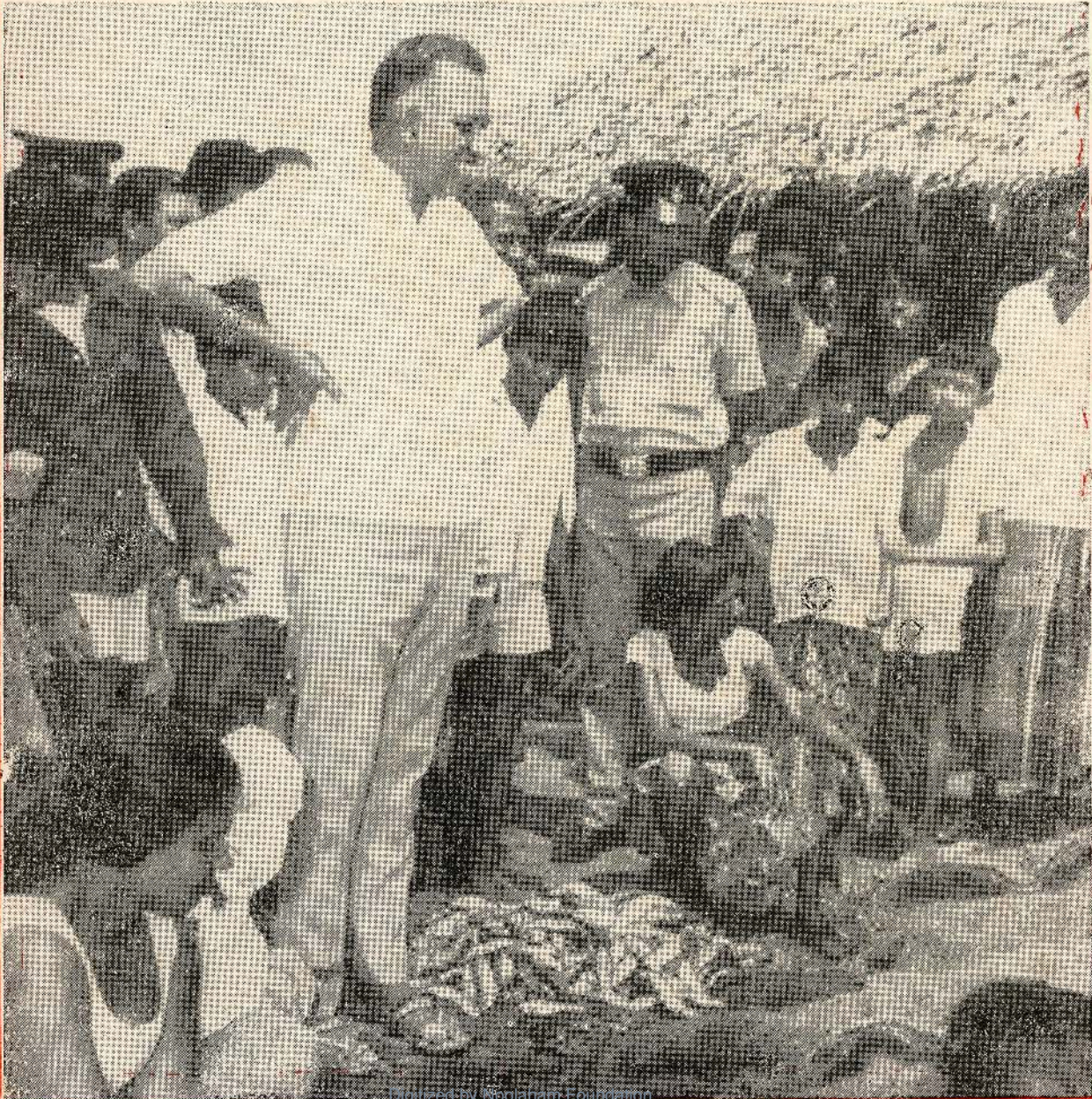


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Letter From The Editor

LAST WEEK WE RECEIVED a letter from *Tribune* reader R. J. Dobbs of Loinorn State Plantation at Bogowantalawa on the question of "Subsidiary Food Crops". In his introductory note, he said: "I have read with interest your recent articles on the above subject and am enclosing herewith a Letter to the Editor which I would be pleased if you will kindly publish in your esteemed Journal. It has been of some frustration to me and I would like to make some small contributions to your efforts." But even more interesting was his letter: "May I congratulate you on your sustained effort in pointing out the shortcomings in the field of subsidiary food crops. Why, oh why, do the powers that be do nothing about this? I am now closing the food production unit of this estate, purely because I cannot find buyers for the vegetables produced. The estate labour absorb, on credit, but a small percentage of the vegetables grown and I am now sick and tired of running behind people, virtually begging of them to purchase the crops grown—at wholesale rates of course. The Marketing Department does not appear to be interested: for letters written have not brought forth any appreciable response. And so a mere thousand pounds or so of mixed vegetables per month are being withdrawn from the market—a very slight dent in the country's production which no one will worry about!! Just twelve thousand pounds per annum—nothing to scream about!! The Co-operative sector has outlets in every major town and in virtually every other 'little' town and bazaar as well. These outlets are supplied regularly by lorry, which presumably return empty or with much available space to their point of supply. Why cannot this network be made use of for the purchase and distribution of agricultural produce—whether it be vegetables, coffee, kurakkan, maize or whatever. It is just a matter of the Co-operative Stores being authorised and, better still, instructed to purchase subsidiary crops in whatever small quantity brought along by the producer. These could be sent down to Colombo, or any central collecting point where the different crops are required. The all important small producer cannot take his crop to Seeduwa to obtain his guaranteed price—he will not have it in sufficient quantity anyway. With all the incentives and guaranteed prices promised, the producer will not produce as much as in his capacity to do so—if he cannot market his product easily. Keep up the good work—may your efforts bare fruit in time."

Mr. Dobbs draws attention to the difficulties in selling vegetables and says that he has decided to close down the unit on the estate. It is not only in the plantations that one comes across this difficulty. Except in Nuwara Eliya-Welimada area where government and the private traders have a system of purchasing of which helps the middlemen rather than the producer, the situation is the same all over the island. Middlemen and traders want only a limited quantity of vegetables (and other subsidiary food crops) to keep prices high and they do not purchase from producers outside their magic circle lest prices are pushed down. In areas where regular polas and markets exist, producers can sell some of their produce at heart-break prices, but in all other areas there is no urge to grow vegetables beyond a small quantity for the needs of one's family. It is not enough to provide cold rooms to keep vegetables, onions and potatoes because even here only the middlemen and traders will benefit. What is needed is a dynamic Marketing Department or some other government buying agency which can keep the traders on their toes and also ensure that all the vegetables produced in every nook and corner of the island is purchased thus providing an incentive to grow more. Only if farmers produce more vegetables—and this they will only do if they can sell their produce at reasonable prices—will prices come down. Middlemen, traders, and the Marketing Department follow a strategy to compel restricted production in order to maximise profits. If this process goes on, the Government will soon have to import vegetables in order to appease the Colombo consumer lobby—as they are now doing in regard to onions, chillies and potatoes.

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Fisheries Clean-up

Not having a new picture of Minister Festus Perera handy, we have resurrected an old picture which has already appeared on the Cover. We have done this to pay tribute to him and his Secretary Anura Weeraratne for the action they have taken to clean up the Augean Stables in the Fisheries Corporation. In the Tribune of October 18, we had said in concluding the Letter From The Editor: "In Sri Lanka, however, there is always a faint silver lining to keep hopes buoyant. Minister Festus Perera and his Secretary Anura Weeraratne have started a clean up job in the Fisheries Corporation and they have begun at the top. This should have been done a long time ago, but better late than never. Similar action is long overdue in many other departments and corporations, especially those whose activities have a direct bearing on the cost of living, like the Marketing Department whose purchasing depots in Colombo and the outstation are among the biggest breeding grounds of corruption—and therefore inflation.

It is not the Marketing Department alone that needs a clean up. There are many others charged with the duty of providing basic public utility service for the people which need an even more drastic clean up. Take the Milk Board. Will Minister Thondaman deal with it in the way Minister Festus Perera has dealt with the Fisheries Corporation?

The news about the clean up in the Fisheries Corporation was revealed in banner headline reports in the *Ceylon Daily News* and the *Ceylon Daily Mirror* on Tuesday October 14: "Twenty high officials of the Fisheries Corporation, including the General Manager (Operations) personnel 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 of the Ministry, Anura Weeraratne who is also the acting chairman of the Corporation. Mr. Weeraratne has been appointed acting chairman to reorganise the corporation. Mr. Weeraratne yesterday warned all employees that they should be duty conscious and that stern action would be taken against those who failed to carry out their duties efficiently." (*Ceylon Daily News*).

"Just one hour after taking up his duties as Chairman of the Fisheries Corporation, Mr. Anura Weeraratne sent 30 top executives of the Corporation on compulsory leave. Among the reasons for this order are gross inefficiency and mismanagement. This is part of the massive cleaning up campaign launched by the new chairman, who is also the Secretary of the Ministry of Fisheries. The Minister of Fisheries Mr.

Festus Perera when appointing Mr. Weeraratne as Chairman gave strict instructions to re-organise the Corporation completely and run it efficiently so as to meet the growing challenges of the economy of the country. In a message to all employees of the Corporation, Mr. Weeraratne exhorted them to perform all duties assigned to them efficiently. 'Inefficiency, wastage and misconduct will be dealt with sternly', he told them. He asked all the employees to help him to run the Corporation profitably and usefully, which would in turn benefit the employees too." (*Ceylon Daily Mirror*)

And, finally, the *Sunday Observer* on October 19 had an excellent piece of reporting by Geoff Wijesinghe about what this clean up meant. This article is cited below in extenso—for the record: Minister of Fisheries, Mr. Festus Perera, has given the acting Chairman of the Fisheries Corporation, Mr. Anura Weeraratne and the Board appointed last week, three months to clean up the Corporation. Mr. Weeraratne, who is also the Secretary to the Fisheries Ministry, described the state of the Corporation which the new Board has been entrusted with as a 'bankrupt, hot bed of corruption.'

"The Corporation, he pointed out, had incurred a loss of Rs. 37 million from 1978 to the first half of 1980. Already some of the remedial measures on the guidelines set by the Fisheries Minister are being implemented. The principal remedial measures are: (1) *Retrenchment of Employees* in order to prune the workforce to the required number of 600 from the present strength of 2000. A human problem was also involved and a Deputy Commissioner of Labour already holding discussions with the trade union representatives on the basis of retrenchment. The Treasury has agreed to fund the Fisheries Corporation for the employees pay off scheme; (2) *To Terminate Non Profitable Operations* of the Corporation. To dispose of unnecessary lands, buildings, vehicles etc; (3) *To convert the Maritime Division of the Corporation into a joint venture company with CeyNor* and any other interested private organisations; incentives, such as tax concessions, will be given those joining the new venture, engaged on deepsea fishing as a limited liability company. It is intended to engage the service of Master Fishermen from abroad. The policy of the present Government, according to Ministry sources, is to turn over to the private sector, what is not viable in the public sector or to have the private sector participate in the management. The best talent is to be employed for the reorganised Maritime section. It is expected to obtain an additional 1000 tons of fish from the new deep-sea fishing operations; (4) *A Plan To Decentralise Outstation Operations* is being effected. The Fisheries Corporation offices are being converted to well-knit Profit Centres where employees are given 50 percent of the profits as an incentive. The managers in charge of these centres are given an initial cash imprest with which they have to purchase fish from the producer. The purchased fish is sold 'on ice' in the producing district itself on a mark up of 15 per cent, and the balance is

sent to Colombo to be placed in cold storage and later sold. By this method it is aimed to knock out the mudalalis to a great extent and pay the producer a better price for his fish, while ensuring lowest prices for the consumer; (5) *All C.F.C. Retail Outlets Are Being Refurbished* in order to give the public a better service. More producer retail outlets are to be established. Already the CFC retail outlet at Galle has been handed over to the Galle-Habaraduwa Fisheries Co-operative Society. By having producers operate retail outlets, the 300 per cent, profit of the middlemen is eliminated;

"(6) *Dismissal Of All Personnel For The Slightest Act Of Corruption.* Mr. Weeraratne said that the Minister of Fisheries had paid many visits to the Corporation and advised his officials on the remedial measures that should have been taken but his advice and even warnings had been ignored; Mr. Weeraratne listed the following deficiencies for which remedial action had to be taken: (a) The CFC had incurred losses totalling Rs. 37 million from 1976 to the first half of 1980. The Corporation lost Rs. 10m in 1978, Rs. 15m in 1979 and Rs. 12m in the first half of 1980. (b) The CFC was bankrupt and had no funds to pay employees salaries and meet its bills. However, he had found that new vehicles had been purchased for the use of some high officials; (c) The CFC had 2000 employees when only 600 were needed. This surplus recruitment had been made before the tenure of office of this Government. Hordes of employees were idling. (d) Spoilt fish had been purchased at high prices from mudalalis in producing areas and sold to consumers after being kept in deep-freeze for three months; (e) Good quality fish was being sold to private dealers when in transit, while bad quality fish was sold to the public. Spot checks revealed shortages of hundreds of pounds of fish when in transit; (f) False overtime, claims had been made by personnel manning retail outlets; (g) Fishing gear imported for sale to fishermen was gathering dust in the stores. They could not be sold as these fishing nets were not of the types required for local fishing operations; (h) The fleet of trawlers was more in repair than at sea and crews were idling; (i) Some top officials were found to have misused official vehicles had massive tamashas and drinking parties at Corporation expense.

"The new Board of Directors of the Ceylon Fisheries Corporation comprises Messrs Anura Weeraratne (acting Chairman), A. Ragunathan (Colombo Dockyard), M. Somasunderam (Treasury), P. Amerasinghe (People's Bank) and Brian Forbes (Bank of Ceylon), Mr. L. C. R." de C. Wijetunge has been appointed Managing Director.

Tribune hopes that this clean up is not halted because of pressures: that all persons are equal before the law is an axiom that is being shouted from the house-tops to justify the politically punitive punishment imposed on Mrs. Bandaranaike. Will the corrupt and the wrongdoers in the Fisheries Corporation be investigated and brought to book? Or will they go scotfree by repeating the correct "loyalty" mantras? Will they be charged with wanton neglect of duties—engendering corruption in others—which is only a

form of "abuse or misuse of power" at different levels?

Whilst this clean up is on at the Fisheries, Corporation, many UNP stalwarts in the public sector, who can do a job of work like Anura Weeraratne, are either seeking their fortunes abroad or in the private sector because they are fed up with what's going in the governmental enterprises here. They are frustrated because the inefficient, the corrupt and the manipulators seem to be given all the opportunities to make a mess.

Apart from this, death seems to be prematurely to be plucking some of the best talent in this country. *Tribune* regrets to record the passing away of the Competent Authority of United Motors, Mr. F. C. Loos. The late Mr. Loos amiable, a man of integrity and fair-play was the true personification of a Competent Authority. He was competent and the present vastly improved outlook and service at United Motors is ample testimony to the late Mr. Loos' conscientious interest. A long-standing member of the UNP and a tireless worker, the ruling party can ill afford to have lost one of those rare combinations of loyalty, integrity and hard work. Unless the UNP wakes up it will lose many of the best—and that not by the untimely hand of death.

X X X

EDITOR'S NOTEBOOK

Mrs. Sirimavo Bandaranaike—4

Colombo, October 25,

In retrospect, it is interesting to see how the SLFP and Mrs. Bandaranaike reacted to the way the UNP government had announced its punitive plans. No sooner had the Government tabled the Bills to deprive her civic rights on September 24, *The Nation* which is the unofficial organ of the SLFP in its issue of September 26, 1980 had covered its front page with a banner headline TWO ASSASSINATIONS ON SEPTEMBER 25TH: "On Sept. 25th 1959, Prime Minister S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike was assassinated by the reactionaries. On Sept. 25th 1980, Mrs. Sirimavo Bandaranaike has been 'politically' assassinated by the rightists. Finding no grounds of corruption to implicate the Mahasammata Jananayika Sirimavo Bandaranaike, the UNP Government will be tabling a barbaric, inhuman and vindictive law to get rid of their main political opponent from the Parliament. Mr. Felix R. Dias Bandaranaike also will be deprived of his civic rights. Much-publicised illegal land-transactions have been disproved and rejected. Mrs. B has been exonerated from the cooked-up UNP charges, but to carry on the conspiracy further, the UNP caucus, will table its own political death-warrant in the form of the law to deprive Mrs. B of her inalienable and popularly bestowed political rights."

The *Nation* of October 3 had another front page splash: TO SEEK A VERDICT I GO BEFORE THE PEOPLE PREMADASA TAKES MY HEAD TO WASHINGTON—

MRS. BANDARANAIKE. The Report read: "This may be the last occasion I speak to you from the historic Bogambara—the last time, as a citizen with civic rights", said Mrs. Sirimavo Bandaranaike, the SLFP leader on 28th of September. "There is a conspiracy to make me an alien in my land of birth to make me politically a non-person. I will not run away, but on October 16 Coming out of Parliament I go before the people to seek just verdict", declared Mrs. Bandaranaike.

"In 1956, the class war erupted in this country. Ever since the rich and the powerful conspired to destroy the power of the people. In 1959 by the murder of Mr. S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike they attempted to overthrow the people's regime. In 1962, 1964, 1971 and in 1977 the SLFP saved democracy in Sri Lanka. Ever since 1956 many attempts had been made to erode people's rights and power. While, denying the subsidy to the poor, the rich get state subsidies and tax holidays. But for the SLFP, even the few safeguards would have gone. Now in its last lap the UNP fears the return of the SLFP. They want to remove the civic rights of the poor, the subsidies of the poor, the political rights of the poor. Therefore, in order to put into disarray the people's front they conspire to remove me from politics. Premadasa has taken my head to Washington. But the people of Sri Lanka will not allow their rights to be trampled so easily", concluded Mrs. Sirimavo Bandaranaike."

There was also another front-page story headlined: "1959 SEPT 25—SOMARAMA 1980, SEPT 25 —PREMARAMA—AMERICA BEHIND MRS. B'S DE-CAPITATION? The report read: "A wave of resentment is sweeping across Sri Lanka over the 'political' assassination of Mrs. Sirimavo Bandaranaike. This is the gravest political crime since the murder of Patrice Lumumba of Congo and Premier Zulfikar Ali Bhutto of Pakistan. Is America and its envoy behind the political decapitation of Mrs. B? As reported by the PTI news agency, did the Admiral of the Seventh Fleet fly over to Colombo to ask for bases in Trincomalee? Is Mrs. Bandaranaike's disqualifying law, a move to cut down opposition to US marines landing here? What made the UNP elect the very eve of Premier Premadasa's departure to United States of America, as the decapitation day of Mrs. B? Is there a CIA connection? People at large are convinced of American interference in our affairs, especially after the Gulf war", said Mr. J. R. P. Suriyapperuma, Member of the Sri Lanka Freedom Party Politbureau, at the Bogambara Grounds on Sept. 25. The crowd was the largest to gather in Kandy in the recent past. Among the six effigies burnt were, one blind, one dumb and one deaf!

"25,000 million rupee budget gap in 1981, cannot be bridged by taking the head of Mrs. Bandaranaike. The UNP fearing to meet the people had done away the buy-elections and all village committee elections. Fearing to meet Mrs. Bandaranaike in a political confrontation, the UNP has resorted to the bankrupt political murder system. Every dictator does so to perpetuate his rule. But the history says that no dictator had ever died in bed taking a dose of medicine.....".

The Nation, 3/10/80 had also editorialised: "When Gods want to destroy, they make the UNP mad", that is the opinion of all sections about the Hitlorite fascist law to remove the civic rights of Mrs. Sirimavo Bandaranaike, the SLFP leader. Today everyone questions the credibility, invincibility nay, the very durability of the UNP under President JR. Will JR be the author of the final liquidation and burial of the UNP. Sometimes the very letters of 'U' 'N' 'P' will be obliterated from the political dictionary of this country. For J.R. has flouted the basic tenets of the social contract upon which the political edifice is built. ".....Anyway the 1977 UNP victory was not his. It is the product of a foreign conspiracy as in India and Pakistan. The entire functioning of the UNP since 1977, can safely be summarised as bringing the country to the brink of a civil war. The entire Capitalist class and the UNP must shiver and shudder at the growing wrath of the masses. Since, the news of harassment of Mrs. B became public the entire country has become a boiling cauldron. That is the inevitable nemesis, the Party will receive due to its adventurist leadership. Mrs. B is no mean personality for a Kehelwatta puppy to push around. This atrocity betrays a congenital deficiency in the character of the UNP leadership. Even rulers must have some culture, some breeding. This deficiency in the UNP is almost elemental. The SLFP, the guardian of the down-trodden masses of Sri Lanka cannot be liquidated so easily—for its roots are in the history of the country and people. Law to deprive Mrs. B's civic rights is only symbolic. In 1959 it was a Somarama. In 1980 it is a Premarama. But the tottering capitalism here will pay a capital penalty the day. The reckoning is done. Already the shades of Somoza, Idi Amin, the Shah are hovering over the political scene. In the guise of this law the UNP has drafted its death warrant. It is up to the masses to execute it within law and justice."

As D-day approached, the Nation, 10/10/80, besides giving a long list of places where she was holding meetings, on its front page reported that at the Ja-ela meeting she had said: "I challenge President J. R. Jayewardene to hold a referendum over the issue of the imposition of civic disabilities on me," to the largest crowd ever to gather at Ja-ela Town on October 5th. "If the people defeat me in a referendum, I will leave politics—but not otherwise. I am a duly and popularly elected member of Parliament. As Prime Minister I had served the country the longest, saving democracy from extremist coups, insurgencies and revolts. I was not found guilty of any corruption by this Government's commissions either. The Government media runs mad to distort facts and mislead the public. They are guilty of abuse of power and misuse of authority. One day they have to answer for such crimes. Mr. J. R. Jayewardene or Mr. Premadasa has no right whatsoever to remove me from Parliament. J.R. is afraid of the people. In 1956 also the people humbled him and made him kiss the dust of defeat. J.R. is afraid of his political opponents. I am his greatest opponent in the political field today. Therefore, he wants to eliminate me

cowardly removing my civic rights. This is history's meanest act of revenge and the most cowardly act. The ruling Adharmistas distort the news media to slander me. If public funds are misused in such manner, when we come to power, we may be forced to appoint Commissions at every street corner' warned the SLFP leader."

The paper also published under the headline: **PEOPLE'S WAVE GATHERS MOMENTUM..... PETITION SIGNED IN BLOOD** a report that read: "Thousands and thousands of patriotic youths have started to sign petitions in blood to show their solidarity and enrollment to the campaign to resist all undemocratic and illegal measures to deprive the Mahasammatha Jananaike Sirimavo Bandaranaike of her civic rights by the brutal steam-roller majority of the capitalist UNP. Reports flow into the SLFP headquarters of the gathering momentum of the campaign to sign the petition in blood by youths, students and women in the rural areas. In Colombo, in street corners, youth leaguers are going house to house explaining and alerting the public of the sinister motive behind the removal of civic rights of Mrs. Bandaranaike. Women in their thousands have come to the streets to demand the withdrawal of the sinister bill and to restore subsidies robbed of the poor."

The paper on page 3 had a headline **MRS. BANDARANAIKE'S RIGHTS WILL BE RESTORED IN 24 HOURS—Maithripala Senanayake, MP** and reported: "The move to remove Mrs. Bandaranaike's civic rights is a conspiracy by foreign and local reactionaries. But the day such conspiracies went unchallenged by the masses is over. Rulers should take careful note of such determination of the masses" declared Mr. Maithripala Senanayake MP. He further said, "the delegates gathered at Lusaka, for the Inter Parliamentary Union were shocked that such a barbaric measure could be implemented in a civilized country. Our party is more united than at any other time. No amount of slander, gossip or scurrilous pamphlets by our enemies can mislead the public today. All rights of Mrs. Bandaranaike will be restored within twenty four hours of our coming to power' he concluded."

The editorial in this issue was a sermon entitled **UNP! HEAL THYSELF**. It also had a piece by the editorial (on page 6) (no doubt intended to win Indian and non-aligned sympathy). The headlines were: **ANOTHER GUANTANAMO IN TRINCOMALEE..... TO STAB INDIA'S SOFT UNDER-BELLY**. The report read: "The establishment of the New York based RIZACO INTERNATIONAL OIL REFINERY in the militarily strategic Trincomalee Harbour, has created a national and regional crisis of the first magnitude. It has thrown the regional balance of power completely, hey-wire. Two thousand five hundred acres of Hinterland area of the former Royal Navy's Yard will be leased out for a very long period of time to this American organisation. Project report had been very secret as classified information and the constructions around China Bay's R.N. Yard will cost 4.3 billion. Much of the equipment from Diego Garcia will be moved into

Trincomalee to initiate building operations immediately, we understand. Under Free Trade Zone law and District Development law, local decision could permit leasing land or bases to foreign powers. Will this be a mere facade to bring in the warships of the Seventh Fleet into Trincomalee? This question is openly discussed in the streets in Sri Lanka. The *PTI* reported that the Admiral of the Seventh Fleet had visited Colombo to seek base facilities in Sri Lanka. Colombo is agog with the impending landing of marines and the leasing of the bases to the Americans. with the Gulf war escalating, the West wants to neutralise the Indian Foreign Policy by an encircling movement, and disarm the Bay of Bengal. Western Navies also want to scout and monitor the naval movements in East Indian Ocean, especially through the Malacca Straits and around Andaman Islands. Their main discomfiture is the lack of permanent land-base with elbowroom. Trincomalee, the seat of Naval Power of the British Navy with its abandoned facilities, answers this requirements. Not to offend the Non-aligned sentiments in the region, the West wants to smuggle in a Refinery first and then permit the US Navy to gate-crash, while the building works commences."

Next, *The Nation* dated October 17, 1980 reported a brief gist of Mrs. Bandaranaike's press conference on October 13, and said: "Speaking to the Nation, Mrs. Sirimavo Bandaranaike the Leader of the SLFP said, 'the alleged accusation on SLFP members of various stories like the assassination attempts of President and PM, were similar to Hitler's Reichstag Fire story. I am really subjected to assassination politically. But to justify to the world opinion the repressive measures and the negation of human and fundamental rights within Sri Lanka, false charges have been levelled against our party supporters'. Parallel stories by the Government are irrelevant and unrelated to my case. This is a named, crude and undemocratic attempt to politically disable their only political rival at the coming Presidential Election. The commission I demanded was on the basis of the judiciary that existed under the 1972 Constitution, functioning under the Evidence Ordinance with the right to appeal. Leaving this apart, two things expose the UNP's transparent hypocrisy. One, the requested by JR to join my Government in 1972 when the emergency in question was on. Two, his request to me to join his Govt. immediately after the 1977 elections. How then could I be unfit to be in Parliament when I was fit enough to be in his Cabinet? This is Plain political blackmail and political vendetta unheard of in a democracy."

"Answering a question on the possible lease of military bases at Trincomalee; Mrs. B said 'any way we have to be vigilant over the independence and non-alignment of Sri Lanka. This question has raised many eye-brows and the people seem to be restive over any lease of bases.' 'Ours is a democratic party. We safeguarded democracy from coups and revolts several times. It is a false and diversionary charge to accuse

our party of any extra-parliamentary tactics. Really our members are the victims of the assaults of UNP goondas. Under cover of extraordinary powers the UNP goondas have come into the streets to suppress the democratic voices of the people. The Govt. and its allies should be ashamed of the undemocratic and brutal way human rights negated in Sri Lanka today. This may be to give an appearance of stability to foreign investors. But does it look so? To divert the public attention from the coming 1981 budget burdens the Govt. is drawing a red herring across like the Reichstag fire story—but Truth will prevail and the people will triumph”, declared Mrs. Bandaranaike.”

The editorial was on the Reichstag Fire and Dr. Goebbels. eighty to ninety percent of the electorate in Sri Lanka now know little or nothing about the Reichstag Fire—only a few intellectuals educated in Europe still talk about Goebbels or the Reichstag Fire.

Nevertheless the Nation thundered: “.....Bigger the lie, greater the chances of believing. Repeat, Repeat and go on repeating, for repetition is the mother of knowledge. At least the gullible sections of the people will believe some of the trash, said Dr. Goebbels. Should Mrs. Bandaranaike who had sacrificed over three thousand acres of land to the nation be Tarnished over a false-charge of thirty acres? It is not for the sanctity of thirty acres but for the greed of one million acres of land owned by five hundred UNP kulaks who believe that their plunder would be in danger should the SLFP come to power..... With the guillotine of Keppetipola, the entire Kandyan kingdom was opened for Western exploitation. With the defeat of the SLFP government in 1977, the entire Sri Lanka is open for imperialist exploitation. With the political decapitation of Mrs. Bandaranaike, Trincomalee is on sale as a naval base and Sri Lanka will become the fifty-first state of the United States. But lies, coups, revolts or expulsions had never throttled the freedom of a people or a country. Nor the Reichstag Fires deceived a people nor misled the world opinion. Ultimately before very long, truth will prevail. And the people will rediscover their own heroes and leaders out of prisons, jungles or concentration camps. The tears that fall on that day from the eyes of the reactionaries will turn into nectar of the people.”

Statements were also published in the paper from some priests (but many of them had gone back on these later—no doubt under UNP pressure). One group wanted the Government “not to proceed with the abolition of civic rights and the expulsion from Parliament of Madam Sirimavo Bandaranaike, a former Prime Minister of Sri Lanka because (1) The enactment of the Resolution before Parliament will lead to great dissatisfaction among the population; (2) Internationally this country would be subjected to disrepute; (3) it would be a slur on a Dharmista leader like you; (4) this may become a dangerous precedent for future political revenge that might expand in violence.....”.

Another group according to the Nation had intimated their opposition to the Resolution to deprive

Mrs. Sirimavo Bandaranaike of her civic rights on ten grounds: “Mrs. Bandaranaike had rendered an invaluable service to Sri Lanka by (1) setting the age-old question of Indian settlers here by the Sirima-Shastri Pact; (2) bringing under a national system all private schools that had hindered Free Education; (3) pioneered to bring about a settlement to the Indo-Sino Border war; (4) gave the country an internationally recognised marine boundary and settled the Kachchaitivu issue; (5) brought under national control the commanding heights of the economy as Oil Cos. Commercial Banks and Foreign Trade; (6) gave Sri Lanka a Sovereign Independent Republic in 1972; (7) by the 1972 Constitution had guaranteed the state protection and nurture of the Buddhism and the placing of Buddhism in Prime place; (8) becoming the head of the 76 Non-aligned Nations, brought international recognition and fame to Sri Lanka; (9) successfully and courageously suppressed the 1971 insurgency that was a threat to adult life and religious and was a conspiracy to establish a dictatorship (10) exercising mercy, had saved thousands of lives of the youth and had saved democratic political structure from collapse at such desperate times.....”.

This did not deter the government and the UNP from proceeding to adopt the Bills to expel her from Parliament and also deprive her of civic rights. The government media published a list of former MPs and Ministers who had been deprived of civic rights from 1943 onwards.

In what she described as her “last speech in Parliament” she reiterated during the debate that the Jayewardene government had no right to do what they were doing and she said she had been the Prime Minister of the country for 12 years. She had been the leader of her party. She thought this was the first occasion that a motion of the type had been placed before the House—to expel a person of her position. That was something which that House had never before seen. She would like to make one forecast in that connection. The knife she was facing was a double-edged weapon. One side of it was herself and Mr. Felix Dias Bandaranaike; on the other side were those who were responsible for that motion. They would suffer the same fate one day. That was also a sign for the future. She would like to say that the people of this country were shocked by the whole procedure. People abroad too were shocked by the crime about to be perpetrated. She said that she became the Prime Minister of this country when her husband was assassinated. The present case was an attempt to assassinate her politically. The people of this country were not tamed by the assassination of her husband, and they would not be tamed by the present action. But she could tell the house that she would not allow the UNP to victimise the people.

The next day a further disability was added by denying any person who suffered civic disabilities the right to canvas during elections and to speak on election platforms. This meant that the SLFP would have to elect another leader before the forthcoming District Development Council elections and to lay the foundation for the 1983 general elections.

By the week-end the army had been withdrawn to the barracks and the heavy concentration of the Police withdrawn from Colombo. Many diplomats and foreigners in Sri Lanka had expected spontaneous mass popular reactions protesting against the "punishment" meted out on Mrs. Bandaranaike. But so far there has been none.

Was this because people feared policereprisals, harassment and thuggery? Or was it that the under-current of public sympathy that no doubt exists for Mrs. Bandaranaike (because many feel that the punishment is far too severe) was not strong enough to make people come out into the streets?

Talking to people one realises that they have not forgotten the small and big pinpricks they had suffered at the hands of the SLFP Establishment (no doubt, in most cases, without Mrs. Bandaranaike's personal knowledge and concurrence). Today, prices had risen (but more people have jobs); today, many thousands had been able to go abroad for employment (the SLFP had restricted passports) and remit large sums home; today there is talk of corruption in high places.....in millions (in SLFP days it was only in thousands).....but people have been left alone.

Whether this will explain why there has been no popular uproar as yet is difficult to say. Time will alone provide the answers. Can SLFP rhetoric bring about a new Resolution?

(Concluded)

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FINANCE MINISTER

The Challenges Before The Country

Speech made by the Minister of Finance & Planning Mr. Ronnie de Mel at the seventy fourth Annual Sessions of the Institution of Engineers, Sri Lanka, at the BMICH 16.10.80.

IT GIVES ME GREAT PLEASURE to address the members of the Institution of Engineers at their annual sessions. To Engineers is entrusted the difficult task of implementing the development programme of the Government. To me is entrusted and even more difficult and thankless task, to provide the finances for this development. Therefore, I consider that we are partners in the progress of Sri Lanka. To-day, Ladies & Gentlemen, I do not wish to make a set type of speech. I do not wish to indulge in the usual platitudes. We have too many mutual admiration societies in this country. It is time we tried to have a look at

ourselves as others see us without indulging in mutual admiration. I would like therefore to use this opportunity to apprise you of some of the major problems and difficulties that face the Government—problems and difficulties that have an important bearing on the fate of the development projects we have undertaken. Today, more than at any other time during our tenure of office, we need the active support and co-operation of all ranks and categories of citizens, particularly the full co-operation of the engineering profession in Sri Lanka.

Sri Lanka engineers as you all know are heirs to a great tradition. I would say a proud tradition. Our engineering skills are not matters of yesterday or today. Our engineering skills date back almost 2,500 years. They are the marvel of the modern world. Our ancient irrigation system is a unique phenomenon. Even Arnold Toynbee draws attention to it in his monumental History of the World, as something unique in the standard of hydraulic engineering in the ancient world. Kings like Mahasen, Dhatusena, Agbo II, Vasaba and Parakramabahu the Great have achieved fame on account of the large and numerous tanks constructed during their reigns. We must not forget, that it was their engineers who transformed their dreams into reality. What engineers they must have been without the scientific knowledge, instruments and the equipment you have today. A supreme example of the tremendous skill of Sri Lanka's ancient engineers is the Jaya Ganga or Yoda Ela which brings Kalawewa waters to Anuradhapura. You all know it was constructed around the 5th century A.D. 54 miles in length and 40 feet wide in the widest sections with a gradient for the first seventeen miles of only 6 inches per mile. And they did this at a time when none of today's sophisticated instruments and advanced technologies were available! The extensive network of tanks and canals throughout the Dry Zone of this country is ample testimony to the engineering skills of our ancestors.

OUR ANCIENT RULERS did not however restrict themselves to building tanks. Magnificent religious edifices were constructed during the reigns of Kings like Dutugemunu, Mahasen, Parakramabahu and others. The Ruwanveliseya, the Abhayagiri, the Jethavanarama, the buildings in Polonnaruwa, are all worthy examples of the exceptional skills of Sri Lanka's ancient engineers. So we had both Irrigation engineers and construction engineers of supreme talent, at a time, when the rest of the world except for certain isolated places in Greece, India, China or Egypt, had none. We must also not forget Sigiriya. Then there are the famous old roads bridges, drainage and sewage systems. We had engineers in all fields.

Let me now come to another point. An important point. A very relevant point. At a time when we have to depend so much on foreign aid, foreign consultants and foreign engineers, I wonder whether our ancient kings also had foreigners to assist them. Perhaps not. Although we know that they sometimes had Indian artists and craftsmen and possibly even some technicians. But only a few. Much of the work

was done by our own people. I have just come from Brazil. I have seen the construction of their Itaipu Dam across the Parar River. 12,000 Megawatts. 60 times Kotmale and Victoria. 10 billion dollars. Everything done by Brazilian and Paraguayan engineers. No foreigners. Everything fabricated in Brazil. Even the giant turbines. We have much to learn from other third world countries.

As I told you this Government has launched a massive development programme. Considering our own slender resources, nearly 65% of resources come from outside. That is why the Minister of Finance has to spend so much time abroad. 65% of his Development Budget comes from outside! Shouldn't we all be ashamed? Ashamed to beg? Ashamed to borrow like this? 33 years after Independence! I am certainly ashamed as Finance Minister.

When we launched our development programme, we were conscious of the fact that Sri Lanka's engineers were part and parcel of a great tradition and we were confident that given the correct motivation they would deliver the goods. If we had any doubts about it, we would never have conceived such an ambitious programme. With your skill, support and co-operation, I am confident we will be able to implement this programme.

OUR PROGRAMME centred on four lead projects—the Accelerated Mahaweli, the Free Trade Zone, the Greater Colombo Development Scheme and that 100,000 houses programme. In addition we proposed to inaugurate a multitude of smaller projects dispersed throughout the country—from Point Pedro in the North to Devinuvara in the South.

Our programme was going to cost Rs. 47 billion at the beginning of 1978. A terrific amount of money for Sri Lanka. Many people thought we could never find the money. But I found the money. Now what has happened. World inflation has so escalated costs that the same programme will cost us 120 billion.

I will give you a few examples of cost escalation. The estimated cost of the Accelerated Mahaweli has gone up from Rs. 8 billion to Rs. 31 billion. The cost of the Housing Programme has gone up from Rs. 1.7 billion to Rs. 6 billion, may be more. Kotte Parliamentary Complex was estimated to cost us Rs. 500 million at the outset. Already it has cost us Rs. 1.8 billion. The cost of the Ruhunu Campus project which is dear to my heart was originally estimated to cost Rs. 125 million, now they say it will cost Rs. 600 million ultimately, when we end up.

It will not be easy to find this money. People sometimes imagine that money can be almost plucked from trees. Money cannot be found that way. We may have to re-order our priorities. We may have to reduce costs. It is here that I would like to appeal to you engineers—you can play a significant role, a patriotic role in the interests of your country. Let me in this context pose a few problems to you—problems

that came to my mind at random when I was called upon to speak at this session.

- (1) Why have construction costs in Sri Lanka gone up so high, even making allowances for normal inflation? Why have they gone up much more when compared to increases in costs in countries around us—in India, in Pakistan, in Malaysia and Singapore. Our costs have gone up more than the relevant increases in the countries around us.
- (2) Can we not use cheaper materials and techniques and follow designs and appropriate technologies better adapted and suited to our country?
- (3) Why should Sri Lanka pay hundreds of millions of rupees to foreign consultants for feasibilities, designs and supervision etc. Do we not have suitable people here to do this much cheaper? Or is it the lack of suitable organisation although we have the talent.

THESE ARE QUESTIONS to which I would like you engineers to address your minds. We cannot go on just as I said before like a mutual admiration society always praising ourselves looking at ourselves before a mirror and indulging in self-praise and self-adulation. We have done this for 33 years. It is time that we pause a little and take stock of the situation and it is here I wish you engineers could help us.

I admit that quite a lot of this escalation in costs is due to imported inflation and therefore outside your control. But I am certain that there are several areas in which, with greater care and better management, better supervision, better control, substantial economies in local expenditure can be achieved. To offset even partially, imported inflation, it is essential that local cost increases be kept to a minimum.

Construction costs in this country seem to have increased at a much higher rate than in our neighbouring countries in Asia. In Singapore, the inflation rate in the housing sector last year was only 12.8%. In India and Pakistan I understand less. Even in U.K. In Sri Lanka on the other hand costs have risen 100% and even 200 and 300%—a situation which has been adversely commented on by several critics. Should low cost rural housing for example cost so much? I admit that there has been a tremendous boom in the construction industry after several years of stagnation and neglect, and that demand has greatly outstripped supply. The doubling of the price of cement has also contributed significantly to cost increases. But are these the only reasons? I doubt very much. I am not an engineer. You engineers can give me the answers.

Ladies and Gentlemen, in a situation where all our major development programmes call for a massive construction effort this escalation in costs poses a very serious problem to a Government deeply committed to development and growth. The question as to why construction costs have gone up so much when compared to other countries is therefore a very vital one. I would like the engineers to seriously address your

minds to this problem, for you are the people who can help us.

You must also advise us as to whether we cannot use cheaper materials and cheaper techniques and still obtain the same results. Can't we follow designs and techniques better suited to the needs of our country rather than Western models. Do we, for instance, need so many high rise buildings? Do we have the skilled manpower and sophisticated equipment necessary for their maintenance? Is our infrastructure adequate? Do we have fire brigades for example capable of meeting fire situations in high rises?

THE PROBLEM of the increasing rate of inflation and continuing escalation of construction costs brings me to another very important matter, namely, the necessity to complete work on schedule. I am aware that here too many of the factors are beyond your control. Lack of skilled manpower, and materials and equipment not being available in time, has led to serious delays. Time means money more than ever before in an inflationary world. Every day's delay is pushing up costs. If we are unable to keep costs within reasonable bounds the projects we started will never be completed. This Government has a duty by the people to ensure that these projects are completed on schedule. The people have put up with present hardships in the hope of a better tomorrow. How can we face them if that tomorrow never comes? I am certain that such of these delays can be avoided with a little more dedication, a little more work, a little more care and concern, and a little more supervision on your part. After all, these works do not belong to the Government in power, they belong to the people which includes you. Since you were actively associated in fixing target dates, the Government expects you to put your best foot forward to meet the deadlines that have been set.

Another problem which is causing us great concern is the hundreds of millions of rupees we are paying to foreign consultants for feasibility studies, designs, supervision etc. It is correct that in the case of large projects funded from abroad, donor countries and agencies generally wish to have their own independent consultants. But there are several areas in which, had we the capacity, we could have dispensed with foreign consultants and saved vast sums in foreign exchange. It is therefore essential that we take immediate and adequate steps to build up this capacity. Organisations like the Central Engineering Consultancy Bureau and even your Institution itself must play an active role in this regard. The Government is prepared to give you every assistance.

Ladies and Gentlemen, I consider that this Government has done more for the engineers of this country, than possibly any Government which preceded it. We have recognised the importance of the role engineers have to play, if the development programme is to proceed smoothly. We have tried our best to motivate you. We have granted you special allowances, permitted you to import cars, re-employed you on retirement and even allowed you to do private work where there is no conflict of interest.

Let me tell you one thing. This country can never match the salaries that foreign countries can afford to pay you. We are limited by the slender resources of a poor developing 3rd World Country. We do not, however, wish to deprive you of the right to seek employment outside if you wish. Nobody can tie you down to Sri Lanka. Nobody would like to be a second class citizen in a foreign land unless he had very important reasons for doing so.

We have done what we possibly could to make it worth your while to remain here and make your contribution to Sri Lanka's future prosperity. The very fact that a large number of you have resisted the temptation of more lucrative salaries abroad and remained here, is sufficient indication that patriotism is not dead in this land and particularly in the engineering profession.

Ladies and Gentlemen, in conclusion, as I have told you, we have embarked on the biggest and most ambitious programme of development in our history. It is one of the most challenging programmes in the most challenging of times. This is not the best of times. Not is it the worst of times. We call upon you engineers to help us to build a better and more prosperous Sri Lanka.

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MINISTRY OF PLAN IMPLEMENTATION-2

Decentralised Budget & DDCs

(Continued From Last Issue)

ECONOMIC OVER HEADS SECTORAL DIVISION. The division continues to perform selective studies on constraints to development. The monthly monitoring of progress in respect of development expenditure of government Ministries and Departments was continued by the division on a new format. These reports were tabled with short lists at the Development Secretaries Committee from time to time since July 1979. At the end of September 1979 a progress report was prepared on development constraints and tabled for discussion by the Development Secretaries. As subsequent reports on this subject for the 4th quarter 1979 and 1st quarter 1980 were not available from several organisations and in view of a considerable amount of changes that have taken place during the last year it is now proposed to prepare and update at report covering the one year period since the preparation of the original memorandum. The report 'Performance July 1978 to July 1979' was compiled and the publication work co-ordinated by the division. The directory on career prospects in Sri Lanka was compiled by the division during the latter part of 1979.

A study was made by the Ministry on promotional grades for English Stenographers and Typists in government service. The staff of this division took an active part in the preparation of the draft report and the division has also been entrusted with the task of following up on the implementation of the major recommenda-

tions in the report. Preliminary work in connection with the Sri Lanka Development Planners Service minute has been done by the Division and the matter is being followed up by the division at the joint committee set up by the Ministry of Plan Implementation and Ministry of Finance & Planning. The exercise on the standardisation of heavy machinery and equipment is ongoing, an interim report on three selected items was prepared. It is envisaged that with a help of a foreign consultant this exercise will be pursued in respect of all items of heavy machinery that are in use in the Government Sector. This division also performed the role of a Co-ordinator in resolving certain problems between the suppliers of tea machinery and the two Corporations. Namely the State Plantations Corporation and the Janatha Estate Development Board. A comprehensive report on this problem has been recently presented to His Excellency the President for his consideration.

DEPARTMENT OF CENSUS AND STATISTICS. During the past two years, the Department of Census and Statistics continued to serve as the central agency of the Government for the compilation, analysis and dissemination of statistical information on various sectors of the economy as needed for purposes of national planning as well as to meet the needs of international organisations.

(i) *Census of Population and Demography.* With the publication of the General Report of the 1971 Census of Population in 1978 and the release of District-wise reports covering both Population and Housing, the work of tabulation and analysis of data collected at the 1971 Census of Population was successfully completed. The first Country Report on the results of the World Fertility Survey conducted in Sri Lanka in 1975 by the Department in collaboration with the International Statistical Institute was published during 1978. A follow up Sample Survey on the Determinants of Fertility was carried out in consultation with the World Bank in 1979.

(ii) *Sample Surveys.* Two important surveys covering (a) a sample of 3200 urban households in Colombo city and in selected adjoining towns to assess levels of living and patterns of household expenditure, and (b) the survey of basic village statistics to collect social and economic data needed for village planning, were conducted during this period.

(iii) *Agricultural Statistics.* (a) *Crop Surveys.* The Bi-annual survey for estimating the average yield of paddy continued to be conducted during the Maha and Yala season of each cultivation year. The sample design remained unchanged, but based on experiments carried out earlier in several districts for obtaining an improved estimate of paddy yield, it was decided to reduce the standard rectangular plot size of (33x16 1/2 ft.) to (16 1/2x16 1/2 ft.) according to a phased programme, in the different districts. (b) *Highland Crops.* A special Highland Crop Survey was undertaken in a selected sample of villages to obtain an objective estimate of area cultivated under various Highland Crops. A complete

list of all parcels having highland crop and livestock in villages was prepared and is to be used as a frame for future sample surveys on Highland Crops. (c) *Census of Agriculture.* Two preliminary reports which contained a districtwise analysis of Basic Data for all agricultural small holdings as well of the more detailed information on agricultural operations of small-holdings and of estates were released. The general report on Census of Agriculture containing a detailed evaluation of the structure of Sri Lanka's agriculture was published.

(iv) *Publications.* The backlog in the printing of the department's basic annual publications viz. Statistical Abstract, Statistical Pocket Book and the Sri Lanka Year Book, was substantially reduced with the assistance of the Government Printer. The Statistical Pocket Book for the year 1979 with data upto 1978, was released in December 1979 and the Statistical Abstract for 1979 and Statistical Pocket Book for 1980, have both reached the proof stage and are to be released shortly.

(v) *Printing.* With the installation of a new Photo offset print machine in the department's printing division, there has been an expeditious printing and dissemination of a number of important bulletins and reports on statistical surveys and on current statistical series of the department as well as of reports on studies done by the Ministry of Planning and Implementation.

(vi) *Data Processing.* The Data Processing Division in addition to the processing of a wide range of current as well as of special data series (including the Fertility Surveys) has also assisted the Maldivian Government in the computer analysis of the Census of Population and Housing conducted in the Maldives in 1978.

(vii) *Statistical Training.* with the setting up of a separate Training and Research Division during the period under review, several in-service training courses in statistical procedures as well as in mathematics and statistics for officers both of the lower and middle levels were successfully arranged. The department had the services of a Statistical Training Adviser provided under the CFTC aid programme to assist in the work of the training division. A number of National Workshops and Seminars were conducted by the department in collaboration with foreign agencies such as FAO, UN & the U.S. Bureau of Census and they covered subject fields such as Agricultural Statistics, National Accounts and Population and Housing Census methods.

(viii) *Office Re-organization and staff.* During the past two years there was an important re-organization of the department by the establishment of thirteen Head Office Divisions (10 statistical and supporting divisions) which enabled the efficient handling and co-ordination of the activities of the department. A significant increase in the cadre at all levels occurred during this period to a figure of 1050 at the end of June 1980.

REGIONAL DEVELOPMENT DIVISION. The main functions of the Regional Development Division (RDD) are:— (a) The administration of Divisional Development Council (DDC) programme; (b) The administration of

the Decentralised Budget (to end of 1979); (c) The administration of the District Integrated Rural Development Programme (DIRDP).

The Administration of the DDC Programme. The DDC programme was commenced in 1971 as a means of generating low cost employment in small and medium scale enterprises. The projects were financed by allocations from the Ministry mainly as loans advanced to the Co-operative Societies which were set up to manage such projects. Out of a total of 2600 projects which have been approved about 2200 projects were started. The experience with these projects on the whole was far from satisfactory due to poor planning and management. At the beginning of this year about 500 projects were still functioning providing employment to about 7,500 people, the rest has been closed down temporarily or permanently. About 100 have been transferred to other departments and agencies. In view of the general failure of this programme, no financial allocations from the Ministry have been made since 1978. A large amount of funds remaining in the marginal accounts have been recovered by the Ministry and credited to revenue. Unused equipment available with DDC projects have also, in many cases, been transferred to other government agencies for effective use. It may be also noted that a few projects have been started since 1978 at the special request of M.P.P. with funds allocated from the decentralised budget.

Decentralised Budget. The decentralised budget was handled by this Ministry during 1978 and 1979. In 1978 a sum of Rs. 168 million was made available for new works and Rs. 258 million for continuation works. The total expenditure for the year was Rs. 426 million.

During 1979, Rs. 306m. was voted and each District was made an allocation of Rs. 2 million per electorate for new works. The intention was to make available funds required for continuation works outside this allocation. The total of continuation works outstanding during 1979 was around Rs 280 million. The expenditure statement for the year 1979 is given below, district by district in million of rupees. Colombo 30; Gampaha 31.9; Kalutara 20.9; Matara 12.6; Hambantota 10.5; Badulla 22.8; Ratnapura 19.0; Nuwara Eliya 20.3; Vavuniya 2.6; Mullaitivu 2.5; Galle 22.2; Trincomalee 9.2; Matale 11.6; Kandy 27.1; Moneragala 8.0; Jaffna 32.6; Kurunegala 31.0; Mannar 2.3; Polonnaruwa 11.2; Puttalam 12.4; Anuradhapura 33.8; Kegalle 17.9; Amparai 15.6; Batticaloa 10.0; Total 418.0.

The policy followed by the Ministry with regard to the decentralised budget during these two years was to leave the selection of items at the commencement of the year to the districts. However, it was necessary to restrict the commencement of new items towards the end of each year, because this was merely adding to the list of continuation items which has been growing over the years. Regular progress control meetings were held with the Government Agents, who were accounting officers at district level also two Seminars were held with the Government Agents to review

the overall performance, procedures and problems facing the effective operation of the decentralised budget. However a decision was taken towards the end of 1979 that the Government Agent should be made the Chief Accounting Officer for the decentralised budget, in order to give a greater measure of autonomy and decision-making with regard to matters connected with this programme. In view of this decision, this Ministry became disassociated with the decentralised budget from January 1980.

(To Be Concluded)

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FILM FOCUS

Politics & Films

While an amalgam of Religion and Politics has always proved to be an explosive one—bad for religion and worse for politics—one has yet to assess, with precision, the results that could appear when Film stars aspire to stardom in the political firmament. It is possible that within a few days of this column appearing in print, ex-Hollywood actor Ronald Reagan would be ascending the steps of White House, for he has progressively come within an ace of becoming its incumbent, to preside over the future fortunes of the most powerful country in the world—America. With a proud record in World War II, the facts of which he espoused actively in celluloid for a couple of decades thereafter, it can be only hoped that he will not preside paradoxically over a third world war which probably would end all wars forever.

In Sri Lanka too we have had a couple of actors who had been playing platform politics at the height of their career, and while one has thrown in the towel, the other is still in the ring for better or for worse. All this of course brings us to the only film star to date, and a Sri Lanka born personality at that, who has become the legislative head in South India. I refer of course to Chief Minister M. G. Ramachandran—popularly referred to as M.G.R.—whose charismatic appeal has so swayed the South Indian masses, to repose their future in his hands. M.G.R. who graduated from the role of a villain in the early forties to a swashbuckling and dashing hero in later years has a large following in Sri Lanka too, as his latest film release "Meenava Nanban", indicates.

At the height of his career as an actor, he was wily and nily projected into South Indian politics and was elected to the legislature in Tamil Nadu. Having cut his political teeth under Chief Minister Annadurai, he worked hand in glove later with the latter's successor Karunanidhi, till they came to a drastic parting of ways. Branching out to form the Anna D.M.K., and preaching platitudes as a champion of the underdog, that won the masses over, the biggest plum of political office, became

his for the asking, and fell on his lap, at the very first countdown. John Morley, the English statesman has stated in one of his lighter moments that "the choice in politics is constantly between two evils." Thus it was that actor M.G.R. lost his hold in politics, to regain it soon after with the realisation that films and politics could not go hand in hand, with the tight rope proving too taut at both ends. Touching sixty or so now, M.G.R. has bid adieu to the cinematic ladder that he climbed to fame and fortune, and his political "pilgrimage" from now on will be watched by many with more than ordinary interest.

BLACK SUNDAY. (English): I had seldom felt so tense before in a film in the concluding moments as in this presentation, which portrays with punch and power the fanaticism of terrorist groups that ruthlessly spread out their tentacles, soaked in blood, across the world. In this Paramount Production in Panavision it is a tight group of highly motivated Palestinian terrorists, labelled the Black September Organisation which attempts to unleash an onslaught on the unsuspecting spectators, numbering about 80,000 at the Annual Bowls Game in Miami, USA. The plot gathers momentum in Beirut, where a dedicated female member of this group (Martha Keller) starts spinning the deadly web, taking on as her main accomplice and pawn, a neurotic Viet Nam war wreck (Bruce Dern), a once decorated pilot to activate her evil design on a nation.

The story then swings over to the target area via Los Angeles, Washington, California and finally to the Miami Stadium, where the big game is to be played with President Carter too taking time off to watch it. The plotters however do not reckon with the hawk-eyed Kabakov (Robert Shaw), who while on the right side of the law on borrowed time, keeps tracking their every calculated move. Comes the big day, and an explosive charged Zeppelin zooms over the stadium, and what follows withers one's nerve ends to tatters. See the rest for yourself, with your family if they are steely enough and watch the histrionics of actress Martha Keller in particular, for she gives one of the finest performances I have seen in a role dedicated to a cause that had become "in built" in her personality by her traumatic past. She proves, by her acting, that even in a man sized undertaking the female can prove the deadlier of the species.

MEENAVA NANBAN (Fisherman's Friend) Tamil: This is one of the films that Chief Minister M. G. Ramachandran probably starred in, wearing the crown of high office. The dialogue and direction are under the expertise of the reputed Sridhar, who lifts the film out of a rut it could have got into, but for him. With plain evidence of disguised age, sitting on him, M.G.R. plays a tough, who breaks the monopoly of Zamindars and middle-men who have a stranglehold on the daily "catches" of indigent fisherman who brave the perilous seas. In between he has time for the attractive actress Latha, who casts a net over his heart, but here too the March-September love gap props through. The songs are catchy, the photography in

colour—mainly by the seashore—is excellent, but the action sequence bring only memories of M.G.R.'s yesteryears. See it for Sridhar's sake, for it has always been held, and very rightly so, that if it is Sridhar behind the camera, it must be good, I agree.

GANGA ADDARA (Sinhalese): I could not resist the temptation to sit this film out once again, and on this occasion was alert enough to pick out other good performances which I missed out on my main review of the film (*Tribune* 23.8.80). For instance, I thought that Geetha Kumarasinghe in her rather brief appearance as one, mentally obsessed, over the "other women" who drove her to the Asylum gives vigour to her role and reveals the immense acting prowess she packs with her good looks. Then there was Shanti Lekha as the housemaid, who with her measured acting as always, bringing out some tender moments in the story with the mere and meaningful twitching of her facial expressions. To me, Ganga Addara, will remain a milestone in Sinhala cinema, awaiting to be overtaken.

DR. WHO AND THE DALEKS (English): It's that horror star Peter Cushing again, as a scientist switching on to unexplored planets, in mini "Star Wars" style, to catch many Tartars and becoming a cropper in the end. The space Daleks (Robots) declare war on his domestic expedition in "Wizard of Oz" style and children should take to the film a little. For adults however, it would be sheer boredom.

James N. Benedict.

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BRZEZINSKI—2

The Soviet Challenge

Zbigniew Brzezinski, the National Security Adviser to President Carter, said October 15 that the United States is pursuing a policy of non-interference in the Iran-Iraq conflict, but 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. The first part appeared in our issue last week and the concluding part this week.

Q: What have you or President Carter or the Administration done to counter such possible Soviet moves?

A: I think it is important here to go back a number of months to the beginning of this year, to January 1980. It was in his State of Union message that the President committed the United States to something truly important—I really believe something of historical significance—namely to the proposition that the secu-

rity and independence of the South West Asian region and the Persian Gulf is in the vital interest of the United States. I see this as the third phase in our sustained post world war two effort to create international security. The first phase was the restoration and the rendering secure of Europe. The second phase was a much more painful process designed to accomplish the same objective in the Far East. We are now in the early stages of what is likely to be a very prolonged effort to create a regional security framework in this very vulnerable part of the world. And that is going to be like NATO- That is not going to involve bases, permanently stationed troops, but a much more complicated relationship with the countries in the region whose sensitivity to colonialism, whose pre-occupation with their independence, we have to respect. And we have started doing a lot since last January. We have made arrangements for increased Naval presence. We obtained facilities in the region so that we can project American forces rapidly, to acquire search capability. We have made contingency plans for the rapid deployment of forces if they were to be needed. In co-operation with the host countries, we have done some joint exercises. And we have also maintained sustained diplomatic and economic efforts with the countries concerned to make certain that they, together with us, enhance the security of the region. But above all, we want to make certain that this region remains independent of external domination. This is going to be a long term, sustained historical effort.

Q: In light of the January 1980 statement, or the vital interest statement, we have the latest threat today from the Iranians that they may mine, and thus close the Strait of Hormuz. Would that be against our vital interests, and would we do something if they did?

A: The President has said, and so has the Secretary of State, that it is important for the Strait of Hormuz to remain open to international traffic. And we stand by that statement, indeed by these commitments. Having said that, I really do hasten to add that we should not attach too much importance or sensationalize individual statements by this or that military port in this or that country. We are dealing with a war. Emotions are running high. People may make from time to time irresponsible statements. And I would not want to contribute to a heightened atmospheric situation by reacting to it in some critical sense.

Q: In other words, you do not take that statement today very seriously then?

A: I feel we should not. The Iranians have made it clear that they do not have the intention of closing the Strait of Hormuz. And I think they mean it. We prefer to think they mean it. And we certainly also mean it when we say that the Strait should remain open.

Q: There was a report out of the Pentagon today, as I am sure you are aware, that said if they did close the Strait, that a few US helicopters could go in there and clear it relatively quickly. Is that, in fact, the case?

A: We certainly have the means to keep it open. We do. But I would not want to pose that in a confrontational vein. We have made it very clear that with so much of the global economy depending on that Strait being open, we feel determined that it should stay open. We feel that Iran and Iraq are of the same view. And therefore, we do not see it as a confrontational posture. But we have the means to keep it open, if need be.

Q: Let us talk about the hostages for a moment. There was a story on the front page of the *Washington Post* this morning which said that unnamed US officials are hopeful that some solution to the hostage crisis could come in the next two to three weeks. Is that accurate?

A: I suppose it is accurate if it is a reflection of what their hopes are. I am hopeful too. We all are hopeful I am sure the whole country is hopeful. But if it is meant to be a conviction based on something specific, then I am sorry to say that I do not see any firm grounds for such expectations.

Q: There is nothing fresh, no fresh development that would cause you or anyone else to be optimistic at this point?

A: No. We are continuing our efforts through a variety of channels, through a variety of means, on a variety of levels. But we have been doing that for quite some time. And we will continue. We will continue because we are determined to get the hostages back. And the president will not rest until they are back. And we will get them back. But when and how I honestly cannot predict.

Q: Are there going to be any attempts to speak directly with the new Iranian Prime Minister, Mr. Rajai, when he comes to address the United Nations about this particular issue?

A: I would hope there would be some opportunities, but I really have no idea of any specific plans to that end. But we are willing to talk to anybody, anywhere, about how best to solve this problem, which is inhuman for the people involved and extremely bad for Iran itself. If I was an Iranian, I would ask myself why (it) is that my nation was secure for the last 30 years and today is so isolated and so vulnerable.

Q: Is there any new information on the condition of the hostages, or where they even are at this point?

A: No, there is no new confirmed information on either one of these matters.

Q: The President said just after the war began that perhaps the isolation of Iran in this war would point out to it the sort of additional necessity of solving the hostage question. As the war has gone on, have you continued to regard this as perhaps an improved opportunity, because of the fighting, to solve the questions?

A: That is very difficult to answer in a clear-cut fashion. Logically speaking, one could make the case that the war would make some Iranians more aware of their vulnerability, of their isolation, and therefore

more inclined to solve this problem, which, as I said, is not in Iran's interest to continue. But wars, as you will know, have a very emotionalizing impact on attitudes. They make people excited. They make people also more rigid. And it is very difficult to make a judgement whether after 24 days of fighting it is reason that the upper hand, or whether it is emotion that is still the guiding spirit of Iranian attitudes.

Q: There have been a lot of reports from well-informed people in Teheran to the effect that Mr. Bani-Sadr's position has been strengthened and he has become a very popular figure, as a sort of a leader of the war effort. Since Mr. Bani-Sadr's on record for many months as wanting an early negotiated settlement to the hostage question, does his apparently improved position raise your hopes?

A: I would put it slightly differently. One of the problems over the last many months has been that power in Iran has been fragmented, that there was no clear-cut source of decision-making. We almost solved this problem on March 31st or April 1st. And then at the very last minute, the deal fell apart because there (was) no one in Iran who could bang the table with his fist and say, "now, execute it." They had to bargain and deal, and the deal fell apart among themselves. If anyone's role is now strengthened because of the war, I think that, as of itself, makes serious negotiations more possible, because it makes it more likely that if there is an agreement, it can be executed.

Q: Is it the administration's intention to make any sort of positive public utterance in the near future to Iran?

A: Our position has been very consistent throughout. We have always said that this problem creates an anomaly in what traditionally has been a good relationship. We have a continued stake in the national integrity of Iran. We have no desire to interfere in Iranian internal affairs. We do feel that Iran has an important and positive regional role to play. That remains our position. And the President and Secretary Vance earlier, and Secretary Muskie more recently, have all said that on the public record.

Q: Specifically on the question of the hostages, Ambassador Ardakani was on our program last week. We have a tape of what he said, specifically, about what it would take to get the hostages released. Let us take a look at that. Ambassador Ardakani: "I think there is always possibility for the release of hostages. Actually Imam Khomeini has spelled very easily how it could be done. And I think if I was Mr. Carter, I would have said okay, we accept this, and probably he could have said we have reservation, a little reservation about this or that point, and it would have worked out well, I assume. But to me, it seems somebody is trying to not let this be solved, which makes me to reduce that actually the American government does not want this question to be resolved." Dr. Brzezinski, how do you respond to that?

A: Well, we certainly want the question to be resolved. And we approached this issue in a constructive vein with a sense of historical perspective. The context in which we approach this matter is the one as I spelled it out. We feel that good relations between Iran and America are in the interest of both sides.

Q: But on the specific question of the conditions that the Ayatollah Khomeini laid down, why did the President not respond directly? Or did he? Did he respond in some kind of non-public way, say, yes, we could take two, three, four, and five or whatever—something like that?

A: You remember when the Ayatollah made his statement, there was a positive indication on our side. The administration made it clear that we are prepared to approach this issue in a constructive spirit. These matters can rarely be resolved by public declarations. They require much more sensitive and sometimes difficult negotiations and contacts. And it is not easy to do this in the kind of a situation in which Iran finds itself today. But the efforts that have been going on over the last few months are continuing. There's simply no way of predicting, however, when they will bear fruit.

Q: If Mr. Carter is re-elected, would you like to stay on as National Security Adviser, Dr. Brzezinski?

A: That is very hard to answer. The job has many challenges, many compensations, occasionally frustrations or even pain. I think what I found most exciting about this job is that it gives the unique opportunity to try to influence events, global politics, towards morally desirable ends. That is a very unique challenge. And one rarely in one's life has an opportunity to meet a challenge like that. But whether I should or should not continue is really up to the President. What many people forget when they discuss this whole issue, or particularly when they discuss this whole issue, or particularly when they discuss state and NSC relations, is that the system that exists is not of my design or of the Secretary of State's design. It is the President's system. He has designed it. He has chosen the people who work for him and with him. And therefore, he has to take the initiative in deciding what is best for him in the next four years.

Q: In that line, Secretary Muskie, as you know, said recently that he felt your job should be redefined by the President so that there would be less conflict—that is not his word, that's my word—between the Secretary of State and the National Security Adviser. Do you agree with him?

A: First of all, he did not say that. He said he would have some notions for reorganization of the system, and he even hinted that he thought that there ought to be more changes in the relationship between state and the defense department than between State and the NSC. And he went out of his way to say there are no conflicts between us. And for that matter, there has been too much mass media pre-occupation with NSC. I whole heartedly agree with him. And I would add quite flatly that he and I are not "poles" apart. We are in fact, good friends, and on most issues, I would

say 95 percent of the time, we have a similar perspective. At the same time, there are two things to be remembered. We live in a very complex world, and many people have often said that it was a mistake in previous years to have all decision-making concentrated in one person. Henry Kissinger was criticized for that. And it is better to have different points of view expressed in dealing with very complicated realities. Secondly, we have a President who is an activist President. He is in the tradition of Kennedy, of Franklin Delano Roosevelt. And he likes to make decisions on the advice of his principal counsellor, the Secretary of State, but also with the assistance of the Defence Secretary, or someone near him in the White House who can occasionally provide a different perspective. In a complicated world, that is a better system.

Thank you, Dr. Brzezinski.

Concluded.

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ISLAMIC SPOKESMAN

Pak Zia's Address To UN-2

THIS IS THE SECOND PART OF THE ADDRESS (SLIGHTLY ABRIDGED) BY GENERAL MOHAMMED ZIA-UL-HAQ PRESIDENT OF ISLAMIC REPUBLIC OF PAKISTAN, TO THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF THE UNITED NATIONS OCTOBER 1, 1980.

Mr. President,

While on the subject of conflicts generated by avarice and greed, I may be allowed to present, before this august Assembly, how we Muslims perceive some of the critical areas of tension on the world map. The tragic conflict between the two Islamic states of Iran and Iraq is a source of deep concern to the world economy. It causes profound anguish to the world of Islam in particular. This violent conflict between two brotherly Islamic states is attributable to the unstable conditions created in a sensitive area by the pressures and counterpressures of super power rivalry. We fervently hope that peace between these two neighbouring countries will return soon. It is the duty of the international community and in particular that of the Islamic and non-aligned worlds to make a positive contribution towards the resolution of the differences between Iran and Iraq. An essential condition for the return of peace between them would be the observance of strict neutrality and non-interference in their internal affairs by the outside powers.

Easily, the most destabilising factor in the Middle East is Israel. Who can deny the justice of the cause of the Palestinian people who have been mercilessly uprooted from their sacred land after being in continuous possession for the best part of 1400 years, and who have been suffering untold oppression, tyranny and terrorism practised against them by the Zionist

entity? The threat posed to world peace by the Palestinian problem is all too evident. The situation can explode at any moment. The resulting conflagration could envelop the world with a disaster the magnitude of which has not been seen before. Injustice and oppression rouse strong sentiments; these sentiments cannot be suppressed by arrogant reliance on force and coercion, nor smothered by unremitting persecution. Israel, which is so ready to invoke the past, should not forget the oft-repeated lesson of history that its policy of annexation and domination is doomed to failure. History has the habit of unceremoniously repeating itself.

Notwithstanding protestations of the desire to bring about a peaceful solution of the Palestinian problem, in the context of the Middle East situation, the stark reality is that Israel continues to defy the will of the world community, expressed through this very forum and the Security Council on numerous occasions. It continues to occupy Arab and Palestinian land by force. It cynically disregards the near-unanimous world edict on Jerusalem by passing a law to change the status of Al-Quds-al-Sharif. The Security Council reacted by calling upon all countries, having their diplomatic Missions in Jerusalem, to shift them. The responses was unanimous and prompt.

I take this opportunity to offer profound thanks to all the thirteen countries, namely, Bolivia, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, Guatemala, Haiti, Netherlands, Panama, Uruguay and Venezuela, which have removed their diplomatic Missions from Jerusalem to show their displeasure at Israel's defiance of international law and public opinion. We salute them for their principled decision. Is it not time for further action by the world opinion, and specially by the Islamic Conference on the Palestinian problem, are met, and peace returns to the Middle East? Let there be no illusion that wounds inflicted on the Palestinians can be healed by the passage of time. Now is the time to act, before it is too late.

The United States claims that it has vital economic and strategic interests in the Middle East and North Africa, which is not only the homeland of the Arab people, but constitutes the strategic frontiers of Europe. Yet, it pursues a policy which brings it into hostile confrontation with the Arab world, and extends open-ended support to Israel, which encourages that country to pursue aggressive policies in defiance of world opinion. The United States bears a heavy responsibility in this respect, since reliance on the might of this super power enables Israel to flout the verdict of the international community, and to usurp the legitimate rights of the people of Palestine.

The Muslim World wholeheartedly supports the just struggle of the people of Palestine under the leadership of their legitimate, and sole representative, the Palestine Liberation Organisation, for the liberation of their sacred territory from Zionist rule and occupation. It considers that the issue of Palestine is at the

core of the Middle East question. Successive Islamic Conferences have demanded: (a) The complete withdrawal of all Israeli forces from all the occupied Arab territories, including Jerusalem; (b) The exercise by the people of Palestine of their inalienable national rights, including the right to establish a sovereign State of their own in their homeland under the leadership of Palestine Liberation Organisation; and (c) the dismantling of all the so-called "settlements" in occupied Arab territories.

Until these just demands are met in full, the prospect of a genuine and lasting peace in the Middle East will elude us, and the world will continue to be haunted by the spectre of a wider conflict in which the interests of those who protect Israel will suffer most.

THE WORLD OF ISLAM is equally pre-occupied with the tragedy that has overtaken Afghanistan. This small, independent, non-aligned Muslim country has been subjected to military intervention on a massive scale, in an attempt to keep in power a regime that has been foisted on an unwilling people. True to their centuries-old national tradition, and unconquerable spirit of independence, the people of Afghanistan have responded to the challenge with fearless resistance through the length and breadth of their country. Their struggle is as sacrosanct and worthy of respect and support, as the heroic struggles of the Algerian people, the people of Zimbabwe—and, indeed, of all the oppressed and exploited people of the world, at one time or another—against foreign domination.

The deeply-felt resentment of the international community, and of the Muslim world in particular, against this act of aggression has been clearly expressed in the demand for the immediate, unconditional and total withdrawal of Soviet military forces from Afghanistan. The Eleventh Islamic Conference of Foreign Ministers, which met in Islamabad in May last, set in motion a process of resolving the Afghan crisis through peaceful negotiations. It adopted a Resolution, establishing a Standing Committee comprising of Foreign Ministers of Iran and Pakistan and the Secretary General of the Organisation of the Islamic Conference, with a view to holding consultations with all Parties to bring about a solution based on the following principles: (a) The immediate, unconditional and total withdrawal of Soviet forces from Afghanistan; (b) The restoration of the independence and non-aligned status of Afghanistan; (c) Respect for the right of the Afghan people to determine their own destiny and to choose their own form of government in accordance with their own wishes, free from external interference and (d) The creation of conditions which would permit the Afghan refugees to return to their homes in safety and honour. It is a matter of deep regret that this valuable initiative of the Islamic Conference has been presently stalled by the overall negative attitudes of the Soviet Union and the Kabul regime.

In the meantime, more than a million Afghan refugees have crossed the 1400-mile border into Pakistan, while others have taken shelter in Iran. Entire

communities of men, women and children, uprooted from their hearths and homes by the violence of the conflict, have continued to pour into Pakistan. My country is providing them with shelter in a humanitarian spirit, and in conformity with the tradition of Islamic brotherhood. It is a task of awesome magnitude in view of Pakistan's limited resources. We are grateful for the assistance, received for this purpose, from brotherly Muslim countries, and other friendly nations, the UN High Commissioner for Refugees, and various international agencies and humanitarian organisations, including Hilal-i-Ahmar, Red Crescent and Red Cross Societies.

People do not leave the comforts of their hearths and homes, to face the privations of life in exile, without compelling reasons. The Afghan refugees on our soil have had to leave their country, because life was made unbearable for them. The orchestrated propaganda campaign, accusing Pakistan of interference in Afghanistan's internal affairs, cannot mislead the world. It cannot conceal the truth that the insurgency in Afghanistan is a manifestation of the patriotic upsurge of a proud people, who have never yielded to foreign domination. I wish to restate Pakistan's commitment to the principle of non-interference in the affairs of other states, and categorically reject the allegation that Pakistan is in any way involved in the insurgency in Afghanistan.

It is interesting to note that this insurgency is mainly in the interior of Afghanistan, where brave men and women; brave boys and girls, brave peasants and workers are fighting to free themselves from the forcible occupation of their territory by foreign troops. What is surprising is the attitude of big powers; one has accused the other of an effort to strangulate it. Surely the answer to the presence of troops of one country in an Island of Indian Ocean cannot be accepted as an excuse by another to send troops into another independent country.

A situation similar to that in Afghanistan exists in Kampuchea. Here, again, a puppet regime has been foisted by the foreign occupation forces, leading a mass exodus of the Kampuchean people, who have endured great suffering and privation. In both cases, principles of international law and peaceful co-existence have been flouted.

THE WORLD OF ISLAM does not believe that there can be genuine international security so long as it is predicted on an unstable balance of terror, and a continuous escalation of the arms race. We have welcomed measures in the past, aimed at relaxing tensions between the two super powers, and wholeheartedly support their efforts to limit and control strategic nuclear weapons. Muslim countries favour a genuine detente, but not a detente based on a division of the world into spheres of influence by the two super powers, because such an arrangement would be at the expense of the Islamic and non-aligned world. We cannot subscribe to a detente which is designed to keep certain areas of the globe tension-free, while exposing others

to subversion and aggression in any shape or form. We want peace. We want peace with dignity. We want peace with respect. We want peace with honour. We firmly believe that peace is indivisible, and must encompass all parts of the globe. It cannot be selective in its scope of application.

The World of Islam has invariably been at the forefront in espousing the right of peoples to self-determination and independence as a matter of principle. The attainment of independence by nearly 100 countries, since the Second World War, is a matter of profound satisfaction to all of us. The success of the valiant struggle, waged by the African peoples, is a glorious chapter in the annals of freedom. We pay tribute to the indomitable spirit of the great liberation movements, and particularly to the memory of those martyrs whose supreme sacrifice has made this historic achievement possible.

The presence of Zimbabwe among us, today, as a full-fledged member of the United Nations, symbolizes the heroic achievements of the Continent of Africa, and offers fresh hope to the people of Namibia and South Africa, where the tentacles of colonialism and racist minority-rule maintain an iron hold. Our prayers, and whatever moral and material support is required of us, will always be with the freedom fighters of South Africa. Their problems are our problem, Their difficulties are our difficulties. Their struggle is our struggle. The clock is in their favour. They shall succeed, because their cause is just.

The tide of independence cannot be reversed any more than one can successfully bid a yesterday to return. Indeed, all efforts to keep people under some one's subjugation, or to turn countries into colonies—such is the grammar of modern history—are foredoomed to failure.

The policies of racial discrimination, apartheid, and minority rule being followed by South Africa are repugnant to the letter and spirit of Islam and international morality. We are convinced that nemesis will overtake whosoever practises racism and apartheid, or discriminates between one human being and another on the grounds of colour.

The Pretoria regime must be made to end its illegal occupation of Namibia, and its repressive policies and acts of violence in that territory and in South Africa. The Namibian people must be allowed to decide their future destiny through impartial elections under United Nations auspices. However, great the difficulties may appear, we are confident of the ultimate triumph of the people of Namibia under the leadership of SWAPO.

There is another form of discrimination, which is a matter of deep concern today to the World of Islam. The Muslim minorities, in various countries around the globe, number nearly 300 million. They are frequently discriminated against and subjected to untold miseries because of religious prejudice. Their lives and properties are not always safe. In some countries, they are being systematically reduced to the status

of serfs, in others, they are being forcibly expelled from their ancestral homes and driven to inhospitable regions. The very custodians of law and order have become, for them, instruments of acts of oppression and extermination. This is a challenge to the world conscience, and must be met firmly and fairly. It is a challenge to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, which proclaims that every one has the right to freedom of conscience and religion. How can the world close its eyes to the fate of millions of human being who are undergoing acute sufferings merely because they profess a particular faith? True to the injunctions of Islam, our hearts go out not only to the Muslim minorities who are subjected to discrimination and oppression, but to all minority communities, regardless of their creed, colour or caste, who are made to suffer a similar fate.

To express humanitarian concern over the plight of these minorities, is not to interfere in the internal affairs of any State. The world community must not lose its capacity for moral anger which, in many cases, is perhaps the only instrument it has to exert pressure on the oppressor.

(To be Concluded)

Govt.



Notice

My No. EA/1/289

The Land Acquisition Act (Chapter 460) As Amended By The Land Acquisition (Amendment) Act, No. 28 Of 1964.

Notice Under Section 7

It is intended to acquire the land described below for a public purpose. For further particulars, please see Government Gazette No. 112 of 24-10-1980.

Situation : Situated in the village of Pattiya South in Ward No. 4, Uyankele within the U.C. limits of Panadura in Panadura Totamuna in Kalutara District, in Western Province.

Name of land : Diyabeliyadda alias Galpotta, Dangahaliyadda Assessment No. 14/3, Part Grace Peiris Mawatha.

Lots & Plan No. : Lot No. 1 in S.G.'s P. Plan No. k. 1723

Mahinda Gammanpila

Assistant Government Agent, Kalutara District,
Kalutara Kachcheri,
06th Oct. 1980

LETTERS

:: Land Policy

Sir,

The Sun newspaper of 1st October announces authoritatively that "the vast acreage of new land under the big irrigation projects may go to large scale capital-intensive developers". Many people who read this announcement have been as shocked as I have been at this change of "socio-economic development policy" in an agrarian society such as ours, where the major occupation of most of the rural population is small scale farming. This is not a mere change, but a reversal of basic policy and more a reversal of socially beneficial and economically sound policies.

Land development under irrigation at public expense has been adopted by all governments since colonial times irrespective of political parties and ideologies. From the time of the first Land Commission which issued its final report in 1929, the national policy has been to settle the peasantry in government sponsored irrigation schemes. This has been due to land hunger on the one side and the need for intensive rather than extensive cultivation of land brought under irrigation on the other.

It has also been the firm policy of the UNP and SLFP governments in the past to invest public funds on irrigation for the benefit of the peasantry in an agricultural country. Thanks to this policy we have been able to avoid many of the socio-economic inequities and politically explosive situations that have existed and still exist in other countries where land has been in the control of a privileged landowning class. Although Ministers and other spokesmen of the Government advocated and justified gigantic undertakings such as the Mahaweli Project on the basis that the peasantry were to benefit, it now appears that the beneficiaries are "large-scale developers". We are thankful for small mercies in that "these proposals would not exclude the provision of land for poor peasants."

I have had the benefit of discussions and some of these ideas with my husband, Gamini Iriyagolle which makes these views in this note even more significant. Let no one be mistaken as to whose resources would be used by these "large-scale developers". They would be given tax holidays, rebates and bank paper for investment. This means that they would be subsidised at public expense, for private profit, to be exploited from public lands.

The Government seems determined to create at our expense serious social, economic and political problems which other countries have been struggling to resolve and which have, in some countries even led to revolutions.

This reversal of policy should not be decided by Ministers and planners behind closed doors. Let there be another Land Commission or at least a White

Paper which could be studied and discussed openly in the interests of the country and not a few persons.

Indrani Iriyagolle

12A, Sarasavi Udyanaya,
Nugegoda.
18.10.80

x x x

:: Personality Cult

Sir,

It is perceived in our country today, specially amongst politicians, that many of them, when they are entrenched in power, are inclined to foist their names on the public by having roads, buildings, complexes and sometimes even whole towns named after them, and all these at public expense. It should be remembered that the monies so spent are public funds and hence it would be unfair to name these after one single name (individual or clanish). The excuse trotted out is that it is the least a grateful public could offer in appreciation of their deserving activities. These mores are usually sponsored by those who fawn on them and those who stand to benefit most by them. It is regrettable that we are burdened by this new type of politicians who lend themselves to such petty folly.

Human nature is such that the recipient of such adulation accepts these offerings often with a great show of humility. I believe this practice should be eradicated. When monies used are from public funds, then identification tabs should be in general names and not individual or family names. As is generally accepted such marks of respect are paid usually after such individuals are no more, when a genuinely appreciative public honour them for the indelible services rendered to the country and its people.

The practice of using family or personal names is tantamount to a silent approval at perpetuating a "PERSONALITY CULT". This tendency should be discouraged early, and stamped out altogether. Let us hope that this reprehensible trend in our body politic be firmly and unequivocally disapproved and let us hear no more of this selfishness where one individual attempts to grab the credit which really should accrue to every taxpayer. The good that each of us do will never be lost. Let each of us do good without any expectation of reward but for the good results such acts will generate for the masses for whom the politician (specially) are presumed to have dedicated their services.

Sniper

Negombo.
15.10.80

x x x

Kahawita

Sir,

The readers of the *Tribune* should have read with perennial interest the article by Mr. R. Kahawita on "Destruction of the Kalutara District" appearing in the October 11, 1980 issue. It is full of information for everyone who is interested in the well-being of Sri Lanka. As has been stressed on many and many a time by many a writer including Mr. Kahawita in the *Tribune* in the past, the main thesis of Mr. K is that the destruction of the "untouched land above 1000 feet above mean sea level" in the Kalutara District that has been proposed to be brought under an "Integrated Development Scheme" will definitely spell ruin to the District. It will not only destruct the Kalutara District climate-wise and weather-wise, it will also impoverish the soil and affect adversely the general climate pattern of Sri Lanka.

If we are a nation who have the interest of generations to come at heart let us view with all seriousness what Mr. Kahawita has to say on this subject of grave concern for not only the people of the Kalutara District but of the entire island. It is really fortunate that we have in this country men of the type of Mr. Kahawita who bring out facts and say with rare clarity, yet without fear or favour, what they have to say concerning the true welfare of Sri Lanka.

K. Kanapathipillai

52, Angle Road,
Batticaloa,
15.10.1980.



VIETNAM SUGGESTION

To Solve Kampuchean Crisis

This is the second and concluding part of extracts from the speech of Vietnamese Foreign Minister at the United Nations. The first part appeared last week.

THESE WHO ARE CLAMOURING about the presence of Vietnamese troops in Kampuchea are those who invaded Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea and committed very serious crimes against these three nations. At the peak of its aggressive war, these troops numbered half a million, and it dropped 15 million tons of bombs on Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea.

Historically, China dominated Vietnam for 1000 years, from the first century to the tenth and, since the 10th century has ten times sent troops to invade Vietnam. Historically, Laos and Kampuchea have repeatedly been the victims of Thailand's aggression. Over the past 40 years, Thailand has twice invaded Laos and Kampuchea. Historically, Vietnam has never invaded Thailand, but

during the past 300 years Thailand had invaded Vietnam three times. Those who are clamouring about the presence of Vietnamese troops in Kampuchea are those who strongly supported the US aggression against the Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchean peoples and who refrain from raising their voice against Israel's aggression against Arab countries.

The US which has told tales about the use of toxic chemicals in Afghanistan, Kampuchea and Laos has sprayed hundreds of thousands of tons of toxic chemicals in South Vietnam, or an average of six pounds for every person in South Vietnam, destroying our people's life and causing consequences which even American G.I.'s are now suffering. History testifies that Vietnam and the other Indochinese countries have never invaded any other country, but rather, have always been victims of foreign aggression.

Thailand itself has publicly declared that its security is not threatened, and it has refused to sign a Treaty of non-aggression with Vietnam, and refused to set up a demilitarized zone between Kampuchea and Thailand. The noisy campaign conducted by international reactionary and imperialist forces about Vietnam threatening Thailand and causing tension along the Kampuchean-Thai border is just a ruse to conceal the aggression by the northern expansionists against the Indochinese peoples in the form of a confrontation between the Indochinese countries and the ASEAN countries. To put one country against another, exhort other peoples to fight one another, and inspire extremists to make trouble around the world is a familiar trick used by the international reactionaries to carry out their reactionary global strategy of gaining complete control for themselves through world wide turmoil, and then establish world hegemony. This reactionary strategy of the expansionists runs completely counter to the interests of the Chinese people, a people who has suffered much from oppression and exploitation by Chinese rulers and foreign invaders, a people endowed with a time-honoured culture and a glorious tradition of struggle who always want to live in peace and harmony with the other peoples of the world.

An end to the policy of aggression, intervention and war threats by the expansionists in collusion with imperialism against the national independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Southeast Asian countries is basic to the re-establishment of peace and stability in Southeast Asia.

The key to the Kampuchean issue is to cease the hostile policy of the international reactionary forces against Kampuchea, Laos and Vietnam. The presence of the Vietnamese armed forces in Kampuchea is aimed at opposing the threat of expansionism at the request of the People's Revolutionary Council of Kampuchea. The Vietnam armed forces will withdraw from Kampuchea as soon as the threat no longer exists and as soon as the People's Revolutionary Council of Kampuchea requests. It is clear to the

whole world that the Pol Pot clique is a herd of culprits with no place in Kampuchea. However, their supporters have tried to misrepresent the presence of Vietnamese armed forces in Kampuchea in the hope of maintaining their presence at the United Nations and continuing to use them as an instrument against the Kampuchean people and peace and stability in Southeast Asia.

IT IS COMMON KNOWLEDGE now that the genocidal Pol Pot clique have massacred three million Kampuchians and it is common belief that the overthrow of Pol Pot clique has given the Kampuchean people a chance to revive from the ruins, and that a normal life is returning to Kampuchea which has been freed from the nightmare of genocide. No one can justify any attempt to legitimizing the genocidal Pol Pot clique to oppose the revival of the Kampuchean people, no one under any pretext can negate this glaring truth: The People's Revolutionary Council of Kampuchea is the only genuine and legal representative of the Kampuchean people, because it represents the Kampuchean people's aspirations to abolish the genocidal regime in the interests of their revival. The seat of Kampuchea at this forum must be given to the People's Revolutionary Council of Kampuchea.

There remain differences between the ASEAN countries and the Indochinese countries on the Kampuchean question. It is impossible to impose the ASEAN views on the Indochinese countries and the latter has never wanted to impose its views on the former. We regret that the proposal put forward by the ASEAN countries at this general Assembly proves that they have not renounced their design to intervene in the internal affairs and grossly trample upon the sovereignty of Kampuchea and the other two Indochinese countries. This proposal cannot solve the main problem of eliminating Chinese threats to the national independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of the three Indochinese countries as well as peace and security in Southeast Asia. The ASEAN countries and the Indochinese countries should temporarily put their differences aside and pool their efforts to make Southeast Asia a peaceful, stable and co-operative region. This is in the common interests of the Southeast Asian countries.

We hold that if the ASEAN countries are bent on imposing their attitude to the Kampuchean question on the Indochinese countries as they have done, their deeds will not help settle the worsening situation in Southeast Asia. The Indochinese countries have respected the security of the ASEAN countries and they hope that the ASEAN countries will also honour the security of the Indochinese countries. Southeast Asian countries, especially the Indochinese and ASEAN countries, should join hands to build new relations based on mutual understanding, respect for the interests of each other, and peaceful co-existence aimed at turning Southeast Asia into a peaceful and stable region; thus contributing to peace and security in the world.

PROCEEDING FROM THESE FACTS, once again, we call on the ASEAN countries to positively respond to the proposals put forward in the Vietnamese Statement of July 18, 1980 by the Foreign Ministers' Conference of Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea. They should begin by making positive responses to the proposal of the People's Republic of Kampuchea on the establishment of a demilitarized zone between Kampuchea and Thailand. We are ready to hold immediate discussions with the ASEAN countries on the formation of a peaceful and stable region in Southeast Asia on the basis of the Kuala Lumpur Statement, the Kwantán principles and the Vientiane Statement.

We are also ready to hold discussions with concerned countries aimed at solving disputes in the Eastern sea so as to make this sea area a peaceful and co-operative zone among regional countries on the basis of respect for each country's rights, concerning territorial waters, continental shelves and exclusive economic zones, and respect for international communication lines on the sea and in the air.

We would like to inform the General Assembly, that, with the assistance of the UN Secretary General Kurt Waldheim, Vietnamese and Thai Foreign Ministers will meet at the UN in the very near future. We hope that this meeting will establish favourable conditions for restoring peace and stability in Southeast Asia.

At the same time, we have notified the UN Secretary General of the following agreements between the Socialist Republic of Vietnamese and the People's Revolutionary Council of Kampuchea.

The presence of Vietnam armed forces in Kampuchea is aimed at opposing the Chinese threats to Kampuchea and Vietnam and is at the request of the People's Revolutionary Council of Kampuchea. When these threats no longer exist and at the request of the People's Revolutionary Council of Kampuchea the Vietnamese armed forces will leave Kampuchea.

The strained situation along the Kampuchean-Thai border is threatening peace in this region. The establishment of a demilitarized zone along both sides of the Kampuchea-Thai border is the best measure for ensuring peace, security and stability in the border areas of Kampuchea and Thailand. With the help of the UN Secretary-General, Kampuchea and Thailand will hold negotiations to settle the tense situation along the Kampuchean-Thai border on the basis of respect for each other's interests.

Proceeding from the situation of peace, security and stability along the Kampuchean-Thai border the Government of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam will hold discussions with the People's Revolutionary Council of Kampuchea and decide on the withdrawal of part of Vietnamese armed forces from Kampuchea....

(To Be Continued)



First Thing First

by Bwana Rafiki

MY YOUNG GARDENER who has been acting as houseboy and cook is up and about at the crack of dawn and I was inspired to emulate him. For once I did my morning exercises in their right order, first things first, exercises in the sense of a daily routine, and suddenly remembered that I was due at a Labour Office twenty miles away in the direction of Colombo at 9.30 a.m. It was lucky that I remembered this appointment for I was able to replan the rest of my morning in a way more congenial to me. It was a reciprocation, a reward for not relegating someone to second place, an inter-communication, Paternal love.

This on the other hand is being written a day late as I quite forgot about Nguvu, whatever the excuses. If I had remembered I would have had another of those nights turned into day for I was terribly sleepy and only just managed to drag myself through the last steps of my daily routine and was able not to succumb this time to lying on my bed and falling asleep before finishing what I had to do. It meant I was able to go to bed in the way people normally do and asleep through instead of getting up like a member of the venerable order of Carthesians for a couple of hours in the middle of the night. Sir Thomas Moore the famous Lord Chancellor of England who was beheaded in the reign of Henry VIII was a Carthesian for two years as a postulant and then he left and married but to the end of his life rose at midnight.

Well, it is past midnight, and I have to relate myself to what happened two days ago. My factor was back after a fortnight's holiday. My parish Priest brought a wood-sawyer along to inspect two teak trees for our local churches and I took advantage of his presence to have him look over the *lunumidella* tree which I am having sawn up. We were able to value the work that has been done. A sawyer looking over a tree that is being sawn is rather like a born-rider to a horse. The horse if he is a back knows the man can ride and reacts accordingly, that is, as if the man can ride for if the horse has may spirit at all he shows it and seems anxious to gallop a mile. In the same way but in another context, the sawyer inspecting sawing looks so professional, the sawyers must know they have met their match.

ANOTHER OF THOSE NIGHTS for last night I was in bed two hours. I have just risen from a four-hour sleep fully dressed. One of my personal staff of two is, having driving lessons and he returned from his today at a moment meet to cope with some guests. Two teak trees were cut down for two buildings in which I am interested. I met the government Veterinary who refused to budge from her office. I asked her about week-ends, and she said week-ends are for private practice. Anyway, it is good to have a veteri-

nary around. For a few years I managed entirely with *vedamarthiyas* but they were very expensive and like a summons to a Labour Office, once started you never got rid of them. They seemed to cling to one like a leach and the cattle always obliged with their illnesses. I was late for an appointment, late all along the line, but I persevered trustingly to find the other party never even kept it. Yet, objective achieved.

What I should have written as regards yesterday I find has already been written and I am constrained to find something else, a visit by someone whom I have not seen for about a year or more. This man turned up with two people one of them did not stay long and the other whom though I know well I yet could not place as he was in the other's company, the man whom I had not seen for a year. The man has been infinitely kind, putting me up at any hour of the night that I arrived provided he was in. I felt I could not reciprocate his hospitality as mine is a workplace full of rules that have been proven, that have stood the test of time. I do not think even I have much power to change them let alone break them.

When I returned from England many years ago I was not well, but I took the first opportunity I got after I had settled down to life here to visit a place at Hendala called Ela Kande, probably a variation of Alla Kande, where I had fond memories of weekends spent from my day school by the sea with glorious swimming and almost as exciting boating on a lake and in the channels connecting it to the Hendala Canal. I found that the site of the house that we lived in was in the sea. I returned as often as I could to this place, property that had once been owned by my aunt. A person whom I saw but had nothing to do with was an Englishman called Bhikku Sumana. Many years later he died I was told of cancer, but this was the wonderful part, reconciled, if I may use that word, with the religion into which he had been born, the Anglican faith or Church of England, in other words, if I may say so again, he died a contrite Christian.

X X X

GRAMA SASTRA—27

—Scribblings On Uva Villages

by Gamiya

Our Postal Service

I'm going to tell you two stories One happened outside Uva, in BGD, and the other, I'm sorry to say was a scene in Uva.

A telegram (in this era of Telecommunications, zip codes, electronic stamping and WHY (What-Have-You!)—was sent from a famous southern seaport Post Office on 29th August with the words: "Gratian expired, funeral Saturday evening". The telegram came to its addressee in KHK not very far away, but in the same

southern region, with the words "horribly" distorted: "patient expired, funeral Saturday evening". Now, this is not a horrible distortion, in one sense: because patients die, and not all patients die, but some recover and all that, but eventually die. But, it is the principle that matters, for if this postmaster had been proved drunk at the time, and not in his sense of duty and responsibility at PWL/BGD, then something has really gone wrong. The slightest mistake spells disaster, for if all the officials were at the height of their task today, we would not be in so much of a sorry mess. My friend's friend is dead. He was a patient, it is true, at some time of his life, but he was drowned! Poor Gratian, he graciously left us to unravel the mess of bribery, corruption, inefficiency and drunkenness that stalks the land as hindrances to duty. The telegram is with me dated 28-8-80.

The other story is not so much a story as a "histoire" in the non-french sense of the word. Britain started her penny postage as a service not as a triumphalistic show of new stamps and first-day covers that now run into over 600 or so in the last few years. When Britain left the legacy of the penny postage as a service, it was really a "smart" service with postmen in wide-brimmed hats and rain-capes, touching the monsoonal puddles as they trailed along. I recall seeing postmen in sarong or in shorts but never in socks and shoes! Imagine my surprise when in the sweltering heat of this village in which I find myself, for the moment, I saw a fully-clad postman, with epaulettes and all, "keeping", as he said, "his sense of duty alive". He said that he and others of his kind were "clearly told, unless you wear your uniform you will not have a sense of duty and responsibility". Why on earth, I ask, do they insist on the accidentals and not on the essentials? Why put on socks (nylon, to boot!) and black shoes and not distribute letters? It all sounds like the President of The Communications' Media Head Commission and Committee polishing the chromium of the microphone, not knowing that message would go through, or the Waterworks man fully organising the pipeline, only to find that there is no water and the drought has set in!

But in a First Class post office in the hill-country, I saw letters promptly delivered; no hats, they braved sun and rain, wore sarong and the usual postman's coat. If they were called to explain, they would grind the first class post office (of a roaring tourist-town), to a disturbing halt (strike). But, here, as they always say, "dushkara" palata, you think you can ride rough shod over the postmen, and get them eczema on their feet! This particular fellow was really grumbling. The authorities had got him where it really hurts. No one had thought of a straw, broad-brimmed hat, but only of socks and shoes (stockings, mind you) at 90 in the shade. Amnesty!

X X X

Govt.



Notices

Notice Under Section 7 Of The Land Acquisition Act (Chp. 460) As Amended By The Land Acquisition (Amendment) Act. No. 28 Of 1964.

Reference No. ATH 19/13

It is intended to acquire the land described in the schedule below. For further particulars please see Government Gazette No. 113 (Part III) of 1980.10.31.

Schedule

D.R.O's Division : Kaduwela
 Village : Thalangama South
 Name of Land : Thalangamawatte
 Lot No. : 1
 Plan No. P.P. Co. : 5338

H. C. Gunawardane
 District Land Officer,
 Colombo Districts.

The Kachcheri,
 Colombo.
 14th Octob

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Notice Under Section 7 Of The Land Acquisition Act, (Cap. 460) As Amended By Land Acquisition (Amendment) Act. No. 28 Of 1964.

Reference No. 3/2/4/8/813

It is intended to acquire the land described in the schedule below. For further particulars, please see Government Gazette No. 112 (Part III) of 24-10-1980.

Schedule

A.G.A's, Division : Minuwangoda
 Village : Burullapitiya
 Situation :
 Name of Land : Kahatagahawatta
 Lot Nos. : 1 (One)
 Plan No. P.P. Co. : Gam 77

A. L. S. Malawenna
 District Land Officer of Gampaha District,

The Kachcheri,
 GAMPAHA.
 Date : 07.10.1980

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TURKEY

IMF's Role

by Robert Dreyfuss

New York, October 7,

Was the Sept. 12 military takeover in Turkey backed by the International Monetary Fund? There are numerous indications that this may well have been the case. Much of the evidence revolves around the figure of Turgut Ozal, the economic adviser to ousted Premier Demirel and the IMF's point man in Turkey. Within hours of the coup, the generals announced that Ozal would be retained as economic czar and that the IMF austerity policies would be adhered to. According to a diplomat quoted by the *Washington Post*, "the generals had very little choice. If Ozal were to quit, they would have had it." Last week Ozal was officially appointed to the number two position in the new Turkish administration—Deputy Premier—enjoying total control over economic policy. According to Turkish sources, all the newly appointed cabinet members have had to agree to the condition that they do not interfere with Ozal's running of the Turkish economy.

The irony of the situation is the publicly stated goals of the new military rulers—eradicating terrorism and restoring the nation-building traditions of Kemal Ataturk, the founder of the Turkish republic—are precisely what Ozal has been working against throughout his career. Besides being the agent of the IMF's policies, Ozal is intimately connected with the Islamic fundamentalist National Salvation Party—a party notorious for its illegal drug-running activities and Muslim Brotherhood terrorist operations. The NSP's leader, Necmettin Erbakan, is expected to be tried in the coming weeks for his efforts to undermine Turkey's secularist orientation. It was Erbakan's revival of militant Islam in Turkey, and in particular his demands for the destruction of secularism, that triggered the coup. In 1973, Ozal, who is reputed to be a member of the fundamentalist mystical Nursi sect, ran unsuccessfully for a parliamentary seat on the NSP ticket. Ozal's brother Korkut is a top leader of the NSP. Another brother of Ozal's and a son are currently employed by the IMF and the World Bank respectively, in Washington D.C.

Ozal's commitment to the IMF is underscored by his declaration last week of a 20 percent price hike for liquid fuels, gasoline, sugar and fertilizer—all products of Turkey's large state sector. For years now, the IMF has been demanding that Turkey dismantle its state sector enterprises, which produce 50 percent of the country's industrial output, on the grounds that they are "uneconomical". Turkey's state sector—set up by Ataturk as the backbone of a modern Turkish economy—should be replaced by a Friedmanite free-market system, the IMF has been demanding. In June, the Demirel government signed a stand-by agreement with the IMF, according to which all subsidies to state

enterprises were to be cut. Fearful if the public outcry that would have resulted Demirel, like previous governments, dragged his feet in implementing the measures. In contrast, Ozal, backed by the military, is pushing full steam ahead with the IMF program.

Laboring under a \$ 16 billion debt, Turkey has been at the mercy of the IMF and its demands for years. The IMF stand-by agreement worked out in June, the latest in a series of IMF austerity packages for Turkey, is a controversial "economic stabilization" scheme designed to bleed Turkey white in the interest of paying off the debt. In his first public speech, Turkey's new interim Premier Bulent Ulusu pledged to "continue to implement the austerity measures taken at the beginning of 1980", reference to the IMF stand-by package, whose measures were described as "draconian" by IMF officials themselves.

Last June, following the stand-by accord, the Turkish daily *Cumhuriyet* prophesied the fall of the Demirel government by the armed forces. "All governments that try to implement the IMF's measures fall," wrote *Cumhuriyet*. "In many cases, military governments have to come to power to impose these measures, because of the inability of a parliamentary regime to do so." The generals, of course, will have more authority than a civilian regime to push through the IMF's measures. But in doing so, they are merely re-sowing the seeds of the very unrest that they sought through their intervention to quell.

—Executive Intelligence Review Vol. 7 No. 39.



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. 1770.50	Rs. 1773.50
Sterling Pound	Rs. 4320.00	Rs. 4326.00
Deutsche Mark	Rs. 940.00	Rs. 941.60
French Franc	Rs. 407.95	Rs. 408.65
Japanese Yen	Rs. 8.4485	Rs. 8.4635
Indian Rupees	Rs. 229.15	Rs. 229.55

Oct. 16 — Oct. 22

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.

THURSDAY, OCTOBER 16: Two resolutions to deprive former Prime Minister Mrs. Sirima Bandaranaike and former Minister Felix R. Dias Bandaranaike of their civic rights will be moved in Parliament by Prime Minister R. Premadasa when the House meets at 3 p.m. today according to the Order Paper; Standing orders are to be suspended to enable the House to debate the two resolutions to a finish. The Government has instructed the Police to ensure full security and protection to Mrs. Sirima Bandaranaike, MP, Attanagalla and other SLFP MPs from possible harassment by the thousands of enlarged UNP supporters in Colombo as a result of provocative statements and inflammatory speeches made by some SLFPers; the IGP has informed Mrs. Bandaranaike about this government decision; Mrs. Bandaranaike has told the IGP that she accepts the gesture made by the government to ensure protection and security. The President has decided that there was no necessity to declare an emergency and that the arrangements made by the security forces, supported by the UNP branches and trade unions were adequate to meet any threats made by the SLFP. The Supreme Court yesterday granted the three members of the Special Presidential Commission, whose findings and recommendations against former Prime Minister Mrs. Sirima Bandaranaike and Felix Dias Bandaranaike have been challenged, time till Oct. 31 to file affidavit or objections; the three-judge Bench also provisionally fixed arguments for November 10. Mrs. Sirima Bandaranaike, in a message published by her party's Sinhala daily, *Dinakara*, yesterday has asked her supporters not to come to Colombo today when Parliament begins debating a resolution to disenfranchise her. Government has taken all necessary steps to deal effectively and severely with any attempts to disrupt Parliamentary proceedings or obstruct, both government and opposition MPs from attending Parliament today. Parking of vehicles on all trunk roads in the City will not be allowed today. All liquor sales outlets in the country will remain closed today and tomorrow; this would apply to liquor sales outlets including wine shops but not to restaurants where liquor was sold to be consumed on the premises. President J. R. Jayewardene

has made the following appointments in the Judiciary with effect from yesterday; Mr. D. Wimalaratne, President of the Court of Appeal as Judge of the Supreme Court to fill the vacancy created by the retirement of Mr. V. T. Thamoheram; Mr. B. S. C. Ratwatte, Judge of the Court of Appeal has been appointed President of the Court of Appeal—CDN. The Commissioner of National Housing will soon have the power to authorise the demolition of residential buildings over 50 years old, according to a Bill gazetted yesterday to amend the Rent Act of 1972—SU. The ADB will grant a loan of 10 million dollars to the Mahaweli Project for the construction of the infrastructure—LD. The Fisheries Corporation which had registered a loss of Rs. 19 million in 1979 has reported an increased loss of Rs. 12 million for the first 8 months of this year—ATH.

FRIDAY, OCTOBER 17: The Special "Situation Reports" reaching the Police Command Room at Echelon Square from various parts of the country yesterday stated that there were no major incidents and law and order was being maintained, police headquarters spokesman said. After a stormy six-hour debate, Parliament last night stripped former Prime Minister Mrs. Sirima Bandaranaike of her civic rights for seven years and expelled her from Parliament. The House also disenfranchised her nephew, Mr. Felix Dias Bandaranaike, a former Minister for seven years: the motion against Mrs. Bandaranaike was adopted 139 voting for and 18 against; Mrs. Bandaranaike declined to vote; the Motion against Mr. Felix Dias Bandaranaike was adopted 139 voting for and 19 against; the House began the debate after Speaker Mr. Bakeer Markar overruled an objection by the Opposition that it could not adopt the two resolutions and appeals by Mrs. Bandaranaike her nephew against the findings of the Presidential Commission had not been disposed of yet by the Supreme Court. Mr. Ananda Dassanayake, SLFP member for Kotmale, was named and suspended from Parliament for one week by the Speaker, Mr. Bakeer Markar for constantly interrupting the proceedings of the House and not heeding the chair; Mr. Dassanayake who refused to leave the House when requested to do so by the Serjeant-at-Arms, Ronnie Abeyasinghe, was carried out by a posse of Police constables who were called in by the Serjeant-at-Arms—CDN. Six bogeys of yesterday morning's main line down train was derailed at the 46th mile post Polgahawela; police said extensive damage had been caused to the track following the derailment—CDM. "Dharmista" means not only the preaching of the Buddha Dhamma, Dharmista is practising of justice and fair play. If a person does any wrong, he has to face the penalties too, President J. R. Jayewardene told Government MPs yesterday. The Government is keeping an election promise to bring to justice those who have done wrong, Prime Minister R. Premadasa told Parliament last night; moving two resolutions to disenfranchise SLFP leader and MP for Attanagalla, Sirimavo Bandaranaike and her former Cabinet Minister Felix Dias Bandaranaike, Mr. Premadasa said that this was not a matter of revenge or a punishment but accord-

ing to Erskine May a resolution to remove a person who is unfit to be a member; the LSSP newspaper *Janadina* in 1975 had spotlighted the abuse of power by Mrs. Bandaranaike and requested the people to vote on a no-confidence motion against her. The Sri Lanka Freedom Party yesterday challenged the Government to prove that the Members had threatened to assassinate the President or the Prime Minister; a statement issued yesterday by Party Secretary, Ratnasiri Wickremarajapakse, asking the Government to broadcast the tapes of such speeches and prove such allegations or withdraw them publicly; "few of our party members have been arrested and remanded during the last few days" the statement adds, "none of them have been questioned on such serious allegations and none have been arrested on this allegation", it said. SLFP leader, Sirimavo Bandaranaike yesterday described her disenfranchisement and expulsion from Parliament as a measure to politically assassinate her; speaking in Parliament last night, Mrs. Bandaranaike said, "I do hope that I will be allowed to make my last speech without interruption; this is the first time in the history of this country that a Prime Minister for 12 years is being subjected to civic disabilities; the government is using a double edged sword; with one side it is beheading me and Felix Dias Bandaranaike. But I can assure you that with the other edge, there is no doubt that those who have taken this criminal step will be destroyed; this is a measure to politically assassinate me—SU. The JIUAC has decided to call for a token strike on the 30th which has been named as the day of protest by the union. The demands are that all strikers who lost their jobs must be reinstated and all demands of the strikers must be granted—ATH. The SLFP has denied that any of their members had called for the murder of the President and the PM—DK.

SATURDAY, OCTOBER 18: The Government was actively examining the possibility of extending our educational facilities to overseas students in the wake of interested inquiries from Malaysia, Mr. C. R. Dias Desinghe, Sri Lanka's ambassador in Malaysia, said yesterday. Sri Lanka could become the premier education centre in the east not only for Malaysian students but for all students in the Asian-Pacific region, who are badly hit by escalating education fees for overseas students in British and other Western universities, he said. Parliament yesterday imposed further disabilities on disenfranchised persons; they cannot campaign at elections, canvass votes or address election meetings; these disabilities were imposed through an amendment introduced to the Parliamentary Elections Bill during the Committee stage; other disabilities earlier suffered by disenfranchised persons are that they cannot vote at or contest a Presidential, Parliamentary or Local Government election or hold any public office; the TULF and SLFP opposed the imposition of the new disabilities—CDN. Several top members of the Sri Lanka Freedom Party have been questioned by CID detectives probing alleged incitory statements by party members at public meetings recently; CID

sources said that SLFP General Secretary, Ratnasiri Wickremarajapakse, J.R.P. Suriyapperuma and actor-politico Vijaya Kumaratunge were among party members whose statements were recorded on the fourth floor. Private buses and vans will resume their operations from today following the lapsing of the five day ban—SU. The MP for Mihintale, Mr. Daya Valagambahu requested the Parliament yesterday to give employment to those strikers who have given acceptable excuses and reasons for their participation in the strike in July 1980,—VK. Law pundits point out that it is illegal for Mr. Abeyratne Pilapitiya to be seated in Parliament when the Supreme Court unanimously decided to unseat him from Parliament—ATH.

SUNDAY, OCTOBER 19: President J. R. Jayewardene will take part in the fourth Wap Magula of the UNP Government at 9.40 a.m. today at Poiconnaruwa—the ancient citadel of Parakramabahu the great—SU. The statues of two former Prime Ministers Mr. Dudley Senanayake and Mr. S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike will be erected in the precincts of parliament on either side of the statue of the first prime minister of Sri Lanka, Mr. D. S. Senanayake—ST. Former Prime Minister Mrs. Sirimavo Bandaranaike and Attagalla MP who was expelled from Parliament and stripped of her civic rights on Thursday, will attend a "series of receptions" to explain to the people the grave injustice caused to her, said Second MP for Nuwara Eliya-Maskeliya Anura Bandaranaike—WK. As a result of heavy rains during the last few days in the country several areas have been flooded and about 700 families have been rendered homeless in Colombo—CO. The SLFP is to hold a series of public meetings throughout the country to explain the reasons why the government deprived Mrs. Bandaranaike of her civic rights—RR.

MONDAY, OCTOBER 20: President J. R. Jayewardene yesterday inaugurated a Wap Magul ceremony by the banks of the Parakrama Samudra, Polonnaruwa, it was the fourth Wap Magul ceremony he was attending since his government came into power in July 1977; addressing the massive crowd attending the ceremony Mr. Jayewardene said that Mr. E. L. Senanayake, Minister of Agricultural Development and Research, had told him that Sri Lanka would soon be self sufficient in rice, and that their farmers would produce all the rice the country wanted; he said the former government had suppressed many of the democratic rights and privileges of the people. That government had ruled under Emergency law for six years, when democracy was only a mere name. Informed sources said that Felix Dias Bandaranaike, who has been stripped of his civic rights, has been virtually ditched by his Freedom Party and may not find a place on the party bandwagon when it goes to the country to tell the people of what they describe as "a grave injustice" done to their leader Mrs. Bandaranaike. In the two months ending October 15, the Telecommunications Department sent 384,456 telegrams by ordinary post. Of this total, the Central Telegraph Office posted 52,009 from August 15,

99547 in September and 52,163 in the first 15 days of October. Disenfranchised persons who indulge in the electioneering process prohibited under amendments to the Parliamentary Elections Bill and the Presidential Elections Bill, will be committing an election offence punishable by a Magistrate a fine not exceeding Rs. 1000 and or a sentence of imprisonment not exceeding six months. President Jayewardene's United National Party will begin a series of meetings throughout the country this week to explain to the people why former Prime Minister Mrs. Sirimavo Bandaranaike and her nephew, Felix Dias Bandaranaike were stripped of their civic rights by Parliament. All night trains should restrict their speed to 25 miles per hour; under no circumstances should these trains exceed these limits. L. L. A. Pieris, General Manager of Railways, has issued these instructions following last Wednesday's derailment—CDN. The United National Party Government is not afraid of thugs; this government will run the country according to law and order", said President J. R. Jayewardene inaugurating the fourth state-sponsored Wap Magul ceremony at Polonnaruwa yesterday. The ceremony was preceded by an all-night pirith ceremony at the Gal Vihara. The President said that Mr. Ratne-deshapriya Senanayake, former MP for the area had tried to create trouble with the help of about 200 persons. He tried to put up some posters in buses and he had also organised a procession; last week and so he was taken into custody. The Police had the power to keep a person in custody for a certain period; even without the Emergency the Police can keep a person in custody—CDM. The Government has set in motion machinery to ensure that future governments will not be in a position to abuse or misuse their powers while in office, President J. R. Jayewardene told the nation yesterday. Five middle-ranking members of the Sri Lanka Freedom Party are expected to be indicted shortly for alleged incitement—SU. The UNP will hold a series of public meetings to explain why they deprived Mrs. Bandaranaike of her civic rights—DM. Number of well known artists including W. D. Amaradewa have been banned from the SLBC for signing a petition asking for a pardon for Mrs. Bandaranaike—DK.

TUESDAY, OCTOBER 21: The southern coastal area between Hambantota and Matara will be converted into a palmyrah belt, the Palmyrah Development Board Chairman, M. Kanagasooriar said yesterday; some 35,000 palmyrah seeds have been planted in the Hambantota area with the help of National Service Volunteers of the Youth Service Council, "We intend planting one lakh of seeds before the end of this season" Mr. Kanagasooriar said. Mr. Felix Dias Bandaranaike said yesterday he was checking on reports that the SLFP was to carry out an agitational campaign against the imposition of civic disabilities on Mrs. Sirima Bandaranaike without espousing his cause as well; he said he had no intimation from the party. He was not aware of whether the party had planned any agitational campaign. He had not participated in any meetings which

had decided on any kind of agitational campaign—CDN. There is near consensus in the ranks of the SLFP's top leadership that "family bandyism" should not prevail in the selection of a candidate for the Attanagalla seat which fell vacant following the expulsion from Parliament of Mrs. Sirima Bandaranaike, according to reliable SLFP sources; the names of Mr. Stanley Tillekeratne, a former Speaker and a senior Vice President of the party and Mr. J. R. P. Suriyapperuma are mentioned in this connection. These sources ruled out the likelihood of Mr. Anura Bandaranaike being the party nominee for Attanagalla. He is at present the 2nd MP for Nuwara Eliya-Maskeliya but is stated to be anxious to be nominated to the seat held for three decades first by his late father and then by his mother—CDM. The writ application filed by SLFP leader Sirimavo Bandaranaike before the Supreme Court challenging the findings and recommendations of the Special Presidential Commission is likely to be withdrawn; according to SLFP sources, the withdrawal of this application is being considered by the SLFP Lawyers Association and will be subject of discussion at this week's SLFP Working Committee meeting; these sources pointed out that the feasibility of this move was being considered in the light of Parliament's decision on Thursday night to expel Mrs. Bandaranaike from Parliament. "It will be a futile exercise to move the Supreme Court to issue a writ against the commissioners at this stage", the sources added. Long-term lessees of state lands in Colombo city face heavy increases in rents with the proposed re-negotiation of all such leases by the Ministry of Local Government, Housing and Construction; the aim of the re-negotiation is to update rent levels in line with skyrocketing land values in the city, officials said yesterday; this move affecting more than 2,000 private lessees of both state and Municipal land could result in those lease rents now around 30 to 40 rupees a perch per year, rising to several thousand rupees a perch per year officials revealed; the Ministry is now preparing amendments to the State Land's Ordinance and the Municipal Ordinance to enable the renegotiations of these lease contracts. Lands and Land Development Minister Gamini Dissanayake has sent an urgent letter to Jaffna District Minister U. B. Wijekoon directing that a committee be immediately appointed to study the critical ground water pollution in this region and suggest methods of rectifying it—SU. All Co-operative Weaving Mills are to be handed over to the private sector—DV. The World Bank has informed the Government that the Rs. 3,500 million loan required by the CTB will be granted only if the government raise the bus fares by 100% or reduce the number of employees in the CTB by 50%—ATH.

WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 22: President J. R. Jayewardene concluding his speech at the Nugegoda meeting yesterday said that during Mrs. Bandaranaike's time a Buddhist monk was given to eat on a tin plate shoved under a door of his cell. That was also how my son was treated. I am not angry over it. But do they say that is correct? Am I to treat Anura Bandara-

Soviet—Afghan Communiqué

Moscow, October 19,

naike in the same way, he asked. A rationing scheme for petroleum products will have to be introduced towards the end of the year if the Ceylon Petroleum Corporation fails to contract for supplies of petroleum to meet consumption demand in the first quarter of next year, Corporation Chairman Daham Wimalasena said yesterday. Addressing a massive meeting at Nugegoda yesterday, President J. R. Jayewardene said that it has been the tradition of his government as a democratically elected one, to explain to the people its programmes and policies for their benefit. That was a tradition that the UNP has followed as a democratic party which intended to face elections in the future too. But that meeting which he was addressing was of a different nature. It was to explain the reasons why the Government had to take away the civic rights of Mrs. Sirima Bandaranaike and Mr. Felix Dias Bandaranaike. He did not intend to rouse their sympathy. He would only wish them to back to their homes and consider what he has said and discuss it with their friends and relations. President Jayewardene read out a list of names of persons who had been taken into custody without any charge being made against them. Seven men yesterday stopped a private coach travelling from Galle to Colombo to gun point at Ahungalla, and robbed them of their goods worth Rs. 6,270 Police said. Three of the seven men were travelling in the coach and four others were lying in ambush to rob the vehicle. The suspects got away with the loot—CDN. Indian Prime Minister Indira Gandhi said today she was deeply distressed that former Sri Lankan Prime Minister, Mrs. Sirimavo Bandaranaike had been stripped of her civic and political rights; Mrs. Gandhi was asked at a press conference here to comment on a Sri Lankan Parliament decision last week to expel Mrs. Bandaranaike and disenfranchise her for alleged misuse of power during her last government which was defeated in 1977. Mrs. Gandhi who was also expelled from Parliament when she was in opposition after her 1977 election defeat, said she was distressed by the move against Mrs. Bandaranaike, "I think this is very bad", she said. Mrs. Gandhi said Mrs. Bandaranaike and her family had been facing a lot of harassment. President J. R. Jayewardene yesterday affirmed that the decision to impose civic disabilities on former Prime Minister Sirima Bandaranaike will not be revoked under any circumstances—SU. In view of the fact that private traders are increasing the price of rice in a haphazard manner and with a view to preventing that, the Paddy Marketing Board has decided to issue 11 lakhs bushels of good quality rice every month in the private market—DP. The island wide day of protest organised by the JTUAC has been postponed to November 11th. The Balance of Trade or deficit in the first four months of this year is Rs. 5,832 million according to the Central Bank Report. Sri Lanka's main export items have shown a clear decline in this period—ATH.

The statement by the Soviet Union and the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan which was signed on October 16 by Leonid Brezhnev and Babarak Karmal says that in the course of the talks and meetings between the Soviet and Afghan leaders, profound satisfaction was expressed with the state and development of the Soviet-Afghan relations which are steadily developing on the basis of the Treaty of Friendship, Good Neighbourliness and Co-operation of December 5, 1978. The Afghan side expressed profound gratitude for the all-round aid and support rendered by the Soviet people to the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan in the latter's struggle against the counter-revolutionary intervention from the outside, against imperialist interference in Afghanistan's internal affairs, for the implementation of the objectives and aims of the April Revolution, for building in Afghanistan a new society based on equality and social justice. It was declared by the Soviet side that in this struggle the people of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan and its government can further count on solidarity and internationalist aid of the Soviet people.

In discussing the situation, which has taken shape around Afghanistan as a result of external aggression against the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan carried out from the territory of the neighbouring states, above all Pakistan, and imperialist interference in its internal affairs, into which an attempt is made to draw international organisations, full unanimity of the sides was confirmed in the matter of ensuring Afghanistan's independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity, the defence of the revolutionary gains of the Afghan people. Both sides have declared for a political settlement of the situation around the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, which would positively influence the situation in that part of the world and contribute to improving the international political climate. They have again stressed that the way to such a settlement lies through effectively ending intervention from the outside, through reaching appropriate agreements between the governments of Afghanistan and its neighbours, in the first place that of Pakistan, on the basis of the proposals of the government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan of May 14, 1980.

It was specially pointed out that no plans affecting the sovereignty of the people of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan or disregarding its legitimate government will be a success. As for the limited Soviet Military contingent, which is staying in the territory of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan at the request of the Afghan government and in accordance with the Soviet-Afghan treaty of 1978 and the U.N. charter, the question of the date of its withdrawal can be

examined the context of a political settlement and not before the aggression against the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan is completely ended and guarantees are given of non-resumption of subversive actions from abroad against the Afghan people and its government.

The sides examined the basic issues of the present-day international situation and pointed out that the main cause of its complication is the striving of the imperialist circles to halt progressive historical changes, to change in their favour the balance of forces which has taken shape in the world, achieve military supremacy, impose a new round of the arms race, torpedo detente and resume the cold war. The sides stressed that none of the problems of concern for mankind can be resolved from the positions of strength and policy of diktat, and expressed profound conviction that no task is more vital than to preserve and strengthen the process of detente, and that no country and no government can stand aside from the struggle for peace, international security and for real disarmament. The sides pointed out with satisfaction the understanding reached between the USSR and the USA that their representatives start a practical discussion of issues pertaining to the limitation of nuclear weapons in Europe. The Afghan side, the statement says, has stressed the exceptional significance of the proposals made by the Soviet Union at the 35th session of the U.N. general assembly. The proposals are aimed at lessening the danger of war, strengthening universal peace and curbing the arms race. The Afghan side declared in support of the peace initiatives, which were put forward in May this year by the conference of the political consultative committee of the Warsaw treaty member-states. The USSR and the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, the statement points out, consider it important that the forthcoming Madrid meeting be held in a constructive spirit so that its main attention should be devoted to co-ordinating practical steps for the implementation of all provisions of the Final Act.

The USSR and the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan declared that Iraq and Iran should end hostilities and settle disputable issues through negotiations between themselves without outside interference, on a mutually acceptable basis. The withdrawal of warships of the USA and some other NATO member-countries from the Persian Gulf would create a favourable atmosphere for attaining such a settlement and normalizing the situation in that area, the sides declared their full support for the struggle of the Arab peoples for establishing a lasting and just peace in the Middle East through a comprehensive settlement, including ensuring the right of the Arab people of Palestine to create their own state. The USSR and the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, says the statement, positively evaluate the significance of India's peace-loving policy for the cause of peace and security in Asia. They support the striving of the littoral states of the Indian Ocean to turn that ocean into a zone of peace.

The Afghan side has declared that, being one of the founding members of the non-aligned movement, Afghanistan further intends to take a vigorous part in the activity of that movement, adhering to its fundamental anti-imperialist principles. The Soviet side has reaffirmed that the Soviet Union respects the non-aligned policy pursued by Afghanistan. Both sides have expressed profound satisfaction with the results of Babarak Karmal's visit to the Soviet Union and stressed full identity of views on all issues discussed, and pointed out that the talks held and the agreements reached during the visit are an important stage in strengthening fraternal friendship between the Soviet and Afghan peoples, in consolidating and further deepening Soviet-Afghan relations and all-round co-operation

—Tass-APN

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"DEVIOUS"

GDR's Currency Measures

Bonn, October 15,

In a speech to West Berlin trade unionists on October 12th, Chancellor Schmidt declared that the Bonn Government would do everything in its power to solve the problems created for the people by the new currency measures introduced by the GDR for Western visitors. The Chancellor went on to say that the real reason for the increase was fear of the possible internal political consequences arising from detente. It was a sign that East Berlin "could not cope with its own insecurity". The Chancellor stressed that the move, introduced without consultation, was a clear violation of the obligations undertaken at the Helsinki Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe. It seriously undermined the working relationship, in both politics and trade, built up between the two German states over the past few years.

As for the "economic" reason proffered by the GDR Finance Minister for the measure, namely the appreciation of the East German Mark, the Chancellor dismissed it as being "devious, verging on silliness". If the East Mark had indeed appreciated in value, he said, the GDR could quite simply make its hitherto "soft" currency freely convertible—"but they wouldn't dare think of that even in their wildest dreams."

The Austrian Foreign Minister Pahr was also reported as discussing the East Berlin move as contradictory to the Helsinki conventions, which were aimed at facilitating human relations between East and West. "Whatever little detente there remained is threatened by the GDR move."

FRG Embassy Release,
Colombo.

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About Afghanistan

London, October 10.

French left-wing newspapers have recently published articles from their special correspondents in Kabul exposing a wide range of absurd inventions by Western propaganda about Afghanistan. They say that it is obvious that the entire "slandorous campaign" is for the purpose of maintaining a situation hostile to the Afghan revolution and aimed against the Soviet Union that is being accused of all sins—all this to the great satisfaction of the "advocates of the cold war". To tell the truth about Afghanistan, the correspondents' write does not mean to assert that shooting can no longer be heard, that travelling down the country's road is no longer dangerous, the gangs of counter-revolutionaries can no longer terrify and kill civilians or burn down schools and peasant houses. One can still come across such things. And yet, with every passing day, the population increasingly hears what the government says, understands the government better.

The correspondents also state that it is only big land-owners who used to cash in on the poverty of the Afghan people and few agents of imperialism who, of course, are unwilling to put up with the fact that revolution is winning in Afghanistan, who are interested in the continuation of the armed struggle against the people's power. News agencies have flashed the most absurd stories from unnamed sources in Islamabad, Peshawar, or New Delhi. According to these—Babrak Karmal has committed suicide on two different occasions and has been assassinated three times, Minister Anahita Rabzbid has been shot in the streets of Kabul twice and several other prominent Ministers have been killed whilst touring in the provinces more than once. (The SLBC regularly repeats these absurd Afghan stories—Editor). But all these persons are still alive. No apology is ever carried when later news despatches report speeches made by these same persons.

The Western press never carry reports (easily verifiable) released by official Afghan agencies. On the 3rd of August radio and TV in Kabul had reported that an American TV commentator (CBS) Dan Raser had participated in the killing of innocent Afghan citizens. This had been committed by the gang of rebels at the end of March of this year, murdering three Afghan workers in the village of Fatehbad (Nangarhar province), no doubt with the aim of intimidating the local population and to prevent them from supporting Babrak Karmal's government. Witnesses had stated that Raser, who does not speak local language, gave orders by gestures and bandits tortured the workers, stoned them and then cut their heads. Raser and three of his assistants had photographed and filmed this scene.

The four Americans had illegally come in to Afghan territory from Pakistan in Afghan national

dress together with rebel marauders in order to shoot a film about "the struggle of Islamic fighters for freedom in Afghanistan."

The Afghan news media has cited statements of witnesses about this incident and also of two members of this gang who subsequently surrendered to the Afghan authorities. The CBS spokesman, in particular, Vice-president of the Information Service of the Company, Burton Benjamin, and Raser himself tried to refute these reports dismissing them as "absurd and absolutely baseless", stating that there was no such film whatsoever and this was pure fantasy from the beginning to the end. The AFP published these denials. But on the 6th of April of this year, it is a fact the US-TV telecast a report about the situation in Afghanistan during which the film shot in Afghanistan by CBS correspondent Raser was shown. Furthermore, Raser in an interview to an American newspaper had spoken about his trip to Afghanistan, pointing out that his group was the only TV team, which penetrated into Afghanistan during recent months.

US official spokesmen have so far been silent about this notorious "Raser's case", because a his matter is connected, on the one hand, with interstate relations, and throws light on American interference into internal affairs of Afghanistan and discredits Afghan rebels who murder innocent people to get a TV film; and, on the other hand, it relates to a possible prosecution of Raser for illegal crossing of the Afghan border and complicity in the murder.

An even more absurd story was recently published by the *Daily Telegraph* here in London. It was a report from Peshawar. It stated: "About 50 Afghan girl students of Kabul University tore their blouses in a spontaneous demonstration of the campus at the weekend according to witnesses. 'We have now fully grown', they told Afghan youths. Beating their breasts they said: 'These are for you and not for the Russian invaders'. They were shaming the youths who seem indifferent to the Russian occupying force, unlike the citizens of Herat, Kandahar and Ghazni who continue to hurl insults at Russian troops patrolling the streets."

Foreign Correspondents in Kabul who investigated this story have stated that the whole thing was an absurd invention.

And so it goes on.

Tribune Correspondent.

"LIMITED" NUCLEAR WAR

Reckless Doctrine

Moscow, October 10.

Two months have not yet passed since the publication of Carter's directive No. 59 about a "new US Nuclear Strategy" as the *Washington Post* has served its readers with another "nuclear sensation". This

time US columnist Jack Anderson wrote about the President's memorandum No. 51 under which President Carter issued secret instructions to the Pentagon to get ready for the possibility of using nuclear weapon in the Middle East.

In accordance with the memorandum, different versions of US interference in the affairs of Middle East countries have been worked out under the pretext of warding off "the Soviet menace". General Kelly, Commander of the "quick deployment forces" received instructions as regards a "limited strategic variant"—mind a terminological similarity between directive No. 59 which speaks about a "limited" nuclear strike and memorandum No. 51. This variant provides for the delivery of 19 nuclear bombs by B 52 bombers to the region.

The White House has refused to comment on the *Washington Post* articles. Meanwhile, the CIA is trying to hold its author responsible for the publication of this material, alleging that his commentary "endangers US national security". Simultaneously officials from the Administration assert that the commentary has nothing to do with reality. Anderson said in this connection that if the memorandum was fake the CIA would not have taken moves to prevent its publication. This is not the only confirmation of the truth.

Runways for B52 bombers have been built on Diego Garcia atoll, which the Pentagon has turned into a strategic stronghold in the Indian Ocean. An agreement has been reached that B52 planes will use Australia as an intermediate base on their way from the United States across the Pacific and the Azores on their route leading through the Atlantic Ocean. The Australian press reported that depots with nuclear weapons for B 52 bombers were likely to be built in the country. At present B52s regularly patrol the Indian Ocean.

Apparently, the President's memorandum No. 51 is directly connected not only with a wide-ranging strategic plan to build up the US military presence in the Persian Gulf, the Middle East countries and the Indian Ocean, but also with a series of the President's directives No. 53 the ensurance of communications in case of nuclear war, No. 58 the evacuation of military and civilian leaders from Washington to safety and to standby command posts and No. 59. It is clear that all these documents are part of an overall military-strategic plan worked out by the US administration.

The adventurist character of the directives concerning a "limited" nuclear war, whose authors are going out of their way for people to become accustomed to the idea of permissibility and accessibility of a nuclear conflict, is clear enough. It is also clear that this reckless doctrine increases the risk of a nuclear catastrophe. The peoples must resolutely rebuff these sinister designs.

—Pravda-APN.

VOA COMMENTARY

US Nuclear Strategy

Washington, October 15,

In the last few years, improved technology has made it possible for the Soviet Union to carry out a major upgrading of the accuracy of its nuclear missiles. This advancement in Soviet strategic capability has presented American military planners with a recurrent nuclear nightmare. It goes something like this: At a time of international crisis, the Soviet leadership finds itself faced with a series of conventional strategic options, but all of them are unacceptable. So, in a moment of desperation, Moscow decides to take a serious, but carefully calculated risk. It launches a devastating but confined nuclear attack on one or more western military targets. The idea is to tip the military balance in the crisis of the moment without igniting a full-scale nuclear war. In the American strategic nightmare, the Soviet leadership is gambling on the probability that the West will not launch a general nuclear counter-attack as long as the Soviet first strike is narrowly considered.

There are variants of this scenario, of course, and western planners can never be sure to what extent Soviet nuclear strategy is based on a first strike option of this sort. But it is clear that the capability for a limited first strike now exists, and there is evidence that Soviet strategists are at least thinking of the possibility of waging a prolonged nuclear war—one which they believe they have a chance of winning.

In the past, both the Soviet Union and the United States have based their strategic doctrines on the assumption that there is no such thing as a "winnable" nuclear war. Both sides have planned in the past for nuclear warfare on a scale so overwhelmingly devastating that neither side would be tempted to launch its missiles first. The evolutionary change in American nuclear strategy that was announced earlier this year is designed to make sure that the Soviet Union does not yield to the limited first strike temptation as its nuclear weapons become more and more accurate. The plan would give the United States a series of options in retaliating against a Soviet first strike—including attacks against Soviet military targets without also destroying major cities and non-military installations.

This approach to strategy has evolved in tandem with the development of a more accurate Soviet nuclear capability and in response to it. But the underlying purpose of US nuclear strategy is unchanged: to make sure that it is clear to the Soviet leadership that there can be no "limited" nuclear war based on the assumption that the United States will be unwilling to use its nuclear deterrent. The concept of a first strike nuclear option is illusory, and so is the idea that it may be practical to put today's nuclear nightmare to use to solve tomorrow's political crisis.

—USICA

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Confidentially

- Another Hydro-Cracker?
- Shipping Puzzle?

IS IT NOT A FACT that complaints are pouring in to the *Tribune* office about the goings on in high places and low? That we are publishing below a few of the queries that have come? That we would welcome for publication answers and comments on the questions raised from official, as well as unofficial sources?

FISHY Is it true that the tender called for by a Ministry in 1979 is being evaluated for the 11th time? That the first evaluation done by a professional group was not very happy, so a 2nd evaluation was called? That this was still not good enough, so a 3rd evaluation was called through a technical committee? That this was apparently good enough for the Cabinet-appointed sub-committee but not for somebody else? That a 4th evaluation was therefore ordered through yet another technical committee? That this committee has come up with a result diametrically opposed to the preceding evaluation—and one wonders whether the desired end has now been reached? That many have begun to wonder whether this is another Hydro-cracker but the object of the tender was nothing so complex? That it is just a simple straightforward Diesel engine?

MYSTERIOUS : That if one examines the activities of the Ministry of Trade and Shipping one will soon come to the conclusion that while the Trade section of the Ministry was opening all doors to private entrepreneurs, the Shipping sector is closing the few that are open? That the following matters are now currently talking points in commercial circles in Colombo? That while on the one hand the ministry has come out strongly against monopolies especially those in the cigarette and soap trade, in shipping the ministry has enacted legislation to safeguard monopolies? That there is at present a regulation that prevents companies incorporated after 1976 to obtain agencies which are presently handled by companies incorporated before 1976? That therefore if the shipowner is dissatisfied with the present agent, he can only change it to a company incorporated before 1976? That one can count the shipping companies incorporated before 1976 on the fingers of one's hands? That if this law is removed one of the biggest losers of agencies will be the state-owned Shipping Corporation? That to take an example, the Iraqi government-owned shipping line wished to change its agency to a company incorporated before 1976? That the Ministry stepped in with a gazette notification that any new state-owned shipping agencies must lie with the Shipping Corporation? That they

have now gone a step further with another gazette that if a company is an agent for a state-owned line it will have to allow thirty percent of its share capital to the Shipping Corporation?

That it is not only the corporation who will lose their agencies but also certain private firms? That they too are happy with the present set up as their monopoly cannot be disturbed by "Johnny come lately" firms? That in the trade section of the Ministry a new insurance corporation was set up for the sake of competition, but in shipping no competition is allowed? That in the past private ship chandlers were allowed to service vessels coming under the corporation's agency if they were appointed by the foreign shipowners? That as more and more foreign shipowners preferred to obtain the services of private ship-chandlers, the ministry decided to stop it by decreeing that all ships coming under the corporation's agency must be serviced by the corporation owned Ceylon Port Services? That the shipowner is given no choice? That he even cannot change the agent because of the regulation mentioned earlier? That whilst the Import Controller has allowed private traders to import from Taiwan, the Merchant Shipping Authorities do not recognize vessels under Taiwan Flag and they are unable to call to discharge cargo? That on the other hand, Sri Lanka has no relations at all with Israel, but the Israeli owned "Gold Star" line is allowed to call at Sri Lanka ports and has been allowed to carry to and from Sri Lanka and even given preference over the vessels of friendly countries? That it is difficult to understand why when the Government has liberalised trade in shipping it is the other way about? That Textile Corporations have now been handed over to private management, private bus operators are given permission to run in competition with the CTB, even the postal sector is being handed over partially over to the private sector but in shipping, everything possible is being done to close down private firms that handle foreign shipping agencies?

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NEXT WEEK

- * JOURNEY TO INDIA 1980—2
by S. P. Amarasingam
 - * DIGAVAPI
by R. Kahawita
 - * BATTICALOA'S DROUGHT
by K. Kanapathipillai
 - * POLISH UPHEAVAL
by R. K. Mishra
-

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

Ministry of Fisheries Subsidy for Fish Farming in Estate Tanks

There are large numbers of small tanks throughout the country located in tea, rubber and coconut estates. Most of these estate tanks are seasonal in nature but there are several perennial tanks as well.

The Ministry of Fisheries is of opinion that these smaller water bodies have a good potential for intensive fish culture practices, especially, polyculture, where several fish varieties can be cultivated in the same water body at the same time.

The Ministry of Fisheries wishes to encourage the development of inland fisheries in these Estate tanks. With this end in view, the Ministry wishes to offer subsidies of up to 5,000/- to all owners of such Estates. Those interested are kindly requested to write in to the undermentioned before 15th November, 1980.

**DIRECTOR,
INLAND FISHERIES DIVISION,
MINISTRY OF FISHERIES,
GALLE FACE,
COLOMBO 3. TELEPHONE : 20521.**

The Subsidy to be paid by the Ministry can be utilised for the following purposes:

1. Removal of silt.
2. Deepening of the tank.
3. Removal of obstacles from the tank bed.
4. Strengthening the bunds, repairing sluice gates, spills, etc.
5. Construction of fish anti-escape devices.
6. Removal of predatory fish—For this purpose it may be necessary to empty the tank in order to supply bleaching powder, lime etc.
7. Manure to fertilise the tank.
8. Purchase of fish feed and
9. Purchase of fishing gear.

Technical assistance in matters such as site selection, pond construction and preparation, water control and management, suitability of fish varieties, feeding and care of the fish, harvesting methods, etc., will be provided by the Ministry Aquaculturists. Fish fingerlings for stocking will be delivered free of charge to applicants at site.

**ANURA WEERARATNE
SECRETARY
MINISTRY OF FISHERIES**