples of the three Indochinese countries have endured great sacrifices in fighting for their independence against bloody aggression by the colonialisms, imperialists and expansionists. However, to cover their criminal activities, the aggressors have always hidden behind the signboards of opposing aggression defending the right to self-determination and defending human rights to oppose the three Indochinese peoples. At present, they do not hesitate to openly support the genocidal Pol Pot gang the bloodiest violators of human rights in this century—and work against Kampuchean people and other Indochinese peoples as they have supported the South African racists the Chilean fascists and the Israeli aggressors while claiming themselves to be in the forefront of the defence of human rights in the world. Looking back on the situation in Southeast Asia over the past 35 years, we can clearly see

that the lack of peace and security in this region stems from the policy of aggression and intervention of the imperialist force and hegemonism of a country which considers itself the centre of the world. On the other hand, the Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchean peoples and the people of other countries in Southeast Asia are the victims. By their persevering struggle which defeated new and old forms of colonialism and expansionism, the Vietnamese, Lao and Kampuchean peoples have defended their national independence, and at the same time, made a contribution to the defence of peace, stability in Southeast Asia and the rest of the world.

After their repeated failures in trying to revive the genocidal Pol Pot regime in Kampuchea, the international reactionary forces now nurture the illusion of reversing the Kampuchean situation. They are working hand in glove with the imperialists, using a number of reactionary elements in a neighbouring country of Kampuchea to help Pol Pot remnants and other Khmer reactionaries to oppose the Kampuchean people and create an extremely tense situation along the Kampuchean-Thai border to obscure their criminal scheme. They have whipped up a new anti-Vietnam campaign. For a long time, Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea have been subjected to policies of aggression and annexation by western imperialist countries and northern expansionist forces to implement their plans, the aggression have always regarded the three Indo-chinese countries as one battlefield and have tried to sow discord between the peoples of the three countries and incite national enmities to make these countries fight each other to defend their independence and freedom, the Vietnam Laos and Kampuchean peoples have closely united with one another and with the countries fighting against their common enemies. This militant solidarity has been of decisive significance to the interests of each nation.

In that spirit, the Vietnam people's army has three times joined the fraternal Laos and Kampuchean people in the struggle to defend the independence of each country, in the struggle against colonialism, in the anti-US resistance war, and today, in the struggle against the northern hegemonists, Vietnamese troops, respecting the national rights of Laos and Kampuchea, withdrew from those countries twice after the resistance wars against the French colonialists and the US. At present, the presence of Vietnam armed forces in Laos and Kampuchea is in accordance with the Vietnam-Laos and Vietnam-Kampuchea treaties of peace, friendship and co-operation. The purpose of this presence is to defend the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity and the peaceful labour of the peoples of each country. The presence of Vietnamese troops in Kampuchea and Laos does not threaten anybody. Over the past 35 years, while fighting together with the Laos and Kampuchean peoples, the Vietnamese armed forces have never gone beyond the borders of the three Indochinese countries.

(To Be Continued)

Peace Memorandum

Moscow,

The Soviet Union has submitted to the session of the United Nations general assembly the memorandum "For Peace and Disarmament, for Guarantees of International Security". It contains a review of the USSR's proposals concerning questions of stopping the arms race and outlines the Soviet Union's views on how to increase the effectiveness of actions in this direction. "In the present conditions", the document notes, "there does not exist a reasonable alternative to the policy of detente. The question is posed only thus: will the world take to the road of renunciation of the use of force, the road of disarmament and equal mutually advantageous co-operation or will it be plunged into the abyss of unbridled arms race and escalation of armed conflicts fraught with the most serious consequences for mankind." The memorandum recalls that in 1978 Warsaw Treaty countries proposed a termination of the production of all types of nuclear weapons and a gradual reduction of their accumulated stockpiles up to and including their total liquidation. But certain forces, the document notes, are avoiding a business like study of this problem. The United States and Britain are also procrastinating talks on the Soviet proposal on the general and complete prohibition of nuclear weapon tests.

The section of the memorandum devoted to the limitation and reduction of strategic arms says that the ending of the further growth of this type of arms and their subsequent reduction is of "decisive importance for lessening the danger of nuclear war". The document stresses the "serious damage" that will be "inflicted to the cause of peace and further efforts to avert nuclear war if the introduction into force of the SALT-2 treaty is frustrated" by the United States. The memorandum recalls the Soviet proposals directed at strengthening the regime of nuclear non-proliferation and stresses the impermissibility of any digressions from the international treaty on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons.

The big package of Soviet proposals is connected with the prohibition of other means of mass annihilation and first of all neutron weapons. Confirming its stand that it will not commence the production of neutron weapons provided that the USA or some other state act likewise, the USSR declares that "the best solution would be to ban neutron weapons on a treaty basis and on an international scale." The Soviet Union reminded of its proposal to convene a conference on military detente and disarmament in Europe, characterising this as an "important and very promising undertaking".

"In connection with NATO's dangerous actions directed at undermining military equilibrium in Europe", the memorandum says further, "considerable acuteness

has been acquired lately by the question of nuclear weapons in that area". The document recalls that recently the USSR proposed to discuss simultaneously and in organic connection questions concerning both medium-range nuclear-missile weapons in Europe and American forward based weapons. "This constructive step by the Soviet side has given new hope to the peoples interested in avoiding a further aggravation of military tension in the European continent. In this question, too, it is up to the United States to respond". The memorandum stresses the urgency of measures to lessen military tension in the Mediterranean and Indian Ocean areas. The document also reminds of the Soviet proposals connected with the strengthening of the political and international law guarantees of the security of states; the strengthening of the regime of nuclear non-proliferation the prohibition of bacteriological, chemical and toxin weapons, and many other Soviet initiatives.

The USSR has confirmed that it is prepared at any moment to enter into talks with other states possessing a big economic and military potential, including with permanent members of the security council, on the question of reducing the military budget. The USSR "is also prepared to reach agreement on the size of the sum that will be allocated for increasing economic aid to developing countries by each state that will reduce its military budget." The Soviet Union appeals in the memorandum to all states "to cast aside all transient considerations and estimates, be they of an internal or external nature, to renounce attempts to attain military-strategic superiority, to renounce striving for hegemony on a global or regional scale, to realise that it is in the vital interests of all peoples to remove the threat of nuclear catastrophe and ensure a peaceful future".

—APN

SOVIET VIEW

Iraq-Iran War

by Yuri Gluckov

Moscow,

Washington has announced the deliveries of new consignments of military equipment to Saudi Arabia. They include ground based radar installations and communication media. This will be followed by the arrival of hundreds of US military specialists to Saudi Arabia. Shortly before that four AWACs (early-warning and control aeroplanes) were supplied to Saudi Arabia by the USA. The Pentagon is actually taking careful electronic aim at the entire Persian Gulf area. The system of total espionage is bound to provide the necessary information for the powerful US military force which is now being concentrated in the northern part of the Indian Ocean. The US Defence Secretary, Harold Brown, has admitted that this armada exceeds the aggregate military force of all the countries of the area.

The network of the US naval bases in the Indian Ocean has been put on mobilisation readiness. Washington has also been stubbornly pushing through the idea of setting up "international naval force" with the participation of its confederants in the blocs. Great Britain, specifically, has already sent the missile carrying destroyer Coventry to the Gulf of Oman.

The conflict between Iran-Iraq is being used as a pretext for the unprecedented military preparations. Hysteria is being artificially fanned around the "catastrophic" danger of the discontinuation of oil supplies from the Persian Gulf area. But this is an orchestrated campaign: there is an uninterrupted passage of tankers through the Strait of Ormuz. Iran and Iraq have stated their willingness to guarantee the oil supply lines. In the view of the top executives of the American Oil companies, even interruptions in oil supplies would not directly affect the USA itself.

Doesn't it show there is no justification whatsoever for the buildup of US military power in the Persian Gulf zone? This area, like any other region of the world, is the sphere of vital interests of the states lying there. So no one has the right to meddle in their affairs and to act as their protector or a self-styled "guard of honour".

The dangerous intrigues and the militarist machinations in connection with the Iranian-Iraqi conflict serve the hegemonistic aims of American imperialism. They are directed at weakening the warring countries and at using them to serve the US interests, at restoring the American domination in Iran, and at undermining the Arab unity. All this testifies once again to the necessity of an early political settlement of the conflict through the efforts of the two countries involved in it, without any imperialist interference.

(Pravda—APN)

PAKISTAN—ISLAMIC SPOKESMAN

Zia-Ul-Haq

—Extracts From Speech At UN On
October 1, 1980—

Mr. President,

Today the World of Islam is on the threshold of the 15th century of its glorious and eventful history. Another 40 days will usher in the beginning of a new Islamic century. The Muslims all over the World will be celebrating the fourteen hundredth anniversary of a unique event, which was chosen by the Second Caliph of Islam, Hazrat Umar Ibn al-Khattab, (may God be pleased with him) as the beginning of the Islamic Hijra calendar. The Hijra calendar commemorates neither the Prophet's birthday, nor the time when the message of God was first revealed to him. It com-

memorates an event which was to become a turning-point in the evolution of Islam. That event was the Hijra, or the departure of Prophet Mohammad (peace be upon him) with a small group of devoted followers from his place of birth—Mecca—for the city over four hundred kilometers away—the city of Medina. The departure to Medina was chosen as the starting point of the Islamic calendar, because it marked the founding of the Islamic polity....: ..

Thus, the founding of the first Islamic State in Medina represented, on the one hand, the rejection of the suffocating environment of bigotry, intolerance, tyranny, oppression and moral turpitude, and, on the other hand, the determination of the new-born Islamic community to promote understanding, tolerance, brotherhood, and freedom as imperatives of State policy. From now on the world was to witness, emanating in succession from Medina, developments of monumental significance in the history of mankind.

IT IS A GREAT HONOUR for me and my country that I have been given the opportunity to address the Thirty-fifth Session of the United Nations General Assembly, on behalf of 900 million fellow-Muslims in commemoration of such an epoch-making event in human history. I do so with deep humanity in response to the mandate conferred upon me by the Eleventh Islamic Conference of Foreign Ministers which Pakistan was privileged to host last May.....

Speaking as a humble believer, I am particularly conscious of the Islamic injunction to rise above race, colour and creed and to perceive fellow human beings in terms of universal brotherhood. Islam, by its very definition, is a religion of peace and submission to the Divine Will. It demands of its followers to strive, individually as well as collectively, for the creation of a human society based on justice and equality.....The inter-communal peace and harmony, prevailing during the period of more than a thousand years of Islamic ascendancy, stands in sharp contrast with the present-day racial arrogance, discrimination and persecution which are practised in certain parts of the globe.....

The Islamic message of universal brotherhood, peace and equity is of eternal value, and is more than ever relevant to the conditions prevailing in today's world. Ever since the birth of this world, man has had his share of conflicts and difficulties. The confrontation of civilizations and faiths in the past, did not lead to annihilation of the human race because, mercifully, the means of mass destruction were limited. Today, we have stepped into an age wherein humanity has, at its disposal, the means of destroying itself several times over. The World can no longer afford the luxury of confrontation and wars. Mankind needs peace. Let us all try to achieve peace within, and peace without.

There is yet another form of confrontation, besides the nuclear arms race, that threatens human survival. It is the confrontation between Man's selfishness and Nature. His insatiable pursuit of material comforts has led him to reckless destruction of the natural environment. The ecological crisis faced by

our planet today, particularly by the highly industrialised nations, has reached such alarming proportions that the questions must be asked: Has not man burnt his fingers in the fire which he himself kindled? Has he not lost his sense of proportion in his earthly scheme of priorities? Does he not understand that this world is not his personal property, but a trust from the Almighty Who created it?.....

THE GREAT ISLAMIC COMMUNITY today straddles a broad geographical belt from Indonesia in the East to Senegal in the West. Living in different climes, and under different customs and political systems, speaking different languages and dialects, Muslims all over the world retain an abiding sense of Islamic affinity. It is this unity in diversity which is the hallmark of the Muslim Ummah, or the Commonwealth of Muslim Nations. The Islamic Conference, of which I have the honour to be the current Chairman, constitutes a concrete manifestation of the urge of the Muslim Ummah to re-establish its historic role as a factor for peace and progress, and to re-assess the over-riding unity of the Muslim peoples scattered over the globe.

As we stand at the threshold of the 15th Century of Hijra, we can look with pride to the fact that the Islamic countries have regained their political independence, and are working closely to obtain their rightful place in the world. Their desire for unity is manifested in the 42-member Islamic Conference, which has come to acquire an eminent place among international organisations, and whose decisions are assuming ever-increasing importance in the international community.

The spread of Islam led to a creative encounter between the first Islamic people of Arabia and the major cultures of Persia, Greece, Egypt and India, resulting in an unprecedented flowering of the human genius. This great speech of creative activity, that began in the second century Hijra, lasted several hundred years. Both in the heartland of Islam, represented by the great traditions of the Caliphs, and in the no less glorious Islamic cultures, which developed in far off places such as Spain, India, Central Asia, Asia Minor, Africa, and South East Asia, the triumphant spirit of Man, emancipated and enriched by Islam, manifested itself in remarkable advances in arts and sciences. This was the era in which were laid the foundations of modern learning and knowledge.....

The Islamic world was instrumental not only in generating the first intellectual stirrings, which prepared the ground for the European Renaissance, but also in acting as a bulwark for the defence of Western civilization against the Mongol hordes, that descended like an elemental force of nature. But for the Islamic world, which bore the brunt of the Mongol onslaught, Europe would have been overwhelmed in the seventh century Hijra, that is, the thirteenth century A.D. It is, indeed, a tragic irony of fate that those very people who were thus saved by the Muslims, turned round to occupy and pillage Muslim lands, and convert them into their price colonies.

While this unhappy period in Islamic history is undoubtedly behind us, its evil consequences remain to be eradicated. Political independence regained by Muslim countries has not loosened the tenacious grip of economic exploitation, which goes hand in hand with colonialism. Continued dependence on the industrially developed world has aggravated their plight. Their crucial strategic location has generated intolerable pressures from powers seeking hegemony and coveting their vital natural resources.

The feeling of insecurity across much of the globe today is attributable to the continuing tendency to use force and pressure for the control and exploitation of scarce resources. The distress caused by this phenomenon is writ large on the faces of both the exploited and the exploiter. What will this lead us to? The Holy Quran warns mankind against it thus: "To him who is covetous and bent on riches.....to him will the path of distress be made easy." (92: 8-10)

(To Be Continued)

LETTERS

The Sad Plight Of Rupee Company Shareholders

Sir,

Did Mr. Wijaya Indra really believe that the public (rupee) company shareholders would get their compensation? Hope springs eternal.

No, Sir, there is a much better chance of reducing the cost of living index. In fact, why doesn't Mr. Indra start a Ladboke type betting programme offering odds on compensation being paid by 1990, 200 or not at all— couple this with the permutation chances of the shareholders being dead or alive and the picture conjures up a most interesting mathematical exercise in odds.

My advice to Mr. Wijaya Indra and other shareholders: Tear up your share certificates. The Government hierarchy has got personal and political priorities—the problem falls into neither category.

Colombo.
7.10.80

Realist.

Rupee Company Shareholders

Sir,

I have read with deep interest the article contributed by Mr. Wijaya Indra, who has been for a long time a Company shareholder and has been in the forefront of fighting the Directors of Rupee Companies be they white or black.

I am also a shareholder in Tea and Rubber Companies which were nationalised in October 1975 and like the late Dr. Joachim about to enter eternity

without compensation from the Government for these shares. I have addressed several letters to His Excellency the President and in particular when he was Leader of the Opposition—up to date have not received one cent as compensation in respect of these shares.

Every year the Companies bring out their balance sheets with the payment to the Agency Houses Auditors and Directors. Thus reducing the capital of the shareholders. When will something be done? God provide the answer or will it be like Sales & Finance Ltd.?

S. A. Scharenguivel

189/1 Allan Avenue
Dehiwala.
6th October 1980

X X X

Jayantha Somasundaram

Sir

It has been more than a little interesting to peruse the recent articles of Mr. Jayantha Somasundaram—"Anatomy of a Strike" on page 25 of *Tribune* of 6.9.80 and "Only for Short Time" on page 16 *Tribune* of 27.9.80. It is indeed interesting to learn that "Sri Lanka's organised working class has an instinctive distrust of J. R. Jayewardene", that the "Jayewardene Raj" has "embarked on a policy that led to hyper inflation" and that the Government policy accords "with the wishes of their Western Masters and their pro-Israeli Foreign Policy".

If my memory is correct, in a country with over 4 million people at work, the U.N.P. created Parliamentary history in having won 5/6th of the seats in the 1977 General Election, and again created history in the 3rd year of their Government when they won a seat at a bye-election which had been won in '77 by the S.L.F.P. If I remember correctly, the so called Left parties were wiped out at the General Election in 1977—by the free, and secret, voting of the people in a country which had enjoyed Universal Adult Franchise then for over 45 years. Could it possibly be that Sri Lanka's working class did not appear in 1977, or since then, to have much confidence in any of the so called Left parties? How else is it that in spite of all the propaganda carefully crafted by totalitarians perhaps with "fraternal" assistance from abroad, yet hardly any worker in the harbour, water & drainage, electricity, passenger transport, State Corporations, etc. could be persuaded to strike even for a day?

THE STORIES of 'pleasing Western masters' have been part of the paraphernalia of Marxist propaganda—rather like "the revolution" which, since the mid-30's has been coming in "the capitalist countries" for years. Yet, the facts are that a UNP Government signed the Rubber—Rice Pact with China nearly 30 years ago, and it was an S.L.F.P. Government which first sought "Aid" from the West in, I believe, 1956/7. (The U.N.P. had declined such offers prior to 1956—for Gal Oya). That Communist Russia proved to be

the most formidable tyranny of all time is now fairly well realised by many, as indeed also the Soviet inspired repressions in their satellites of Europe.

Now, we are told the present Government has a "pro Israeli foreign policy"! Evidently the Arabian Nations do not think so; else we may have experienced difficulties in securing adequate quantities of Crude from the Gulf. As a direct result of the policies, so objectionable to Mr. Somasundaram, followed in the last 3 years, there has been a significant increase in employment, a much greater degree of socio-economic activity and construction, and significant increases in production since mid 1977. Consequently, Sri Lanka is consuming more Crude Oil than ever before. For, industrial production, fishing, Cement, Ceramics, Steel & Hardware production, more trains, buses & lorries, etc.—all, —need more oil—more energy; we are also earning much more by exporting (more) Refined products. Sri Lanka is also actively studying the development of other energy resources, and the more efficient use of conventional forms.

"The Government's only response in the last three years" we are told "has been to offer wage increases of a compensatory nature. These wage increases have only resulted in further fuelling on inflation". Evidently, the Government is wrong to have granted 'compensatory wage increases'! Has Mr. Somasundaram not heard of, or seen, the thousands of new houses and housing units built and under construction, or the constructions under way in the Accelerated Mahaweli Scheme areas, or is he unaware that 9000 people are at work already in the F.T.Z.—I.P.Z. and that 24 Factories there have already exported products, for instance?

ONE OF THE MOST TELLING COMMENTS on the General Strike that wasn't was in the *Tribune*—(Editor's Notebook)—of 6.9.80. In that article, the Editor observed that "The bulk of those who did not attend work on July 18 were white collar workers mainly from the G.C.S.U.....THE GENERAL STRIKE that never really got off the ground is no longer on the cards—at least for a long time to come". So, further responses are scarcely needed. Everyone is well aware of the serious problem of inflation. Some may be unaware that among those adversely affected are lowly paid White Collar workers in the Metropolitan area and "Junior Executives" who do not qualify for overtime. One way for a mitigation of these issues is a more rational—and fair—apportionment of economic rewards, and for an increase in productivity.

Even in the Iron Curtain countries, the 19th Century theories of an atheistic German, who had to seek the sanctuary then of London, do not seem to be popular. In Sri Lanka, at every General Election for nearly 50 years the so called Left "Comrades" have performed poorly; they have succeeded in obtaining a diminishing proportion of the votes. It is unlikely after the stagnation, and repressions, of 1970-77 that our voters will readily change their minds at free elections and vote for parties, which are totalitarian, and,

in spite of their violent thoughts and actions by proxy, are, nevertheless, also most antagonistic towards each other.

Phoenix

Colombo.
October 14, 1980

x x x

GRAMA SASTRA—26

—Scribblings On Uva Villages

“... Death To The MNC' Pest...”

by Gamiya

*“Aiy yakko umba Gramokrone demme nedde?
Dapan bung, dala kumbura vinasakaraganin”*

Such slogans will never be dished out by the media. One of the most prestigious of German reviews gave in 1977 January, the story of how a shipment of DDT was sent to Holland because USA scientists discovered that DDT was bad for man and that it had dangerously entered food levels in world consumption. When the daring Dutch had used about half, the translations of the meetings and sessions came through, and that country thought it might be good to try the balance of that shipment in Indonesia.

In fact, in our own country, farmers are getting wiser. But can do nothing about the pesticide scourge. They now know (The Buddha always hit hard against *avijja*, ignorance, and praised *avabodhaya*, awareness and *panna*, wisdom) the manipulation and the persuasive power of money that is behind the advertising repeatedly and senselessly done on the Ruhuna channel. CDN and other newspaper articles speak of the tragedy of pesticides and the capitalist scourge of the radio keeps on saying the contrary. Do they think our farmers are fools. They are keeping all this for the day of reckoning. “*Api minissu nemeide?*” is their query.

On an Occampitiya bus, a farmer eagerly explain ing it all said: “*Ane buddhu mahattayo, mama me es dekata dekka, me pohora dala atha ganna kota, puruk panuwa ethenin negga*”.....revered mahattaya, I saw with my own eyes, the borer-worm(?) arising from the very place of the fertilizer”. Why can't these foreign greedy companies let our people live? Why did the seven slogans say in the Etimole Co-operative of not so long ago: “Get your loan today and don't be poor, use the pesticide and fertilizer”.

Then came five posters giving all kinds of “musts”you must buy weedicide, must buy pesticide etc. and the last one to capitalize on all the rest: “No loans for those who have not paid their former debts.” The farmer is getting impoverished. He stores up tiles in his garden. They dry up and alternately get wet for years. He stores up timber of old, stores up “*moda gadol*”. He does not know why he is getting poor

many now know. Sinhala papers rarely speak of the tragedy of ‘pohora’ and how foreign firms purposely impoverish farmers from north to south, from east to west in this country.

I met two farmers in Imbulpe, Kalupahana. The one had used no “darned foreign muck (*jahajarawa*) in his paddy field”. The other, his younger brother had used all the while, “more poundage for less and less of a square footage”. With a mild boast the *aiya* said: “*Mama edath adath, deiyange Buddhunge pihiten, panahai, panahai, bussal akkareta. Malli, 30, 60, 80, ita passe, 50, 25, 20. Den vissai, visai, meda para vissatath adui*” (“Then as well as now, I got and am getting 50 to the acre. My younger brother had 30, then 60, then 80 bushels, and now 50, 25, 20. He cannot shift from there. This year, (it was 1978) it is twenty”. He then described what he had been using all along and how he was happy to use it all. It is local, inexpensive and “I don't want to be ‘*vahalek*’”.....he did not want to be a slave to foreign companies (which were formed with the exclusive purpose of sucking dry the people of the Third world). Tell the Truth, now.



ACTC VIEW—3

Why Did The TULF Capitulate?

by G. G. Ponnambalam Jnr.

This is the concluding part of the paper.

VILLAGE LEVEL PRIORITIES must be taken into account at a lower level than the district level. It is said that the whole district would hereafter participate in the election some of those who would serve in the Council. Surely this was so when the people in a District elected their Town and Village Council members of that District. So this is nothing new. If the Development Councils are intended to cover whole districts, one cannot understand why the Government has permitted other local bodies like Municipal and Urban Councils within each District to exist side by side, with Development Councils and also allow duties and functions to overlap.

How would these Development Councils affect the Tamil speaking people?

Education is one of the subjects left to the Council. At the most, there will be about four or five Councils covering the Tamil speaking areas. What will happen to the Tamil schools in the other 19 or 20 Districts? There is a likelihood of those schools being closed for political reasons. Again, because the medium of instruction could be in anyone of the national languages, Tamil speaking persons in those other districts will think it worth their while to have their children study in the Sinhala medium in order to obtain jobs more easily, thus further affecting the existence of Tamil

schools adversely. This would result in those 19 or 20 Councils readily closing these Tamil schools.

Are the people of each district to be employed in that district only? If this is so, the 60% of Tamil speaking people living outside the North and East are going to be gravely affected by these Councils. They will lose their jobs and will be displaced as well.

One of the more important factors that is conducive to economic development is effective means of communication. Communication is a subject that does not come within the purview of these Councils. How could Councils open up new areas for agriculture, animal husbandry, irrigation works, and rural development without first having roads, let alone rail-ways? Social Service is a subject of importance specially in certain areas or even in all areas. This Act does not make provision for this subject to be left to the Development Councils. Again, electricity is a subject that vitally concerns the people in these areas where there are frequent power failures and where the voltage changes so often, that it leads to other problems. If this subject is left to the Councils, those areas afflicted by the inadequacy of electrical supply will do something to rectify matters. Water supply is again an important subject that has not been left to the Development Councils. Water supply is a problem in very many rural areas.

WHAT IS THE LANGUAGE OF COMMUNICATION between these different Councils? What is the going to be the language of communication between, say, the Jaffna Development Council on the one hand, and the President, the Minister of Local Government, any 'Appropriate Minister', and the Minister of Finance, on the other hand? This Act does not answer this question. In what language would the proceedings of the Councils be if such Councils have members of more than one racial group? No two or more Councils can join hands in order to develop some scheme which will be of common benefit to them all, and which could lead to greater economy of expenditure. This is explicit in Section 17. Each Council, therefore, will have to be very parochial and work with blinkers. In this respect it would be better to have the present set up, where the Government will be able to undertake some meaningful development of a major project covering a number of districts. To make matters worse, the Councils are further curbed in their activities by the existence of the Municipal and Urban Councils, and the duties and functions assigned to them, as is shown by Section 17.

It is argued that these Councils will enable the Tamil speaking people to safeguard their traditional homeland from further erosion. Nowhere in the Act is there provision regarding colonization. If the TULF is referring to one of the subjects in the First Schedule, namely, land use and land settlement, surely does not this also depend on the 'Appropriate Minister'?

Will each Council be given the same amount of money by the Government? If the Councils in the Tamil Speaking areas receives step motherly treatment, to whom could they turn to? Whether the TULF will vote with the Government on the budget will perhaps depend on largely on this matter.

It must not be forgotten that the Regional Councils Bill, 1957, and the District Councils White Paper, 1968, were both attempts at a political solution, to the ethnic problem, whilst this Development Councils Act puts forward only a scheme for economic development of the various districts. If any one were to say that the Development Councils Act gives more power to the Tamil speaking people or that it, in effect, achieves the purposes of the Regional Councils Bill or the District Councils Bill, that would be the height of dishonesty.

AS THIS ACT PUTS FORWARD a scheme that is in conformity with the unitary character of the Republic and for the economic development of the island as a whole, the TULF, which is irrevocably committed to the establishment of a separate State, can have nothing to do with this Act.

More so because, during the last General Election and the Local Bodies Election they cried from roof tops that they were not in the least interested even in the economic development of the Tamil speaking areas before achieving the separate State, and further that any meaningful development of these areas can only be achieved after Tamil Eelam is established. This high faluted stand was taken as an answer to the All Ceylon Tamil Congress. Why then this early and complete capitulation? The only reason that could be given is that the TULF wants the present parliamentary hegemony perpetuated even in these Councils.

It must be remembered that the 'elected members' will have to be less than the number of parliamentarians of that District (Section 2(1) (c)). The significance of this reasoning assume some proportion when it is realised that the only two political parties that have supported this legislation are the U.N.P. and the TULF, the only two parties that stand to gain at the Development Councils Elections! Could one say that packing the Councils with 'ex officio members' like the Members of Parliament is democratic? No doubt even these members were elected by the people at some stage. But why did not the framers of this legislation give a chance for a completely new set of people to be elected to these Councils? What is the rationale in making the Members of Parliament members of these Councils? The argument that the Members of parliament will have wiser interest than the 'elected members' who would necessarily have only provincial interest does not hold water, because it was not very long ago that these Members of Parliament were also elected by the very same people who will now elect the 'elected members' envisaged by this Act.

WHAT THEN IS THE POSITIVE ASPECT of this Act? If nothing else, the Development Councils Act has achieved two things. That is, that the TULF (which is today nothing but the Federal Party) has appreciated and accepted, at long last, at least in principle the stand of the All Ceylon Tamil Congress over the course of the last three decades that emphasis must be placed first on the immediate economic upliftment of the Tamil speaking people and the advancement of their areas.

The TULF support for the purposes of this legislation has been a complete and total vindication of our stand. It is a rule that realisation dawns on them rather late! This Act have also brought the U.N.P. and the T.U.L.F. together, emphasised further by TULF withdrawal from the five party front against the Government on the strike issue for a reason that only someone intellectually crooked will claim to be valid.

Henceforth there will be no references from the TULF quarters that the All Ceylon Tamil Congress is an agent of the UNP or that it is part and parcel of the UNP. I was always of the view that the TULF was only recognizing itself in others. My opinion has been confirmed today even to the point of being accepted by a large majority of their own supporters. Now stand by for the day when, six months before the General Elections, the TULF will say that they have been 'played out by the Government' and break with the UNP in order to face the hustings.

The All Ceylon Tamil Congress is a party that has always been committed to the political and economic emancipation of its people. As such, we as a party, more than anybody else, will be only too quick to grasp any measure that will lead to greater and a better economic position of the people and their areas. But will the Development Councils, as constituted under this Act, lead to a better economic standing of the Tamil speaking people? The foregoing analysis will show that the Councils will be so stultified by constraints, lacking in initiative, so dependent on certain Ministers in the Cabinet, and watched over menacingly by the President, that they can never do justice to the purposes for which they will be established.

Concluded

X X X

FILM FOCUS

G.F.U. Tribute To Sir John

Hardly had the reverberation of the 21 gun salute and the final notes of the bugles strains of the last push in honour of one of our most forthright Prime Ministers, the Rt. Honourable General Sir John Lionel Kotelawela, rippled away, the Government Film Unit placed on our cinema screens, a salute in celluloid, to the colourful personality, who once held the reins of high office with a rare candour, shorn of hypocrisy. I was almost in disbelief when I viewed this filmlet at the Liberty Cinema within hours of his cremation.

An impressive view of the Kandawala mansion, with the laird at absolute peace in his ancestral surroundings, clad in sarong and banian, feeding his dumb pets, receiving his friends and callers warmly, gave way to shots of his younger years, as a disciplined soldier and blunt politician, who brooked no caste, colour or racial bias, during his tenure of office. These were gleaned by the camera from his album, to span a period of time, he ungrudgingly gave to the motherland. A chit chat with an acquaintance on the spacious lawn, brought out his once stentorian voice, now feeble by age but yet adorned with the characteristic chuckle and humour in reminiscence of his straight verbal deliveries on the field and off.

All in all this short presentation in quick time does credit to the G.F.U., which this columns hands out a well deserved bouquet on its more than a wreath-worthy tribute to a legend of our times.

HEWANELI EDA MINISSU (Sinhalese): This film in my opinion has pitched its tent rather high, for it has been screened at the Mannheim International Festival 1980 in quest of recognition which may or may not come its way. Directed and photographed by Parakrama de Silva, the film courses an abstract path, where the younger generation in a family, meet at the crossroads of life's journey and fall by the wayside due to a lack of rapport and understanding, that follows them and recedes at crisis points, like a haunting shadow. Actor Dharmasiri Bandaranaike, fresh from his triumph in the award winner "Palangetiyo" taken on a role where he is never at ease, or peace with himself, maintaining a painful and furrowed expression right along, which proves agonising to the audience as well.

Like a dew-drop, breaks in Vasanthi Chaturani into his life as an understanding sister-in-law, but this relationship is short lived by the untimely death of her husband—this tragic separation coming in good time! "Where has all the love gone" and the "greatest kindness one can offer each other is 'Truth'....." are fleeting lines that pass by, in the run of the story, to reveal what the Director has had in mind and which message however is not transmitted well. Yet one has to stretch one's mind to touch even the bare fringe of the film's emotional heights that prove visually elusive all the way. Frankly speaking, the whole cinematic exercise, left me with a pain in the neck!

THE WILBY CONSPIRACY (English): In this United Artists Production, two delightful actors in Sidney Poitier and Michael Caine join hands to clear the colour bar curse that has separated South Africa from all civilized nations of our times. On the run from the fierce fury of apartheid rule, they are on a long rope throughout, followed at a respectable distance by the cunningly "herrenvolk" saturated lawman, to get a lead to Wilby, the leader of the Black resurgence, running underground. The dialogue was both breezy and racy, with the Poitier-Caine combination in a cat and mouse game with the Police Chief, convincingly roled by Nicol Williamson. Holding the spotlight rather voluptuously was Indian actress Persis Khambatta,

who had drifted away from Hindi films to feature in 'Femme Fatale' roles with success in the West—her latest film being "Star Trek", a major Hollywood release.

There are glimpses of the Indian community's commercial grip on Johannesburg as the chase is on. These immigrants appeared impervious to the black-white struggle that was raging in their midst. The photography is excellent, particularly under the Kenyan skies, both at dawn and dusk, and the grim message that the story unwrapped, spoke volumes of the birth pangs of freedom in one of the last bastions of white supremacy. It was an excellent film all the way from Cape Town to the borders of Botswana, and worth a visit in fair weather or foul. Get into the thick of this "conspiracy" and you will emerge wiser by the experience of man's inhumanity to man.

VANDIKARAN MAGAN (Tamil): Directed by Amirtham in colour photography that animates, this film packs a story that surfaces the double life of public personalities who preach piously, standing sacred before the people, but having their fingers soaked in wine, women and song, when human eyes are turned away from them. Veteran actor Asokan portrays such an Indian Zamindar of many vices, meeting his Waterloo, in the man Jai Shankar, a charioteer's son who smokes him out to strip bare his evils for public gaze. There is action in plenty as the roving Shankar, with pretty Jayachitra by his side, heads purposefully for the big "expose". A whiff of nostalgia breezes the film as the physically weakened actor, M. R. Radha and the sublime S. D. Subbiah, who gave brave performances, are no longer in the land of the living and have crossed the great beyond quite recently. An above average film that does not disappoint, purely as an entertainer, on a strictly formula run.

MOTHER (Sinhalese): A very true to life filmlet depicting sharply a tragedy that strikes many homes in Sri Lanka but passes almost submerged by the banner headlines in the Press, that tend to distract more towards international happenings. Titled appropriately, the story brings out the anguish and the agony of a loving wife in the face of a fling at "infidelity" by her husband, the evil tongue that fans the incident with malice, and the final tragic moments being enacted on the path of an on rushing train, all to the consternation of the innocent offspring of the once happy union, who witness it all in sinless perplexity. Upali Attanayake and Swineetha Kongahage highlight the tender seconds of this story very convincingly and I wish more of the like with such messages will come our way with a dedication and decorum, as spun by those behind this "Keti Kathawa".

James N. Benedict.



FROM F.R.G.

The Turkish Coup

by Wolfgang Wagner
Hannoversche Allgemeine

Bonn, Sept. 12,

It cannot be said that the coup in Ankara came out of the blue. The country has long been in a desperate state. Yet when the coup did come, it was a surprise. Turkish military leaders must be credited with having sounded increasingly urgent warning notes for months. In the New Year they called on Turkey's two major political parties, ousted Premier Suleyman Demirel's Justice Party and former Premier Bulent Ecevit's People's Republicans, to form a government of national unity and jointly solve the country's problems. Both said they were willing to do so, but extremist factions (rightwingers in the one party and leftwingers in the other) effectively scotched plans for a Grand Coalition.

The brasshats have now made good their threat to assume power themselves should the politicians fail to join forces. Whether or not this was indispensable is sure to be keenly debated both in Turkey and abroad, including Turkey's allies. But there can be little doubt that Turkey was up against it. Inflation was running at 100 per cent, one Turk in four or five was out of work and chaos was increasingly widespread. Three groups were mainly to blame: right-wing extremists, Marxist revolutionaries, and religious fanatics. They fought each other tooth and nail, with an estimated 2,300 lives lost since Mr. Demirel took over in November 1979. Intermittently at least, entire towns were controlled by terrorist rebels.

The generals who now hold power can hardly be gain said when they claim that neither Mr. Ecevit nor Mr. Demirel has been able to point Turkey along the road to recovery. Mr. Ecevit himself recently claimed, alarmingly enough, that civil war had already begun. Last year the armed forces tried to stem the tide of chaos and violence under civilian government by imposing a state of emergency in a growing number of provinces. At the end 20 of Turkey's 67 provinces were under martial law. Yet there was no decline in violence. Day by day terrorism cost between 10 and 15 lives. Will the brasshats, now they have sent civilian government packing, arrested leading politicians and dissolved all political organisations, prove better able to solve the country's problems?

Assuming troops show the discipline expected of Turkish armed forces, they should successfully combat terrorism, but experience has shown that generals are usually inept at surmounting economic problems and bridging social gaps. It would be most surprising if this will be any different in Turkey. The problems facing the eastern mainstay of the Atlantic alliance are so deep-seated there are no simple solutions to them. No one has yet come up with a concept by

which Turkey could be given a fresh lease of economic life. Even the various international commissions that have studied the subject have come up with little more than one financial shot-in-the-arm after another.

Over large areas Turkey is a backward country, yet population growth is the highest of all Western countries. What is more, Turkey is poorly endowed with natural resources. Above all, the Turkish people have never been entirely convinced of the need for modernisation. Decades ago Kemal Ataturk tried to drag the country screaming into the modern technological era, but resistance to Westernisation and secularisation have grown space over the past decade in particular. *One reason why the generals took over power was anxiety lest the Islamic renaissance spread with increasing efficacy from neighbouring Iran. There was no shortage of signs this might prove the case, including the growing influence of Necmettin Erbakan's National Salvation Party and its allies, some of whom are root-and-branch extremists.*

The Turkish armed forces have always regarded themselves as the custodian of Ataturk's legacy. So unlike other countries where the armed forces have seized power over the past 10 years, Turkish generals are neither reactionary nor opposed to progress. They are committed to the ideas of Ataturk, the father of modern Turkey and dead set against a reversion to Islamic theocracy as in Iran. *In other respects, however, they represent the same danger as other military regimes. They have scant understanding for social demands, so under their aegis social gaps are unlikely to be more than papered over and sure not to be bridged.*

Thus the generals eventually are unlikely to hand over a settled country to civilian government. Turkey's problems will continue to beset the country and erupt at some future date. The best the military can hope to accomplish is to put paid to terrorist bloodshed, give the country peace and quiet for a while and temporarily restore confidence in the Turkish state. But a sick man is not restored to health merely by being ordered to fall in and march in unison for a while. The coup presents the West, NATO and the EEC with fresh problems. Fortunately the Turkish government had not applied for full membership of the Common Market. A membership bid would probably have been rejected in any case; it could certainly not be considered while the country was governed by the military. But NATO will need to consider how it is to size up the new situation. Much will depend on how the Turkish armed forces exercise their power. Any attempt at a purge accompanied by bloodshed would substantially weaken their position.

—German Tribune

A RUSSIAN VIEW

TURKEY

Moscow, Oct. 12.

Tanks and troops carriers can be seen in the streets and intersections of Ankara, Istanbul and other Turkish cities, groups of armed soldiers patrol the streets, and the rare pedestrians seem eager to make themselves scarce as quickly as possible. These are the outward signs of the *coup d'etat* of September 12, in which the Council of National Security (CNS) headed by the Chief of General Staff of the Turkish Armed Forces General K. Evren assumed absolute power. The CNS suspended the constitution, dissolved parliament, and banned political parties, trade unions and public organisations. S. Demirel, B. Evcecit and other political leaders were placed under house arrest. Many individuals directly responsible for the terror and anarchy were rounded up and during the searches of their homes, large amounts of weapons and ammunition were discovered.

The military take-over in Turkey came as no surprise. It was preceded by insistent appeals by the military to the civilian government of S. Demirel urging it to end the inter-party strife and power struggles and to make a radical move to eliminate the country's difficulties. Naturally, the priority problem was political terrorism, which had claimed over 2000 victims this year alone. All sorts of extreme left and ultra-right organisations and groups had absolute freedom to act. And the Grand National Assembly was paralysed by obstructionist tactics and the mass absenteeism of the deputies.

Turkey's economic problems were equally acute. Many of the country's industrial enterprises were chronically operating at up to 55 percent below capacity and unemployment was gradually mounting. Turkey's foreign debt reached a staggering 18 thousand million dollars. The country has been able to survive in recent years only through regular injections of currency by the Western powers. This "aid" was far from free. Every loan was tied to conditions which directly eroded Turkish national dignity—the West demanded limits on the public sector of the economy, a wage freeze, additional privileges for multinationals etc. As seen by Turkey's Western benefactors these credits were primarily meant to wring the most out of Turkey's membership in NATO. Turkey has a 600 km border with the USSR and an army of over half a million. A good illustration is the Turkey-USA agreement which Washington forced on Ankara in March, when in exchange for credits of about 450 million dollars annually, the United States received the right to use 26 military bases and facilities in Turkey.

Not surprisingly, permanent economic woe coupled with a long period of domestic instability had given rise to acute dissatisfaction in practically every sector of

Turkish society. In this situation, there was not any significant resistance to the army take over. As a matter of fact, the urban population, which has suffered most from the terrorism, accepted the coup with a sigh of relief. Life quickly returned to its daily routine. At the same time, the left in Turkey is concerned about the arrest of a number of labour and trade union leaders. As indicated from the first official statement and actual moves of the current Turkish leadership, it intends to concentrate on restoring law and order and on creating effective administration at all levels. As far as foreign policy is concerned, it emphasizes loyalty to the principles of non-interference, respect for independence and sovereignty of others, observance of the UN Charter, and adherence to commitments ensuing from bilateral and multilateral agreements, including those governing its membership in NATO.

There has been quite a bit of attention given to K. Evren's statement that his administration sincerely desired "good relations and fruitful co-operation" with all Turkey's neighbours, "among which the USSR holds a special place." History has shown that good-neighbourly relations between Turkey and the USSR must fully meet the interests of their people, and the interests of a lasting peace in Asia and around the world. The new Turkish leadership has taken only its first steps towards dealing with the country's complex political, social and economic problems. It has repeatedly referred to its determination to follow the path charted by Kemal Ataturk in the 1920s. At that time, Turkey had difficulties of no smaller magnitude than its current woes, and was able to surmount many of them on the road of national renaissance suggested by Ataturk.

Andrei Fialkovsky

U. S. VIEW

Outbreak Of Terrorism

Washington, Oct. 10,

Recent bombings in Munich and Paris have again raised the question of how the international community can effectively deal with terrorism. One of the more appalling aspects of the wave of terrorism that has been taking place in the last few years is how accustomed we have all become to it. Then by now familiar reports that one or more innocent people have been killed or wounded by a group espousing one cause or another have lost their ability to appropriately shock and horrify us.

We have all become somewhat benumbed by the gratuitous violence. International businessmen, diplomats and politicians have begun to accept the risks of terrorism as a fact of modern life. But the list of potential victims is not limited to the prominent and the idea of safe havens is illusory, as events of the last two weeks have amply proved.

This weekend in Paris, a powerful bomb exploded just outside a Jewish synagogue, killing four people and injuring 12 others. Just the week before, a bomb exploded at the annual October feast in Munich, killing 13 and injuring 200 more. Both explosions have been blamed on right-wing, Neo-Nazi groups, and there is some speculation that these two incidents, along with a railroad station explosion in Bologna in August that killed 83 people, may all have been the result of a single conspiracy. While much of the international terrorism of recent years has apparently been the work of leftists, it is clear that the radical left has no monopoly on murderous intentions or on the willingness to carry them out.

The recent events in Munich and Paris, along with the suspicious about the international character of a number of terrorist groups, point out the need for improved co-operation between governments to deprive fugitive terrorists of the opportunity to elude capture by crossing state lines. While it is probably naive to suggest that the violence can be halted simply by increasing international anti-terrorist activities the evidence suggests that even modest efforts at inter-governmental co-operation can achieve significant results.

These efforts can be undertaken even by governments that agree on little else. The recent decision by the Cuban Government to extradite hijackers of United States aircrafts, along with the complementary decision of the US government to prosecute those who hijack Cuban fishing boats, demonstrate the potential for co-operation between countries that are, to say the least, often on different sides of ideological and political disputes.

It is, of course, a long way from stopping hijackings—for which there is a set of rather simple and relatively effective remedies—to dealing with the kidnappings and murders that have become the modern terrorists' stock-in-trade. But existing international conventions dealing with airline hijackings, attacks on diplomats and the taking of hostages provide models for future collective action. If the events of the last two weeks dispel some of the numbness and jolt the international community into extending the range of antiterror co-operation, the bombings may not turnout to be so meaningless after all. VOA.

NEXT WEEK

CHALLENGE BEFORE THE COUNTRY

—Finance Minister

THE SOVIET CHALLENGE

—Brzezinski

PLAN IMPLEMENTATION

—Decentralised Budget & DDCs

The Gulf War

Zbigniew Brzezinski, the National Security Adviser to President Carter, said on October 15 that the United States is pursuing a policy of non-interference in the Iran-Iraq conflict, but that it continues to attach importance to the national integrity of Iran. Brzezinski appeared on the public television news interview program "Macneil/Lehrer Report". Following is the transcript of the interview, which was co-produced by WNET-TV, New York and WETA-TV Washington, D.C. Copyright (C) 1980 by Educational Broadcasting Corporation and GWETA.

Question: Dr. Brzezinski, welcome, Sir. First, on today's war news, do you have any independent confirmation of this Iranian commando attack that supposedly claimed 1000 Iraqi soldiers lives?

Answer: No, I do not. And I think it's useful to remember in this connection that the war claims by both sides over the last three weeks have tended to be very exaggerated, sometimes even completely inaccurate.

Q: What kind of information are we getting on the war?

A: We're getting reasonably good intelligence information. We know the disposition and deployment of the forces. We have fairly good knowledge of what ordinance and weapons they are using. But I cannot confirm specific instances, such as the one you mentioned, literally within minutes of their being claimed to have taken place.

Q: Can you give us a feel for what the situation is militarily around Abadan at this moment? Apparently, the report is today, that there is a siege going on. The Iraqis pretty well have it surrounded. Is there any light that you can shed on that particular aspect?

A: I think it is clear that the Iraqis are surrounding the port and the city, and they are moving steadily, but slowly, and the resistance has been quite intense. But the Iraqis are on the move, and in this particular place they have the upper hand. They have numerical superiority. They have superiority in weaponry. And they are exploiting that superiority, though rather carefully.

Q: Has the strength or capability of Iran to resist surprised the United States?

A: I think it is fair to say that the Iranians have performed better, especially in the air, than was anticipated. As Defence Secretary Brown said not long ago, the American training and the American weaponry that the Iranians have used in their air operations have obviously served them well.

Q: Does the United States still regard Iranians as a threat to non-belligerent states in the Gulf, like Saudi Arabia?

A: Our hope is, in fact our expectation is, that the war will not spread. The President took some timely diplomatic initiatives, as well as some other initiatives, about ten days ago to make certain that the war does not spread. We believe that the countries adjacent to Iran and to Iraq recognize that it is not in their interest for the war to spread. And I do not see any reason why either the Iranians or the Iraqis at this stage would wish the war to spread. The war is difficult enough for them as it is, without becoming totally uncontrollable.

Q: Assistant Secretary of State, Warren Christopher said last week the United States was prepared to send more aid to non-belligerent neighbouring nations following up on the AWACS early warning planes sent to Saudi Arabia. Has the United States, in fact, sent more aid to any of those countries?

A: No, we have not done it. But we do have military resources in the region, which could be used, if necessary, to protect countries that would be threatened and that would wish that protection from the United States. Our hope, however, is that this will not become necessary, that the war will be contained and in fact, terminated. We are supporting very energetically the efforts of the international community to bring this war to an end. If you looked at this war in a larger regional perspective, it is of no benefit to anybody. To prolong the war of attrition will be destructive of the stability and cohesion of Iran. It will be equally destructive to Iraq. It will destroy the balance within the region. It will create openings for others to try to exploit that instability, politically or militarily. It is therefore, in the interests of all of the parties to bring this war to an end. And we have made it very clear that we attach continued importance to the national integrity of Iran itself, in spite of the differences that we have had with Iran over the last year or so.

Q: Did we attempt to persuade King Hussein of Jordan not to take sides, as he did on the side of Iraq, in this war?

A: Well, we have tried to discourage anybody, including Jordan, from becoming involved in this war, from enlarging it. As I have said, this really would be very bad for all concerned. And an enlarged war in this region, which is so vital to the well-being of the world, will be a calamity, not only for the rest of the world, but also for the region itself.

Q: King Hussein obviously disagreed. What did he say in response to our urging that he not do that?

A: I do not want to characterize specific and individual diplomatic exchanges. But the fact of the matter is that the conflict itself between the two parties still remains a bilateral conflict. King Hussein, while making his sympathy for Iraq felt in a tangible way, particularly through economic assistance and transit rights and so forth, has not become militarily engaged.

Q: The Saudi Foreign Minister said this week in the *New Time* magazine, "The total absence of any US sway with the parties directly involved in such a dangerous situation is sobering, to say the least." He is right, is he not?

A: No, not entirely, sway or influence can be exercised in a variety of ways. I don't believe that the parties concerned are totally indifferent to our position in this matter. And I believe that as the peace efforts continue, they will realize that we have the best interests of the region at heart in our effort to terminate the conflict.

Q: Is there anything we can really do to terminate this war, other than just to ask everybody to please stop fighting?

A: Asking everybody to please stop fighting is not unimportant and it is particularly relevant in this connection to note that asking that also implies desisting from efforts to fuel the conflict. We do not think it is desirable for this conflict to be fueled by outsiders. And if it is not fueled by outsiders, the likelihood that it will terminate before too long increases.

Q: "Too long" meaning what?

A: I cannot put a time limit on it. I would hope it would be days. But it could be weeks. This war has some of the characteristics of a war of attrition. It is not like the Israeli-Arab war in which an enormous amount of ordnance was expended extremely quickly through very intense fighting. This fighting has more the character of protracted engagement, which means that from a material point of view, it could drag on. What we want to do is to convince the political leaderships in both places that the interests of neither nation will be served by a prolonged war.

Q: In that connection, Dr. Brzezinski, the Iranian Ambassador to the General Assembly, Mr. Arjakani, told us that only the Soviets could benefit from this fighting. Do you agree with that? And how do you analyze Soviet opportunities in this situation to exploit it?

A: The war does potentially give the Soviet Union some opportunities. The Soviet Union directly, or through its surrogates, could help militarily one or the other side. And it is interesting to note that apparently some military aid has been going to Iraq from East European countries closely tied to the Soviet Union.

Q: Since the fighting began?

A: Yes, while Libya and North Korea appear to be providing arms or material to Iran, perhaps even transiting Soviet air space in one case. So first of all, there is the military option. Secondly, there is the political option, namely to become involved, in some fashion, in terminating the conflict through peaceful accommodation, but thereby acquiring a special status in the Persian Gulf. That, too would give the Soviet Union new opportunities. After all, I think it is important for all of us to realize that this part of the world is a region that is vital to the well-being of Western

Europe and the Far East. These two advanced industrial sectors of the globe depend on this region for their economic well-being. The Soviet Union does not depend on this region for its economic well-being. Therefore, if the Soviet Union were to gain a militarily or politically significant influence over this region, the Soviet Union would be indirectly gaining influence over Western Europe and the Far East, which it, at this moment, does not have. This is why we feel it is very important for the Soviet Union, as well as for us, to respect the principle of non-interference and not to become involved in this particular conflict.

Q: Is the Soviet Union so far respecting that principle, apart from the arms question you just mentioned?

A: I would hope it is. It is too early to judge. I have noticed that it is on record as committing itself to non-intervention. And we hope that the Soviet Union will support energetic efforts by the Security Council and by the Islamic Council to bring this conflict to a rapid conclusion.

—USICA

(To be Concluded)

INTERNATIONAL NOTES

:: Kampuchea :: Afghanistan

by Omega

CONTINUING CONFRONTATION. Instead of working on a practical solution that would help resolve the Kampuchean impasse, the UN Assembly by a majority vote has accepted the credentials of the fallen Pol Pot regime—the voting pattern being support, opposition, abstention 75-35-32 compared with 1979 pattern 71-b-34, an edge over last year). This is certainly a moral booster for an immoral Pol Pot regime and its god-fathers. It is argued that the acceptance of Pol Pot's credentials was only a technical issue. The victory, though it does not mean anything in real terms, was achieved largely due to persistent and intensive campaign organised and conducted by China and ASEAN partners. It is strange that US has preferred to adopt a low-level posture this year.

Two other considerations which swung the votes in favour of Pol Pot's regime was to warn firstly the powers whoever it may be against the prudence of interfering in the internal affairs of another country with military support. Secondly it was not merely the rejection of Heng Samrin's regime but as a vote against the Russian involvement in Afghan affairs. China has succeeded in convincing the supporters of Pol Pot's credentials that the Kampuchean and Afghan issues have a common purpose and strategy and is linked to a chain of "hegemonistic" behaviour of Soviet Union.

As a result of these arguments even the minimum demand to keep the Kampuchean seat vacant, as the

non-aligned countries did in the Havana Summit was rejected. In an assembly composed of a non-aligned majority which agreed to keep the seat vacant at Havana, the behaviour of most of the countries of the non-aligned was inexplicable. It is a fact that the acceptance of Pol Pot's credentials will not make any material difference to Heng Samrin regime as it would not reverse the situation in Kampuchea. It will only perpetuate the confrontationalist posture of the problem and would breed further conflicts.

The Vietnamese have given sufficient evidence of their anxiety to solve the Kampuchean issue. As the ASEAN adopted a joint posture, Vietnam too was compelled under circumstances to act as a spokesman for the Indo-China. As in Afghanistan so in Kampuchea, the crux of the problem lies in the guarantee that China and ASEAN countries would offer to keep their hands off Kampuchea. So long China threatens teaching a second lesson, the problem is bound to cause anxiety to countries of the region and delay political and economic development in Kampuchea.

DOUBLE STANDARDS. If the Kampuchean seat had been won for Pol Pot on a technical ground, a double standard is being adopted in the case of Afghanistan. The relationship between Soviet Union and Afghanistan need no elaborate discussion at this stage. It is a part of contemporary history. However, the stand taken by certain interested parties appear to belie their hopes to brainwash the world into their way of thinking.

When one compares the documents of the UN—the UN Security Council Resolutions of January 7, 1980 (voted by the Soviet Union) and UN General Assembly resolution of January 14, 1980 carried 104 (for) 18 (against) 18 (abstain) and 12 (absent) with the propaganda carried on about the global significance of the occupation of Afghanistan by the USSR, the motive is self-evident. Though the General Assembly adopted the resolution in a hurry its choice of words ("intervention and deplore") never indicated that it considered Soviet Union involvement in Afghan affairs as an invasion. Of all the diplomats UN delegates cannot be blamed for not knowing the distinction between an *invasion* and *intervention*. "The difference between those two words is a qualitative one in every sense—legal, moral and political. Invasion is by definition illegal and immoral; it is something that could not have been invited, and must necessarily be judged as criminal aggression. In contrast intervention can be legal, and even moral, it can be invited whether wisely or unwisely. The whole point is that a legal but possibly unwise intervention can be made to seem like a criminal threat to world peace only if it is fraudulently cried up as intervention." But the US public had been brainwashed to such an extent that they do not see their difference between the UN resolutions.

Nor did UN resolutions condemn the action of USSR, it only deplored the action of the interventionists. Again the true meaning of these two words are plain enough. The motive of their naked propagandist phraseology are self-evident. The interest of the US,

in Washington's calculations, are affected and therefore American public has to be convinced to vote for higher military budgets to station fleets and troops in the Indian Ocean region and also keep the rapid deployment force in readiness for a war. There was the necessity to justify the abandonment of detente and postpone the ratification of SALT II and resume cold war. What the US lost in normal diplomacy has to be won back with a show of force and hence the propaganda effort to brainwash and stampede world public opinion in favour of US.

The solution to the Afghan problem, as the Kampuchean one, is the guarantee of safe borders and non-interference by foreign troops and insurgents. The Soviet Union and Vietnam in the respective areas have agreed to such guarantees.

SAID IN VERSE

I am a Prostitute

I am a woman and I sell my body

To stay alive.

I give my body but not my soul to you

This remains my own to judgement day.

But you who criticise me

You whose womenfolk wont meet me at the dance

Are prostitute inside of you

You've sold your souls.

Here is a policeman, paid to keep the law

Paid to charge crooks and put them into jail

He takes a bribe and turns the other way,

when wrong is done.

He is a prostitute inside.

Here is a customs man, paid to make us pay our tax

He does not see the list of things I bring,

He too is prostitute inside of him.

Blinded by money.

Here are the politicians, held up in esteem,

Whose duty is to seek the public good

Instead, they use their office

To advance their relatives.

Here are the prostitutes

Upheld, respected, esteemed

And we who sell our bodies

Do our dirty task, honourably and well

Do what we are paid by you to do.

How are we prostitute?

Bryan de Kretser



Help save the glory that is Lanka

Sri Lanka, our island home is the scene of 2,500 years of a unique, continuous cultural development.

The achievements of our ancient artists and engineers, and the glorious pageantry which still survives can be found today in the cultural triangle formed by Anuradhapura, Polonnaruwa and Kandy.

But some of the priceless monuments of our heritage are in danger of decay and destruction. UNESCO sees in these monuments part of the cultural wealth of the world and are sponsoring the Sri Lanka Cultural Triangle Project to collect funds and commence urgent conservation.

We, the people of Sri Lanka, must contribute Rs. 60 million as our share. To meet this responsibility the Cultural Triangle Fund has been set up.



Your contribution - however large, however small; given once and for all, or step by step, raises the Fund nearer its goal.

As your contributions reach each step you receive recognition for your effort and the contributions already made are counted towards the next step.

The Cultural Triangle Fund is an approved charity and donations are tax deductible. Cash donations can be paid into the Fund account at any branch of the Bank of Ceylon. Other contributions should be sent to:

CULTURAL TRIANGLE FUND
212, BAUDDHALOKA MAWATHA, COLOMBO 7.
SRI LANKA.

A GUIDE TO THE STEP BY STEP DONATION SCHEME

HOW THIS MONEY CAN BE USED.

THE RECOGNITION YOU RECEIVE AS A DONOR.

Pays for re-setting 9000 sq.m. of stone paving

Your name will be inscribed on the paving in the traditional manner. A certificate will be presented to you publicly by the Prime Minister.

Buy 1,000 bricks

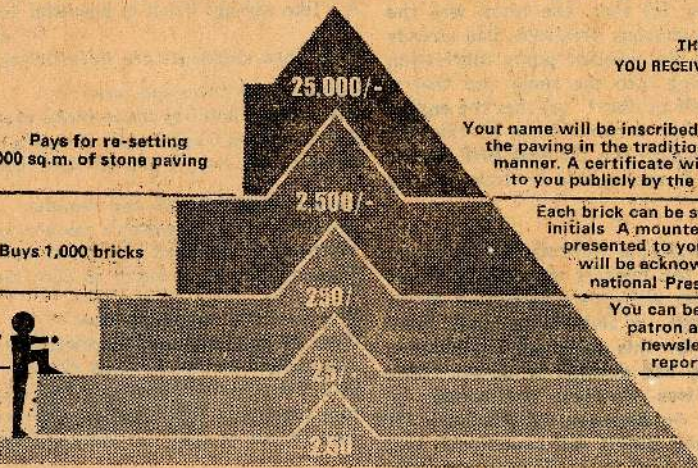
Each brick can be stamped with your initials. A mounted brick will be presented to you. Your contribution will be acknowledged in the national Press.

Weatherproofs 9 sq.m. of brickwork

You can be registered as a patron and will receive regular newsletters giving a progress report of the project.

Pays one workman for one day

Buy one brick



Confidentially

Tractor Mystery

IS IT NOT TRUE everybody thinks that the Sri Lanka Tractor Corporation has the sole monopoly of importing tractors into the country—although such monopolies have been abolished as a result of the “liberalisation policies” of this government? That *Tribune* itself was non-plussed when it heard of a mysterious Tractor that had begun to crawl about in some parts of the country? That reports had reached the *Tribune* that these four-wheel tractors did no more than 12 miles per gallon even on a macadamised road? That further inquiries revealed that these tractors had come to the island via the ADA (Agricultural Development Authority) to the Agrarian Service Centres on a 500 four-wheel Tractor aid (gift) programme from Japan? That the Sri Lanka Tractor Corporation had nothing to do with this import? That our investigators found that these tractors carried the name SHIBAURU? That our investigators discovered a number of other facts which has startled those who know anything about four-wheel tractors? That (1) this tractor is outside the usual range of 4-wheeler tractors normally used in Sri Lanka or even in Japan? (2) That the tractors have been imported through local agents who have no previous experience in 4-wheel tractors, without workshop facilities, or spare part reserves? (3) That the specifications though they appear to have been specially “tailored” to meet this particular shipment of *Shibauru* tractors, these tractors did not conform even to the specifications, i.e., they did not have the “fully tailored” floating hitch” as specified? 4) That users have stated that (a) the fuel consumption was 12 m.p.g., (b) engine oil (as required by the suppliers) had to be fully changed every 70 running hours; (c) that the hitch was the “rigid” type and that numerous breakages had already been reported; (d) that the injector pump lubrication oil was constantly leaking into the sump and that it needed refilling every half an hour? (e) that the engine became “overheated” after a short time; (f) that the engine did not only develop the claimed BHP (Brake Horse Power) and that it was unable to draw a 2-ton load as specified?

That *Tribune* will welcome information from the ADA or the agents on the matters mentioned above? That the paper will also welcome information as to whether the manufacturers of *Shibauru* in Japan have accepted responsibility for this shipment or whether they have said that they had nothing to do with this deal which they said was handled exclusively by private firm (AsiaCorp) in Bangkok and that the Sri Lanka authorities should direct all complaints and queries to this firm? That as far as *Tribune* was able to find out the 500 4-wheel tractors are virtually dead

ducks (tractors) constituting a dead loss (stock)? That apart from the question that this Japanese Aid (Gift) scheme could have been put to better use—importing much-needed capital goods—the whole affair has begun to develop a mysterious stink? That any official investigation must examine the original specifications laid down under Aid (gift) Programme and whether there was any changes in the specifications after a trip of a Sri Lankan VIP to Singapore—changes tailored to suit the tractors which allegedly were rejected stock? That it would be also interesting to find out that within 2 months of the L/C being opened, 400 of these *Shibauru* tractors were shipped to Colombo? (That usually the time between a firm order is placed with a L/C and the time of actual shipment was at least six to nine months)? That the arrival of these 500 four-wheel tractors received on a Japanese Aid Programme to the Agrarian Services centres was commemorated in a Special Supplement in the *Ceylon Daily News* on August 22, 1980? That it would be interesting to know how these tractors came to be ordered from a firm in Bangkok without the usual guarantees from the manufacturers in Japan? That Government must find out the truth about this transaction and inform the public whether the stories and allegations about this mysterious tractor floating in agricultural and other circles are correct?

—VERSE

Janus

The jolly old public sector
Belongs to the people they say.
Ergo, when persons working there strike,
They're blocking the people's way.
This kind of logic is ingenious.

In fact it does ring a bell.

It's like saying: black is beautiful and

elephants are black.

Therefore elephants are beautiful as well.

Forty whole thousand workers

With their families make more than two lakhs.

But they don't apparently count as “people”,

So the Govt, won't get off their backs.

I sometimes sit back and wonder

Whether strikers weren't people too.

With wages so fixed and prices so high

Their bellies must begin to turn blue.

The leader of all the masses

Must be having more important things to do.

Than think of the working classes;

Still, I'd pray for them all—won't you?

Else the green will abandon their envy

And throw in their lot with the blue!

Qadri Ismail

Now On Sale

HAVANA TO KABUL

A Sri Lanka Non aligned View

By S. P. AMARASINGAM

Sri Lanka Price: Rs. 12/-50 a copy. — Foreign US \$ 1.50 Postage Extra.

Tribune Publications,

43, DAWSON STREET, COLOMBO 2.

TELEPHONE: 33172

For Sale

RACE & CLASS

A JOURNAL
FOR BLACK AND
THIRD WORLD
LIBERATION

Now available:— Vol. XXI No. 4, Spring 1980.

- * **Sociology Of Race Relations In Britain**
by Jenny Bourne and A. Sivanandan
- * **Richard Wright: Marxism And The Petite-Bourgeois**
by Cedric Robinson
- * **Social Time-Bomb—In West Germany** by Stephen Castles
- * **Against 'Bandastan'** —Interview with Attabi Mpakati
- * **Notes, Documents, Book Review etc. etc.**

Price Rs. 35/- a copy.

S. A. E. P. P Bookshop, 96, Justice Akbar Mawatha, Colombo 2.

A TREE FOR EVERY CHILD

Your inside of back cover of the *Tribune* of September 27, 1980 carries a very moving "A tree for every child" piece on "donated space". It augurs well for the Agro-development of our country. But the Sri Lankan problem is, that we have very happy things and also unhappy things.

*We have more water than the land requires.

*We have lands and no seeds/seedlings/plants.

Agro-interest is a national interest and a national asset. What we have to do, is not to wait, till welfarism starts the game. Let Agro-lovers form ourselves into a vibrant unit, to get planting material across to those who don't have them, from those who have them.

An Agro-lover in the hill country has any number of Jak, pepper, arecanut, thambili (limited) breadfruit, fruit trees, cardamons, nutmeg etc. etc. to offer. All we need is transport. Would Agro-lovers please contact the writer so that, we might plan strategy, to ease the burden of the state.

V. Kanagaretnam

Divisional Officer,
Agrarian Service,
Kiran.

Space Donated