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# TRIBUNE



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# Letter From The Editor

ON THE COVER we have a puzzle. It is a reproduction of a wall painting from one of Sri Lanka's rock temples. What it depicts nobody is very certain. Some say it is a version of the God of Death—Yama to the Hindus. Others say it is God of Justice. To us it is a puzzle—very symbolic of the Kalawana Puzzle with which Sri Lanka opens the New Year. Our unfailing commentator on the burning topics of the day, R. Kahawita, of long standing UNP vintage, has an incisive piece on the Kalawana fiasco and wonders whether the Gilbertian mockery of the 1978 Constitution portends a trend towards dictatorship. He is not the only one who has expressed such fears. We have also published elsewhere in this issue the Fourth Amendment which the Government proposes to move in Parliament next week on January 6. As required by the Constitution, the proposed legislation was submitted to the Supreme Court for its opinion as to whether it was consistent with the provisions of the Constitution. The vigilant Civil Rights Movement (CRM) had intervened and had pointed that such an amendment needed a referendum. Part of the proceedings before the Supreme Court on December 27, 1980 were published in the *Sun* and *Daily News* the next day. The decision of the Supreme Court will be conveyed to the President and it will be made public on January 6 when the Fourth Amendment is on the Order Paper. We will not speculate on what the ruling of the five-member bench Supreme Court will be, but we reproduce below excerpts from the report published in the *Sun* (28.12.80) about the questions raised by the Chief Justice: "Parliament has no right to accommodate a Member without the consent of the people. If Parliament wants to increase the number of Members it should go back to the people. The people are supreme. If you are increasing the number of Members you will necessarily affect the franchise and in order to protect the sovereignty of the people you should go back to them. These observations were made by Chief Justice Neville Samarakoon in the course of the submissions made by the Attorney General Siva Pasupathi on the third amendment to the Constitution to accommodate the elected Member for Kalawana." The report went on: "In the course of the Attorney General's submissions he said the purpose of the Bill before the Court was to make provision for the elected Member for Kalawana to take his seat in Parliament. There was no provision in the Bill which states that the nominated Member has the right to sit in Parliament. Mr. Nadesan on behalf of the CRM submitted that the Bill was seeking to accommodate a member who has the right to sit in Parliament. The Constitution lays down that Parliament shall consist of 168 elected representatives of the people. If the Court held that Mr. Pilapitiya's election was void then it also means that not only the person but the Party from which he was nominated was also rejected. How then, he asked, could a person be nominated by a Party which had not the confidence of the people? He could be nominated if the Party doing so has the confidence of the people. This is a matter for a referendum....."

..... Chief Justice: According to Section No. 1 of the Constitution, Parliament should consist of only 168 members until August 1983. Attorney General: The purpose of the Bill is to make the elected member deemed to be a Member of Parliament. Since no vacancy arose at the determination of the Election Judge, this amendment provides for the appointment of the elected candidate as a M.P. .... C.J.: The President by virtue of the powers vested in him declares that the Kalawana seat was vacant. Do you say that the Speaker was not bound with the decision of the President? A.G. What will happen if the Speaker expels him and if the Court holds that the Member has a right to sit in Parliament? C.J. The question that arises is whether a member elected has a right to sit or a nominated member has the right to sit in Parliament. A.G. The member elected will have a right to sit. All that is said is we will accommodate the elected member without affecting his rights. C.J. Parliament has no right to accommodate a member without going back to the people....." The country awaits the proceedings in Parliament on January 6 with interest.

# TRIBUNE

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### CONTENTS

#### JOURNEY TO INDIA

—President Jayewardene  
Arrives p. 2

#### FOR THE RECORD

—Fourth Amendment p. 3  
CHRONICLE—Dec. 9-24 p. 5

#### SHORT STORY

—X mas Gift p. 9

#### FILM FOCUS

—Indian Films p. 11

#### GRGMA SASTTA—31

—Gone Are The Days p. 13

KALAWANA—Puzzle p. 13

P.R. SYSTEM—Dangers p. 16

#### 1983 ELECTIONS

—Forecast? p. 17

#### TALKING POINTS

—Ministerial Jaunts p. 18

#### INTERNATIONAL

—Libya In Chad p. 19

#### BREZHNEV REPORT

—Delhi Report p. 20

#### DELHI SUMMIT

—Afghanistan p. 21

#### CONSUMER POWER

—In France p. 22

#### REAGAN

—And South Asia p. 23

#### HORN OF AFRICA

—Against Somalia p. 24

#### PAKISTAN—And IMF

p. 25

#### SOVIET PRIORITIES

—In The 'Eighties p. 27

MILKY GIFTS—From Europe p. 28

IN TAMIL—Pioneer Work p. 29

PAKISTANIS—Stranded p. 31

CONFIDENTIALLY

—Milk & Sapphire p. 32



## President Jayawardena Arrives

By S. P. Amarasingam

It did not take me long to find the accommodation reserved for me in one of the two hotels reserved for delegations to CHOGRM—2 and the press corps accredited to cover the event. With the rest of the Sri Lanka media personnel I was in Hotel Asoka whilst the President and the rest of the delegation were housed in Hotel Maurya Sheraton not far away. Sri Lanka had full Radio and TV teams whilst the only other newspaper journalist besides myself was S. Piyasena from Lake House who was staying with his son working in the Air India Radio in its Sinhala Division.

I had sent my application and photographs for accreditation from Colombo through the Indian High Commission and when I called at the Press Centre at Asoka Hotel, my card and other papers were ready. By the time all the formalities were finished and I settled down in my room it was nearly 2 p.m. I had a call from the Indian Institute of Mass Communication (IIMC) that Prof. Raghavan would call on me at about 4 or 4.30 that afternoon to discuss some problems connected with the UNESCO-sponsored Conference scheduled to begin on the 8th.

I would therefore have to give a miss to the "ceremony" connected with the arrival of President Jayawardena at Palam airport at 4.30 p.m. I had, in the meantime, contacted friends in some New Delhi papers who would cover the arrival of the Sri Lanka President, and has asked them to keep me informed of any highlights. I had not been able to contact our radio (Sri Lanka Broadcasting Corporation, SLEC) or TV teams as they were not in the Hotel. I got through to Ray Forbes at the Sri Lanka High Commission and told him where could be found until the 7th when I would shift to the International Centre where the delegates for the Conference in the MacBride Report would be housed.

I then took off my shoes and stretched myself for what I thought would be the proverbial forty winks—but lack of sleep the previous night and the jet fatigue (mainly due to time spent at the airports and the taxis to and from) put me into a deep slumber from which I was awoken by Prof. Raghavan. My interesting conversation with him, I will relate when I have done with CHOGRAM—2 and come on to MacBride.

After Raghavan came a stream of journalists to say "hello". Among the first was A. L. Khalib, a Sri Lankan who was for many years in Dacca and had been close to Mujibur Abdul Rahman. With the assassination of Mujibur, Khalib had moved to Delhi and among other things he was putting the finishing touches to a book on Mujibur Rahman and the Bangladesh struggle for liberation. With him came the

Delhi Correspondent of the Bangladesh News Agency who waxed eloquent about the way President Jayawardena had parried questions at the airport from certain Western and Indian journalists about leasing Trincomalee as a base to the US Navy. He was greatly impressed by the way President Jayawardena had handled the press and the "mature" way he had answered all questions. The next morning most papers reported his answers to the question about base facilities to the US. The report in the *National Herald* of September 4, comes readily to hand. The report said that President Jayawardena had denied that Sri Lanka would grant base facilities to the US. Asked what he would discuss with Mrs. Indira Gandhi, he had said "everything under this sun." According to a later PTI report, "The Sri Lankan president Mr. J. R. Jayawardena said today that his country was not extending port facilities to the military vessels of any super power. In an informed talk with reporters he made it clear that Sri Lanka was unhappy with the 'militarisation' of the Indian Ocean and would like the super powers to leave it free. He said the Indian Ocean was no longer an issue concerning Sri Lanka and other littoral states alone. It had assumed international significance and the United Nations was seized of the matter. A meeting of the littoral states on the Indian Ocean would be held in Colombo next year under the auspices of the United Nations.

"He said that he had proposed the setting up of a world disarmament authority at the Sydney conference. This authority would monitor the production, distribution and deployment of arms. He had written to all the heads of state and that the proposal was being discussed. Mr. Jayawardena hoped the Commonwealth summit would turn out to be productive especially for younger nations from the Pacific. He pointed out that the next conference would be held in Fiji.

Mr. Jayawardena described the relations between India and Sri Lanka as 'very friendly'. But he said it was unfortunate that the balance of payment in bilateral trade was very much in favour of India.

"He said Sri Lanka strongly supported the Bangladesh president, Mr. Ziaur Rahman's proposal for a summit of the heads of states of South Asia. It would be similar to the Colombo conference of 1954, he said. Mr. Jayawardena disapproved of the protectionist policies of the developed countries. He said as far as possible there should be no protectionism among the developing countries.

"Asked about certain 'controversial' statements made by Mrs. Sirimavo Bandaranaike during her recent visit to India, Mr. Jayawardena said that no one should criticise his country, his government or political leaders while in a foreign land. 'It is not done, I would not do that,' he remarked. He said his country was heavily dependent on foreign assistance, adding Sri Lanka could not carry out her developmental programmes without it."

From the time President Jayawardena touched down on Indian soil in Bombay on September 2, he had what



can be described as a good press. The Times of India, devoted a full column on what he had to say on the Cultural Triangle and other topics. "The Sri Lanka president Mr. J. R. Jayewardene, said here today that his government had recently embarked on a massive programme to excavate and restore old Buddhist monuments with UNESCO assistance. In an exclusive interview, he said that initially the programme, the first of its kind to be undertaken, would be confined mainly to the cultural triangle, comprising the ancient cities of Anuradhapura, Kandy and Polonnaruwa. 'We are thinking of asking for worldwide subscription to make the project a success,' he said. The main aim of this programme is to revive the cultural heritage of the ancient island of Sri Lanka. 'The project is likely to cost millions of rupees and this is one of the chief reasons why the help of the UNESCO has been sought', he said. Mr. Jayewardene said a similar scheme had been introduced in Egypt some time ago and it had proved a success.

"He said elections to the newly-established development councils aimed to give greater autonomy to the 24 districts of Sri Lanka, would be held by the end of this year. The president described the development councils as a form of local government for the districts. 'There is decentralisation of administration and people in the district can now develop their own areas,' he said. The council, first of its kind to be set up in the history of Sri Lanka, is elected by the people 'working with a district minister.' The minister is chosen by the president, who the president will have a small three-member executive committee chosen from the development councils. Elections to the development councils will be held on the basis of 'proportional representation', which will also be put into effect during the island's general elections scheduled to be held in 1983, the president said. It was tried out during the recent municipal and urban elections and had proved a success. Mr. Jayewardene added.

"The Tamil United Liberation Front (TULF) was split on the issue of granting approval to the development councils. While the majority had approved it a small faction had opposed it. Asked if this division would come in the way of the smooth running of the development councils Mr. Jayewardene said that in any new programme 'there was bound to be some opposition and criticism.' He was, however, confident and optimistic that the councils would operate without any hitch. Mr. Jayewardene said the government was thinking of amending the current laws with regard to collection of deposits from newspapers. 'We are planning to raise the amount in order to guard against defamations,' he said. The president said while some of the big and established newspapers did not pose any big problem, it were the smaller papers, some of which were in the form of pamphlets, which at times tended to carry scurrilous reports. Some of these papers were in the form of ordinary pamphlets, he said. He described Sri Lanka as a non-aligned country and the non-aligned movement had its beginning in

Colombo several years ago."

President Jayewardene met Mrs. Indira Gandhi that evening (September 3) briefly. The Indian Prime Minister was intent on meeting as many heads of governments as possible before the Conference opened the next morning. She had already met many earlier arrivals.

Then began the customary round of press briefings, first by Ramphal of the Commonwealth Secretariat and then by various heads of delegations. But even more insistent than the press officers of various delegations was a spokesman of the Afghan Lobby in Delhi—denouncing Babrak Karmal and the Russians. The lobby is obviously well organised and well funded. Within two hours of my arrival at the Hotel, came an invitation (on the phone) to a posh eating place (a dinner for two with wine costing US \$ 40 to \$ 50) to "hear the sad story of Afghanistan". Polite excuses that I was busy had no effect and the telephone kept ringing every hour with invitations and finally rhetorical declarations on the situation. I was tempted to meet the caller in person but the aggressive manner in which he sought to educate me (on the phone) on the intricacies of the Afghan situation made me cautious.

The Afghan lobby in Delhi is a story in itself and deserves a full instalment of this diary.

(To be continued)

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FOR THE RECORD

## Fourth Amendment to the Constitution

The following is the full text of the fourth Amendment to the Constitution which came before the Supreme Court on December 27, 1980.

AN ACT TO AMEND THE CONSTITUTION OF THE DEMOCRATIC SOCIALIST REPUBLIC OF SRI LANKA

Whereas the Constitution of the Democratic Socialist Republic of Sri Lanka provides in sub-paragraph (i) of paragraph (d) of Article 161 that where a vacancy in the membership of the first Parliament occurs otherwise than under the provisions of paragraph (b) of such Article, such vacancy shall be filled in the manner provided in sub-paragraph (ii) of paragraph (d):

And whereas the Constitution does not provide that the seat of a Member declared under sub-paragraph (iii) of paragraph (d) of Article 161 to be Member for the electoral district in respect of which such vacancy occurred shall become vacant if the election of a Member deemed to have been a Member of the first Parliament is declared void:

And Whereas, notwithstanding that the seat of the Member of declared under sub-paragraph (ii) of paragraph (d) of Article 161 has not become vacant, Parlia-



ment intends to make provision for the holding of an election and for the inclusion in the first Parliament of the person declared elected at such election:

Be it therefore enacted by the Parliament of the Democratic Socialist Republic of Sri Lanka as follows:—

1. This Act may be cited as the Third Amendment to the Constitution.

2. Article 161 of the Constitution of the Democratic Socialist Republic of Sri Lanka is hereby amended in paragraph (b) thereof as follows:—

a) by the renumbering of sub-paragraph (ii) of that paragraph as sub-paragraph (iii) thereof; and

(b) by the insertion immediately after sub-paragraph (i) of that paragraph of the following new sub-paragraph:

“(ii) notwithstanding the provisions of paragraph (a) of this Article or any other provisions of the Constitution or any law, if the election as a Member of the National State Assembly for any electoral district of a person deemed to have been elected to the first Parliament is declared void under the law relating to elections to the National State Assembly in force immediately before the commencement of the Constitution, the President shall, notwithstanding that the Commissioner of Elections has under sub-paragraph (ii) of paragraph (d) of this Article declared any person to be the Member for the same electoral district prior to the declaration of the election of a Member of the National State Assembly deemed to have been elected to the first Parliament as void, make order in the manner provided for in such law for the holding of an election in the said electoral district and thereupon the provisions of such law shall apply to the holding of such election and the person elected at such election shall be deemed to be a Member in the first Parliament, without prejudice to the declaration by the Commissioner of Elections under sub-paragraph (iii) of paragraph (d) of this Article.”

3. The provisions of section 2 of this Act shall be deemed for all purposes to have come into force on November 19, 1980—Sun, 29/12/80

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LETTERS

## “The Ten Commandments”

Sir,

Expect some complaints about James Benedict's review of *The Ten Commandments*.

1. The “commandments” as cited by Mr. Benedict do not correspond to the commandments given in the text of the Bible (Exodus chapter xx and Deuteronomy chapter v). In particular, Mr. Benedict omits the part about the making of images.

2. The commandments as given in the Bible are not numbered. The enumeration used by Mr. Benedict is followed by Roman Catholics and by some Lutherans. Other Christians take as the “second commandment” the prohibition against the making of images; and then they count as third, fourth, etc., what Mr. Benedict has given as second, third etc., and combine his 9th and 10th into their 10th.

3. The third/fourth commandment obliged the Jews to observe the Sabbath—the seventh day of the week—as their day of rest. The law of Sunday observance is not biblical, but ecclesiastical in origin.

*Tribune* is not the forum for Christians to discuss these differences among themselves. It would be better for everybody if people devoted their energies to the keeping of the commandments instead of arguing how to number them.

I enclose a copy of this letter for Mr. James Benedict. May 1981 see us benevolent towards one another.

Claude R. Daly S.J.

31, Clifford Place,  
Colombo 4.  
1980 December 21

X X X

Govt.



Notice

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

Reference No. 9/900 8025

Action has been taken to acquire the lands described in the schedule below. For further particulars please see part III of the Gazette of the Democratic Socialist Republic of Sri Lanka No. 122 dated 02-01-1981

#### Schedule

**Situation** :— In Walasmulla village in Walasmulla Gramasevaka Division of the Weeraketiya D. R. O.'s Division in Hambantota District.

**Name of Land** :— Bogahahena, Assessment No. 36, Bellatta Road.

**Extent** :— Lot No. 297 — OA. OR. 39.2P.  
Lot No. 298 — OA. OR. 08.9P.

**Survey Reference** : lot No. 297 and 298 in Final Village Plan No. 163.

W. H. Karunaratna

District Land Officer for Government Agent.  
Kachcheri, Hambantota. Hambantota District.  
16.12.1980.



Dec. 9 - Dec. 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.

**TUESDAY, DECEMBER 9:** Some 70,000 enumerators will fan out throughout the country on a population and housing census on March 17. A six-member delegation of legal experts, headed by Mr. H. W. Jayewardene QC, Chairman Human Rights Centre, will leave for the People's Republic of China on December 13 for a two-week discussion and exchange of views with Chinese legal experts—CDN. A three-judge bench of the Supreme Court today ruled in a test case that public servants did not enjoy a fundamental right to strike or to employment and that the President was empowered under the new Constitution to ban strikes by public servants if he felt they could lead to disorder in the country. Singapore Airlines brought the 300,000th lucky tourist to Sri Lanka this year topping the target set by the Government for this year. The Prime Minister, Mr. R. Premadasa announced in Parliament yesterday that 16,000 middle-class flats would be put up by the government to solve the country's housing problem—CDM. A Bail Act, setting out guidelines for the granting of bail in all types of offences specially those of a minor nature, will be introduced by Government shortly. City Police detectives yesterday began investigations to track down three armed men, who got away with Rs. 500,000 when they held up a petrol shed at Galle Road Bambalapitiya in broad daylight last morning—SU. The Police is probing an alleged multi-million dollar land purchase racket by certain foreigners who are illegally buying up prime property in key tourist resort areas and selling them abroad for more than hundred times the purchase price—CO. The Tea Estate sector is facing an acute shortage of workers; villagers decline to work in the estates to fill the vacancies of those repatriated to India; meanwhile it has been estimated that about 15% of the total production of the tea estates are stolen from estates by organised gangs—LD. The government has asked the legal draftsman to draft charge sheets against seven SLPers who are charged with making defamatory speeches on public platforms—DK.

**WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 10:** The Speaker, Mr. Bakeer Markar ruled yesterday that Mr. Abeyratne Pilapitiya continues to be a Member of Parliament; Commissioner of Elections, M. A. Piyasekera said yester-

day that nominations for the Kalawana by-election will be received by the Government Agent, Ratnapura today as scheduled. Government will shortly implement a Rs. 710 million agricultural project in the Anuradhapura district under which 600 minor irrigation tanks will be rehabilitated and 60,000 acres of land cultivated on a more systematic basis, Finance and Planning Minister Ronnie de Mel said yesterday—CDN. The government has decided to take immediate steps to implement a massive development programme in the North Central Province; the development programme is estimated to cost Rs. 1710 million and will cover several electorates and 13 A.G.A. divisions in the North Central Province—DM.

**THURSDAY, DECEMBER 11:** Treatment centres are to be set up by Government for voluntary or compulsory rehabilitation of persons addicted to alcohol and intoxicating drugs; such centres will initially be established in Colombo and Kandy. A supplementary estimate of Rs. 10 million was approved for the building program of the University of Jaffna on the recommendation of President J. R. Jayewardene who is also the Minister of Higher Education. Government has decided to carry out an economic evaluation of the offers made by General Motors Corporation of the United States, and Ashok Leyland of India for a joint venture with Lanka Leyland Ltd., for the assembly and progressive manufacture of motor vehicles in Sri Lanka, official sources said yesterday. The North Colombo Medical College—Sri Lanka's first private medical college decided at its Board meeting held early this week to charge Rs. 67,500 for the full five year medical course from students who opt to pay the full amount at once—CDN. The Commissioner of Elections, Mr. M. A. Piyasekera, said yesterday that he had accepted nominations for the Kalawana by-election—CDM. The Kalawana by-election will be held on January 12, Elections Commissioner M. A. Piyasekera announced yesterday; but there were doubts in political circles over the position of the winner; this is in view of Tuesday's ruling by Speaker Bakeer Markar that Abeyratne Pilapitiya is a member of Parliament by virtue of his nomination under the new Constitution to represent Kalawana—SU. The Consumer Protection Unit of the Trade Ministry will launch a countrywide operation when the X'mas and New Year shopping session begins next week—CO.

**FRIDAY, DECEMBER 12:** President J. R. Jayewardene and the Cabinet are now giving high priority attention to a "National anti-inflation action plan." President J. R. Jayewardene told a mammoth public meeting at St. Xavier's College, Marawila yesterday that Parliament will decide who is to be the MP for Kalawana after the by-election on January 12. The Examination Department yesterday intensified its security measures and called upon the Police to maintain greater vigilance during the second GCE-O'level examination which begins today at 1,333 examination centres in the country—CDN. Government will enforce a total ban on the export of all antiques and artifacts from the country, Cultural Affairs Minister E. L. B. Hurulle, said yester-



day. Over 3000 middle class flats constructed by the National Housing Development Authority will shortly be sold on a rent purchase basis to the public—SU. A total of 16 new technical colleges will be set up: Trincomalee, Yavuniya, Mannar, Badulla, Batticaloa and Puttalam are among the places—DP.

**SATURDAY, DECEMBER 13:** The Parliament constituted itself as a court yesterday ordered Professor P. A. Silva, Chairman of the Steel Corporation, to furnish personal bail of Rs. 5,000 and surrender his passport to Parliament for an alleged breach of the powers and privileges of the house; the Chairman Mr. Bakeer Markar ordered that Prof. P. A. Silva appear before the Bar of the House on Monday afternoon at 4.30 so that the House could proceed with the inquiry into the alleged breach of privilege against the Member of Kaduwela Mr. M. D. H. Jayawardene. The International Development Agency (IDA) yesterday announced approval of a credit worth 33.5 million dollars for a rural development project in Sri Lanka. Some 5,000 persons are to be used to plant 150,000 trees in the 50 acre catchment area surrounding the Hakwatunaoya irrigation scheme to be inaugurated tomorrow by Mr. Gamini Dissanayake Minister of Lands, Land Development and Mahaweli Development—CDN. Legislative empowering the government to authorise the establishment of private television broadcasting stations will be introduced in Parliament shortly. A modern fish net weaving plant was opened recently in the Devuruwara Electorate, which would go a long way to meet the fish net needs of all fishermen—CDM. Large quantities of luxury and semi-luxury goods scarce in India are being imported by Lankan smuggling rings and ferried across the Palk Strait; this matter, which has caused Government much concern will be taken up by the Customs at the sixth bi-lateral Indo-Lanka talks between Customs, Immigration and Police authorities, due to begin next week in Madurai, India. As three more cases of cholera were confirmed in Colombo yesterday morning, the Health Ministry and the Colombo Municipality took a series of steps to prevent the spread of this killer disease—SU.

**SUNDAY, DECEMBER 14:** International sugar prices have begun tumbling like so many nine pins and the threat that Sri Lanka may shortly have to introduce a two-tier price structure for sugar has receded; the London Daily Price for sugar was 300 US dollars on Friday and market intelligence anticipated further declines, Food Department sources said—SO. A high powered Government cum private sector mission will undertake a tour of the five oil rich West Asian capitals in February, next year, in a bid to woo Arab investors to Sri Lanka. The Ministry of Fisheries will introduce a series of measures to punish fish mudalalis who employ children in "wadiyas"—WK. The import of textiles will be reduced step by step from next January; according to this by next April it is expected that textile imports will be reduced by 1/6th—CM.

**MONDAY, DECEMBER 15:** Prime Minister R. Premadasa said the government has decided to convert the Buildings Materials Corporation into a joint stock company and that the day was not far when its workers

would also be the owners of the Corporation. The 85 delegates who represented the five major religions at the three-day seminar on Religious and Cultural Traditions in the Development Human Rights in Sri Lanka, resolved on Saturday, to set up a permanent inter-religious Vigilance Committee under the Human Rights Centre to monitor and help in the promotion and implementation of Human Rights in this country. A special security scheme to protect Christian shopper from pickpockets and snatch thieves will be launched in all key towns beginning today, Police said yesterday. The death occurred on Saturday of Mr. M. F. L. de Silva, veteran journalist who served the Associated Newspapers of Ceylon Ltd., for fifty years. He was 75—CDN. The Ministry of Education has decided that teachers in Mathematics, Science and Commerce will not be released on no-pay leave to work abroad for next year—CDM. Government may agree to the appointment of a Parliamentary Select Committee comprising Government and Opposition MPs to resolve the impasse over the Kalawana seat; such a move is now receiving the active consideration of highly placed government circles. Chiavaturai—the village where the cholera outbreak originated—may be declared an epidemic stricken zone health authorities said yesterday—SU. The last two instalments of the compensation due to owners of sterling plantation companies nationalised under stage 2 of the land reforms in October 1975 will be paid this year according to authoritative government sources. Air Lanka is likely to embark on a Rs. 720 million five star hotel project next year—CO. A new foreign aided Fisheries Development Project will be started very soon in the North and East; Government officers from Abu Dhabi who visited Sri Lanka recently examined this project and promised aid to make it practicable—VK.

**TUESDAY, DECEMBER 16:** Prof. P. A. de Silva, former Chairman of the Steel Corporation who appeared before the Bar of the House yesterday to face a charge of breach of privilege against the Member for Kaduwela Mr. M. D. H. Jayawardene, was sentenced to pay a fine of Rs. 5000 and to imprisonment till the rising of the house; the sentence was pronounced by the Speaker, Mr. Bakeer Markar after he had heard the House on the issue. President J. R. Jayawardene will declare open the Colombo Municipality's Rs. 17 million Public Library new building at Vihara Maha Devi Park tomorrow evening—CDN. President J. R. Jayawardene who is also the Minister of Higher Education has directed the University Grants Commission to evolve a fair and just scheme of admission to Universities for the academic year 1981-82. The Legal Delegation to China led by Mr. H. W. Jayawardene QC received a very warm welcome on the day of their arrival in Beijing—CDM. A professional tax, gem mining and gem, turnover tax and a tax on all land auctions will be among the new amendments to be introduced to the Municipal and Urban Council Ordinance. Professor P. A. Silva, ex-Chairman of the Steel Corporation was yesterday sentenced to imprisonment till the rising of the House and fined Rs. 5000 when Parliament met as a court to



examine the allegations of insult and threats made by the accused against Kaguwela MP, M. D. H. Jayawarden. Top brass of the Army, Navy, Air Force, Police and high-ranking government officials yesterday mapped out an action plan to crack down on slave camps particularly in the country's fishing zones—SU. A scheme will soon be implemented by which widows and dependants will be entitled to the same pension their husbands were drawing—DP.

**WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 17:** Talks for the renewal of the 28-year old China-Sri Lanka Rice-Rubber Pact commenced yesterday afternoon at the Trade Ministry; the signing ceremony will be held at the BMICH at 10 a.m. on Friday. Positive indications of the occurrence of valuable uranium deposits in Sri Lanka were found by the Geological Survey Department during the year-long uranium survey the department's Director D. A. A. C. Hapuarachchi said yesterday; five areas had been identified as containing large deposits of uranium; the areas identified were Wellawaya, Trincomalee, Arugam Bay, Rakwana and Tabbowa, a hamlet east of Puttalam he said. The Colombo Municipal Council will levy a toll on all vehicles entering the city, from January, Mayor Sirisena Cooray, told the December General Meeting of the Council on Monday—CDN. Mr. M. H. Mohamed, Minister of Transport and Transport Boards said in Parliament yesterday that he had already taken back most of the strikers in the railway and explained why some strikers could not be taken back. Bus fares will be increased from March 1, next year—CDN. OPEC today agreed on a new formula for fixing oil prices which will probably mean importing countries paying around 10 percent more for their oil next year. A price increase in petrol, diesel, kerosene and other petroleum products following the OPEC decision is inevitable, Ceylon Petroleum Corporation Chairman, Daham Wimalasena cautioned yesterday. The Urban Development Authority is overhauling its construction plans for the new capital of Sri Jayawardenapura, following a report that high rise buildings in the area might sink; this overhauling plans restricting buildings to a maximum of eight storeys, will require a further 2,000 acres of land to accommodate the entire administrative complex. Joint investigations are being conducted by Indian and Sri Lankan Police into an alleged racket where Lankan youths are used as couriers for narcotics between India and Nepal—SU. Three leading Colombo nursing homes have been warned and their operating theatres closed by the Health Ministry following the high incidence of umbilical tetanus among babies born in them in recent months—CO. Leader of the Opposition stated in Parliament yesterday that the Tamils were in a worse position now than during the previous regime because the government had still not solved some of the basic problems of Tamils like language, education, employment opportunities, colonisation and district development—VK.

**THURSDAY, DECEMBER 18:** Government yesterday decided to introduce legislation to enable the candidate who will be elected at the by-election for the Kalawana seat on January 12, 1981 to function as

a member of Parliament, Minister of State and Cabinet spokesman, Anandatisa de Alwis said yesterday; government has no intention of shutting out of Parliament an MP elected by the people, he said; the present nominated MP for Kalawana, Mr. A. Pilapitiya will continue to sit in the House as Member of Parliament. The Government will soon provide legal and constitutional safeguards to public officers against transfers which are personally or politically motivated. All local and foreign postal rates go up from January 1. TULF leader, A. Amirthalingam, and SLFP Parliamentary group leader Maithripala Senanayake, yesterday asked for a postponement of the debate on the motion of no confidence on the Speaker—CDN. A Sri Lanka mission led by the Finance and Planning Minister will visit several European countries in mid-January on an investment promotion tour—SU.

**FRIDAY, DECEMBER 19:** Prime Minister R. Premadasa yesterday told the Parliamentary Party Leaders' meeting that the Government could not accede to the Opposition request for postponement of the debate on the motion of no confidence on the Speaker, Prime Minister R. Premadasa told Parliament yesterday that in the public interest the Government had decided to introduce legislation to enable the House to accommodate the Member for Kalawana who would be elected at the by-election to be held on January 12, 1981—CDN. The Ministry of Plan Implementation has recommended to the University Grants Commission that the annual intake to the medical faculties be increased to six hundred. During the year, 220,000 new members have joined the United National Party following the membership drive it started early this year—CDM.

**SATURDAY, DECEMBER 20:** Sri Lanka will export 20,000 tonnes of rubber to China and in exchange receive 80,000 tonnes of Chinese rice, next year under a Trade Protocol signed last night at the BMICH. Parliament yesterday decided by a vote of 51 to 17 to meet on December 23 to discuss the motion of "no confidence" on the Speaker, proposed by the Joint Opposition; however the indications are that the Opposition will not move the motion on that day, in which case it is likely to lapse—CDN. A three-judge bench of the Supreme Court yesterday found Mr. B. A. Siriwardene, Editor of the *Aththa* guilty of publishing defamatory statements reflecting on the proceedings and character of Parliament and also for publishing statements defamatory of Mr. A. M. R. B. A. Attanayake MP for Udumbura; on the first count Mr. Siriwardene was fined Rs. 250 and in default two months rigorous imprisonment and Rs. 50 and in default 2 weeks rigorous imprisonment on the second count. Sri Lanka will receive a record soft loan of nearly Rs. 3,620 million from the Federal Republic of Germany; this is a sequel to negotiations conducted by the Minister of Finance and Planning, Mr. Ronnie de Mel with the Government of the Federal Republic of Germany—CDM. The Police force in the Northern region was alerted yesterday following the robbery of Rs. 80,000 from the Vaddukoddai post office by four armed youths; the robber was staged while a sum of Rs. 150,000 was being trans-



ported from the Jaffna post office, in a private car by two officers attached to the Jaffna post office—SU.

**SUNDAY, DECEMBER 21:** President J. R. Jayewardene, addressing the 26th annual sessions of the UNP yesterday, called upon the party to begin their 1983 campaign immediately going from village to village and carrying out a just (dharmika) campaign to keep alive the flames of freedom kindled by the UNP in 1977; Mr. Jayewardene also warned the party's opponents that if they resorted to unlawful means of toppling the government, the government in the defence of democracy would have to follow methods not normally resorted to by democratic Government—SO. The fount of justice was parliament but the application of any laws it enacted should be done judiciously said the President Mr. J. R. Jayewardene when he addressed a mass public rally at IDH Junction yesterday evening—ST. Security forces in the north were yesterday alerted to the possibility of resurgence of violent crime in the area; close to a year after a state of emergency clamped down on Jaffna was lifted, this alert comes in the wake of the capture of four armed youth in Anuradhapura and Friday's robbery of 80,000 rupees at Vaddukoddai. Ownership of buses of the state owned transport board will be given to its employees under a scheme to be launched from January 1, 1981. Indian Premier Indira Gandhi is sending one of her high ranking Cabinet Ministers to Sri Lanka in a move, diplomatic observers here believe, to shore-up relations between the two countries—WK.

**MONDAY, DECEMBER 22:** The Police and the Air Force will launch a joint operation early next year against the illicit cultivation of ganja in the Eastern Province Police sources said. Mr. Gamini Dissanayake Minister of Lands, Land Development and Mahaveli Development winding up the debate on the votes of his Ministry said that the work on the Mahaveli project was proceeding to schedule CDN. The Minister of Finance Mr. Ronnie de Mel cautioned the nation from the floor of the House on Friday of a "Control Era" again in six months time if a drastic control of the finance was not exercised forthwith—CDM. Government yesterday decided to go through the debate on the No Confidence motion on the Speaker Mr. Bakeer Markar when Parliament meets today at 10 a.m., Cabinet spokesman Minister of State, Anandattissa de Alwis said yesterday that if the Opposition boycotted today's sittings a member of the Government party would move the motion. A Committee setup to report on "brain drain" has been recommended, by the Secretary, Ministry of Plan Implementation, Dr. Wickrema Weerasooriya—CDN. The crash programme to survey million acres in the Mahaveli area undertaken by the Survey Department has been completed; it has completed the survey within two years and it has cost the government about Rs. 100 million; for this programme the Department had deployed 350 surveyors and 3,500 other categories of employees—CDM. Government will introduce a Public Contracts Law to crack down on "influence buying" by interested parties to secure tenders and other multimillion rupee

deals with the State; the Cabinet yesterday approved a recommendation by Trade and Shipping Minister Lalith Athulathmudali to direct the Legal Draftsman to prepare draft legislation for this purpose. The number of positive cholera cases in Colombo rose to 12 last morning, with one more case reported from Jajela; TULF Working Committee member Kasi Anandan and six others who were charged with acts of instigating the people to protest against the promulgation of the Constitution on February 7, 1978, were discharged yesterday by Colombo's Chief Magistrate D. B. Ellepola. Government will introduce legislation to control and regulate the purchase or lease of lands and buildings in Sri Lanka by foreign nationals, Cabinet decided yesterday—SU. In a situation perhaps unprecedented in recent Parliamentary history the joint Opposition motion of no confidence in the Speaker was defeated unanimously in the House yesterday morning; all 126 members present at voting time voted against the motion; no member of the Opposition which initiated the motion against the Speaker, attended the sessions yesterday. The Indian Finance Minister R. Venkatraman will arrive here on January 4 on a two-day visit at the invitation of the Sri Lanka Government official sources said yesterday. Cashew nuts fetched a record price of Rs. 100 per kilogram at spot sales conducted by the Sri Lanka Cashew Corporation on December 15, Chairman E. N. Ekanayake said yesterday; the previous record was Rs. 60 per kilo of grade one cashew nuts. Dr. E. M. Wijerama, M. D., M.R.C.P. died on Sunday—CDN. Government will shortly utilise the armed forces to join Police in an all out drive against illicit felling in certain parts of the country. A new thrust towards development will get under way during 1981 with the setting up of Development Council; a Committee of Development Secretaries has spelt out the priority areas for this purpose to be undertaken with funds allotted under the decentralised budget. The Postal Department will go metric from January 1, 1981; the Ministry of Post and Telecommunications announced yesterday—SU.



### 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. 1802.50	Rs. 1805.50
Sterling Pound	Rs. 4227.50	Rs. 4233.50
Deutsche Mark	Rs. 941.50	Rs. 943.10
French Franc	Rs. 405.35	Rs. 406.05
Japanese Yen	Rs. 8.4400	Rs. 8.4550
Indian Rupees	Rs. 226.80	Rs. 227.20



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FROM A RATIONALIST

## Oh Man-Made Gods!

Man made his gods to suit his need,  
To clam his fears and sow his seed,  
To give him comfort, strength and hope  
In ills with which he could not cope,  
He had with Nature to contend,  
The elements from which to fend  
His hearth and home, his goods, his wife,  
His family, his crops, his life.  
He shrank from death and dread disease  
And sought these evil gods to please,  
Assuming them possessed of power  
O'er life and death, he would discover  
How best appease, propitiate  
These forces which controlled his fate.

He offered sacrifice and prayer  
And set up altars in despair  
To thunder, lightning, floods and fire  
Which seemed in anger to conspire,  
Afflicting him with endless woes  
While showing favour to his foes.  
So even when he won success  
By his own efforts, he would bless  
And praise the gods, whi in his mind  
Such consolation helped to find.  
He lived in hope to conquer death  
And praised god with his dying breath,  
Believing he would be reborn  
To greet the Resurrection morn.

Man worships his creation now  
And does before these idols bow,  
Forgetting his forefathers made  
These very gods to whom he prayed.  
Thus man-made gods proceed to rule  
The superstitious mortal fool,  
While reason, knowledge, science, power  
Advance apace from day to hour.  
Credulous man will you not learn  
The simple truth from which you turn?  
There are no gods but those you made  
In your own image, when dismayed  
By fear and ignorance combined  
Which wrought such havoc with your mind.

**Mervyn Casie Chetty**  
President.

Sri Lanka Rationalist Association.

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T O

## Monalisa

I think you are ugly, selfish  
and too fat.  
Why you are a luminary,  
I never could understand?  
The rest of the world must be crazy.  
Did you ever give yourself totally  
to your man, Moanalisa?  
Did you love him selflessly?  
You could'nt.....  
You wanted the whole world to  
love and adore you.....  
You would not otherwise have let  
De Vinci prostitute you to mankind.  
I see no beauty in you,  
only an obsession, you are too straight, artificial,  
The way you rest your hands on each other,  
so calculatingly,  
Your noise is too fine.....  
You have no heart,  
only a set of lumpy breasts,  
to cover up the hollowness inside.....  
You cloth yourself to hide all this,  
and took so much space on the canvas.  
The critics and others blind,  
had got me so love you for so many years.....  
throughout my youth,  
until I saw, for myself  
the real YOU

**Renton de Alwis**

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A CHRISTMAS SHORT STORY

## A Gift From The Heart

By Sita Selvadurai

Matilda collected the mail from the postman, and hurriedly tore open the letter from the United States. As she read through it, she felt her heart beat fast and thud against her chest, and when she came to the end of it, she could hardly decipher the last words, for her eyes were brimming with tears of joy.

It was over ten long years ago, that she, then just out of High School and in her late teens had accompanied the Adamsons to the United States to be their house help. Only one year had passed then, since her Papa had been crippled for life in a road accident, and when the Mother Superior in the convent opposite their home had made the suggestion, her Mama could not simply afford to overlook this chance. To be sure, the remuneration will go a long way to see her two brothers through their College career. When Matilda and her Mama met the Adamsons a few days later, any fears and qualms they might have had were altogether dispelled. Very soon, much to the envy of her



classmates Matilda was off in a jet plane, to live with a wealthy family in the mighty and much talked of United States of America.

For the first few months Matilda was lost in wonder at the power, plenty and opulence of her hosts and host country. But soon the fascination began to fade away. Many a night, Matilda stood on the balcony of her luxury flat and watched the neon signs blinking the different colours of the rainbow, and traffic whizzing past ten storeys below. It was so different to the silent majesty of the temple trees shining in the moonlight of her garden with only the bubbling of the nearby brook to be heard, that very often she had to blink back the tears of homesickness, she was careful not to show.

Gradually the year drew to an end, it was Christmas. One dull, dreary December morning, clutching her purse that contained all the dollars that she had left of her allowance after despatching the major portion home, she stepped out into the cold and chilly New York streets to do her Christmas shopping. Matilda, who had been impressed by the departmental stores of New York City at all times, thought them overwhelming at Christmas. As she went past the store windows ablaze with lights, colour, fur and jewels, and saw the golden angels 40 feet high hover over Fifth Avenue, for a brief moment she wondered, whether anything in the world could match this fabulous display. She hurried past the gleaming canyons, brushing past crowds, and wended her way to all the countries of the store, but search as she might she could not find a suitable gift for her employers. They had everything, and anything she gave them would be just another gift. This was not Matilda wanted it to be, and her heart was heavy.

It was later, during lunch, while she sat at a snack bar attacking a hamburger that the solution had occurred to her. Surely there were some people in this city who had less. Perhaps she should try to find a needy person. So Matilda wended her way back to the counters, choose something, got it wrapped and tied with a ribbon, and stepped out into the snowbound winter streets again, faced with the formidable task of finding a poor family.

She took a taxi ride to that part of the city she thought to be a less affluent residential area, and started walking along the sidewalks looking up at the apartments on either side. But none was the type she was looking for. Whenever she came to an intersection, she looked up and down and took the poorer looking street, and after two hours of such walking she became desperate. She asked a policeman at a junction, "Slums are not the place for you Miss," he said and continued to blow his whistle and send the traffic swirling past. The doorman resplendent in blue and gold had looked doubtful too. "A poor street Miss," he repeated, "Not any that I know of", and then as Matilda stood forlorn amidst the roaring traffic, wondering whether her idea had been impulsive, foolish and absurd, she saw the familiar figure of a Salvation Army man.

She was nearly run over in her hurry to get across to him on the opposite sidewalk. "Please," she said

catching up with his steps, "Could you direct me to a poor family with a baby. I have a present for them" and she held up her parcel. He stopped immediately and looked her through and through, and behind those black horn rimmed spectacles, Matilda saw that his eyes were kind. "Yes," he said haltingly, in a soft and gentle voice. "There are more than one where I live. Perhaps I could take you there." Then in that warmth of the taxi, Matilda had told him that she hailed from a Third World country, how she came to be in New York, and what she planned to do as a Christmas gift for her employers. He listened intently, and she guessed the taxi driver listened too. As her tale ended, the taxi came to a halt on a narrow street. From the sidewalk Matilda stared at the forbidding tenement in front of her, dark, decaying, and saturated with hopelessness, and she knew that her search had not been in vain. "Come" said her new friend, "They live on the third floor." But Matilda shook her head. "You hand it over", she said giving him the parcel. Then as the taxi bore her away, from the dark streets to the lighted ones, from misery to abundance, she tried to visualize the happiness on the faces of the recipients, as they undid the wrapping and put the dress on their little baby. When finally she arrived at her destination, the taxi driver refused to accept payment. "No charge Miss" he had said, and sped away, leaving her gaping on her doorstep.

On Christmas Day, after a sumptuous meal of turkey, ham and plum pudding, Matilda hesitantly explained to the Adamsons why there was no gift from her. She told them about her shopping spree, her decision about a gift, the Salvation Army man, the visit to the tenement, her ride back, and the gesture of the taxi driver. When she ended a long silence followed. Neither Pop, Mum, June or Dorothy, trusted themselves to speak. A few months after that memorable Christmas, Matilda had to hurriedly return to her home country due to the sudden illness of her mother. This was the first time she had heard from them—ten years hence.

"Mom succumbed to her heart ailment a few months after your departure", June now wrote, "And one of her last requests were that we continue the good gesture begun by you to give a present to the needy every Christmas." We have abided by her wish, and derived a lot of added pleasure in doing so. We try to visit a different family each year, and so emphasize to the fullest the spirit of selfless giving. This year we happened to visit the very same family you had visited on you first and 1st Christmas in our country. Their youngest daughter, born a few years ago has been named Matilda after you. We also met the Salvation Army man who told us that the Salvation Army had begun a gift scheme 'from those who have plenty'. And most of all", she ended, "It may gladden you heart to know that yours was the best present we have ever received."

Matilda folded the letter carefully, and put it into the pocket of her faded blouse while tears brimming in her eyes slid down and wet her cheeks. Her joy was boundless. It was the greatest gift she too had received by far.



## Discipline

The cover of a recent issue of the *Tribune* (29.11.81) proved a conundrum to many readers, who were confused what it depicted till they flicked the pages over and on discovering its identity, realised what an ant colony achieve where many human endeavours fail. This column digresses to expatiate further on this topic, so that even cinema magnates may realise that "Discipline" achieves what "Ambition" seeks, by the persevering pursuits of an ant, from dawn to dusk, "working steadily since dawn, the parasol ant carved out a giant piece of green leaf. He lifted it to his crown and headed for his colony, to have it converted soon into compost. This parasol tribe deliberately sow, manure, prune, weed, eat and sow again. His "cowherd" cousins, pasture their "cattle"—tiny pear shaped plant pests called aphids. Aphids suck plant sap and the ants milk them for their juice, they secrete. By dusk, the little ant had made a record hundred load carrying trips. His tribe has complete faith in the DISCIPLINE ingrained in evolutionary history and none whatever in sentinals".

Having proved a point that "nature abounds in those qualities, we seek in ourselves", this column re-rails to the world of celluloid with purposeful relevancy, and wishes its readers a Bright and Prosperous 1981. In retrospect, the National Film Corporation, under the chairmanship of Anton Wickremasinghe should look with a certain of pride in having kept picturegoers content and happy throughout the receding year. Criticisms in this column from time to time have been accepted in the correct spirit, and a clear instance was the response that emerged when the flaws in the distribution methods of films in Kandy were spotlighted. Today the general cinematic scene has brightened up in the hill capital and this column has been embarrassed by the encomiums it has received from the Sinhala, Tamil and English picturegoers up there, for the humble duty it undertook.

Looking ahead it should be aim of all those connected with the local film industry, not to leave the "people" out of their cinematic calculations. The National Film Corporation having disciplined itself without reservations, should percolate the lesson right down the line to reach out to the masses—for cinema is perhaps the only relaxation available to them to tide over a tired evening. Cinemas of comfort, with elementary amenities, manned by a courteous management and staff are a must for the future—and let us hope that the NFC would remain hawk-eyed in this direction with resolution in 1981—and let a Dharmista oriented Discipline overtake the whole film industry with the interests of the people at heart.

**THE PINK PANTHER STRIKES AGAIN** (English): This United Artists production, brings up once again the rare historicities of that brilliant and late actor Peter Sellers in one of his last few screen appearances. As in the Pink Panther series of films, Sellers roles in

inimitable style, the French detective Inspector Clouseau now promoted a grade to replace ex-cop Dreyfus (Herbert Lom), who turns arch foe with maniacal fury after being "run" into an asylum by the unpredictable antics of his subordinate. Released from his enforced rest, with a just one ambition—to topple Clouseau, Dreyfus is even prepared to blackmail the world with a laser beam for his nefarious ambition. A periscopic indoor chase, the annihilation of the United Nations building with the US President (Ford) and his Secretary General, (Kissinger) both cameoed watching the operation on TV and Clouseau clearing a moat to close in on the fortress retreat of his adversary are some of the amusing highlights of the story. The slapstick however was laid so thick, the characteristic asides of Sellers appeared submerged, while a sickly patlor hung over him, which probably was a precursor to the cardiac arrest that was to overtake him. The irrelevant line of the Clouseau clue hunt was however present as his questions boomeranged on him as usual—a prize reported being "how can I keep up the track—there is a blonde in my bed and a dead body in the bath." If the initial encounter of Clouseau vs Dreyfus was to hilarity by the riverside, the final confrontation was over whiffs of Nitrous Oxide (laughing gas), that "intoxicated" the audience as well. Although not one of Director Blake Edwards' best in the series, the film held enough, to keep tuned to the season of good cheer. See it with the family as there is nothing of the like around town now.

**HONDI INNA** (Sinhalese): Comedian Antony C. Perera who has for the last 3 decades entertained local picture goers with his "balding" slapstick is behind the story, dialogue and screenplay of the film, taking on, in his stride the role of a small time grocery boutique keeper of a minority community, in a village, where the story unfolds. Veteran actor Hugo Fernando, who is cut out for "Ralahamy" roles is at it again and with his vested interests at stake, stands in the way of lovers Senadheera Rupasinghe and vivacious Vijitha Mallika, till he reaps the wages of what he sowed. Even with Antony C. disseminating the questionable tricks of his trade, the film has failed to click, and is heading for a fast fade out of the Box office. The photography is a redeeming feature, while the story sparkles in patches of good humour, sagging between mirth and tragedy on a groovy course, which would have "grassed" completely but for Antony's antics. If you like him, you should tolerate this film and ignore the all too pious facade of the title, it masqueraded under to turn serious in the last reel only!

**STAR WARS**: Harking back to what a young politico described as trashy, here is a Plain Truth assessment of this film, without comment. "Never have two movies made the kind of deep lasting, impression as have Star Wars and its sequel "The Empire Strikes Back." Many viewers have gone back again and again, some literally hundreds of times. People waited—without complaining—for hours in long lines to see "Star Wars". And by the time "The Empire" was to be released, people were waiting in line for days. One movie critic—John Simon of the National Review—observed that



'Star Wars' and its sequel had turned into a religious cult. These two movies are probably the best science fiction films—from a technical point of view—ever made."

20.12.80

James N. Benedict.

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## Indian Films

It might not be a surprise for *Tribune* readers to know that the Indian Film Industry is one of the biggest in the world, for the escapist entertainment it provides to the millions in India wallowing in poverty, and who want to get away from the misery of it all, even for a few hours. It has been reported that these films are not only the opiate of the Indian masses, but are also spreading their charisma over the Third World countries from Abu Dhabi to Zambia and Nigeria to Thailand. In our country too it is common knowledge that these movies maintain an edge over our local productions at the Box Office, although this is not necessarily an index to their superiority, qualitatively. It is also an open secret that the coffers of the State Film Corporation keep swelling with every new film imported from India—like the Hindi film **Abhimaan** for instance, which perhaps still keeps the record for the longest run of a film in one theatre, in the Metropolis, not to speak further of the South Indian Tamil films that run repeatedly to packed houses. All this of course does not reflect on the talent at our disposal, for we have in our midst, a director of the calibre of Lester James Peris, and some of the finest Sinhalese actors we can be proud of—yet the hurdles we have to overcome are the technical equipment and other shortcomings, that cannot stand up to the standards prevailing in India just now. Perhaps the S.F.C. will steer us on to level terms in the near future. Speaking of Hindi films, if one needs any proof that these were the biggest crowd pullers in the not so distant past, they should check; even for academic interest, on the takings of "**Abhimaan** and **Zanjeer**" which ran continuously for months at the Empire Theatre in Colombo. The production of such films is closely tied up with big business in Bombay, where most of them originate. It is also a revelation, how both Sinhala and Tamil picturegoers in our country, who do not know even a smattering of the Hindi tongue, plump very heavily for these films. The secret in my opinion is the tilt and the rhythmic melody of a type of music, that haunts and strikes a common chord in the hearts of our people. Hindi films are normally produced with colossal settings in opulent colour and the cost of a single film runs into millions under production. Raj Kapoor's **Bobby** was one in the category and it never reached our screens due to its prohibitive price. Yet I note from recent press reports, that the SFC does not wish to starve picturegoers of what they crave to see, and a few Hindi films should be around soon.

**THE CHAMP** (English): Metro Goldwin Mayer studios have taken upon themselves a second fling at

this story, after resting on the laurels of their first attempt way back in 1931, when late actor Wallace Beery, collected an Oscar for a key role in the earlier attempt. This second try has been under the direction of renowned "maker" France Zefferelli, who has incidentally made this film his first American motion picture. His deft touch has been made lighter in that he had the finest stars at his disposal, and went on to extract every ounce of their ability which was so readily available. In doing so, he covered much ground over the moving story which missed Oscar nomination by a whisker. The story weaves an intricate, but dramatic pattern, involving the breakdown of a marriage, and its inevitable effect on a mother (Fraye Dunaway), a father (Job Voight) and a child, who never came to grips with the marital calamity, till a boxing ring climax spells it out for them in a cold blood spattered spill over the ashes of a meaningless divorce.

The custody of the child, Timothy Joseph (Ricky Schnoder) sparks off a sentimental feud, between the parents, throughout the film, until the father, a one time boxing champ idolised by his son T. J., finally returns to the ring to win a battle for the love of his only offspring, and to lose the "war" moments later. The raging rapport that is set aflame between the father and son in the face of an essential vacuum—the mother, is thrown up devastatingly in the film. Voight and Dunaway who mormally throw themselves heart and soul into their roles, that won them acclaim in the films **Coming Home** and **Bonnie and Clyde** respectively, walk into their roles with fervour, but even they fall that short, of what little Rocky Schroder achieved. A prodigy who emerged of 5000 aspirants for the role, he had cut his teeth in TV appearances earlier.

As for the climate six rounds boxing "slaughter" in the ring, it has been rated as the best ever seen in a film, and might turn the eyes of the squeamish away, for the gruesome sport that it has always been. A recent trend noticed in Hollywood releases like **Kramer vs Kramer** was to drive home, that families should weather marital storms, that would pass by eventually, instead of making children, the guineapigs of the union. To that extent and beyond, this is a brilliant film, that will arouse your emotions to a pitch, and paralyse them to a standstill, leaving plenty of food for mental digestion in its trail. For parents in particular, this film is a must.

**DOONWATCH** (English): A Carlo Ponnampalam release, which has not netted the right audience and the returns due to faulty advertising. The story done very convincingly, surfaces the physical contamination faced by the residents of a tiny island off the coast of UK, by consuming fish polluted by radio active waste that had been dumped off-shore, by a business combine. The inhabitants face a slow and debilitating death, due to a pituitary imbalance that resultantly besets them, till a doctor (Iam Bannen) attacked to "Doomwatch"—an organisation that keeps a close eye on aquatic pollution in general, and a teacher (Judy Cleeson) step on the island to alert the people to the danger that threatens their conservative way of life, quite oblivious to the



"death" in the swirling waters around them. Of immense academic and preventive value for our times, the film runs now at the sprucely maintained and managed Concorde Cinema at Dehiwela. An informative film which I am sure environmentalists and medical men would see with profit. The Adults only tag to this film remains a mystery.

**GETAWAY** (English): Commuting a distance in the midst of transition (official) problems have delayed and stunted the review of this good film, in this column, which is regretted. The action packed story encircles the McCoy's (Steve McQueen and Ali MacGraw) who try to "getaway" after a bank, hold up, with a double crossing gang and the law on their heels. The camera work was exceptionally excellent, while an air of nostalgia pervades the film as the dynamic McQueen died only a few weeks ago of a rare disease. Here is what a current *Newsweek* reference to his demise. "Steve McQueen (50), who became one of Hollywood's highest paid stars died after surgery to remove a tumour, resulting from a rare form of lung cancer. In more than 2 dozen movies including 'The Sand Pebbles', 'Bullitt' and 'The Towering Inferno' McQueen was the rugged individualist with a heart which went up against the system. One of his real life romances, become as well known as his film flings, when he courted Ali MacGraw, who became the second of his three wives. When conventional treatment could not halt his terminal cancer, McQueen sought a highly controversial course of therapy—including lactrile in Mexico. This column will sure miss him.

James N. Benedict.

27.12.80

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## GRAMA SASTRA—31

—Scribblings On Uva Villages

by Gamiya

### Gone Are The Days.....

EVERYBODY knows that the three Development Decades have failed and failed badly. It all began with a misunderstanding of development as only technical progress. We ended in a blind ally of eventually putting in seven units of fuel energy to produce one of calory energy. So many thought that the American model of development was the model and that the "trickled-down" theory of development would reverse the funnel, but it didn't. Willy-nilly, Development was dramatised, and Projects were projected and the rich became richer and the poor rushed faster into poverty, suicide and death.

People who should have known better, planned for the rural people. Even Church projects, institutions, all the acronyms from BOXHAM to BONHOM came our way, and the people are not yet developed, and the projects are still probed for success-values. It

was not a surprise to some when development was analysed and found to come from *de-enveloper*, to *de-envelop*, or remove the outer bond of the envelop, to release the letter from the envelope for reading. And so, to heal and to restore to better state (CCA News Bulletin, Singapore, 1978). But most Developmentalists just let that go. Leaders of State and Church look glumly when you state that those development days are over.

*Now is the time for the working for full freedom for all peoples. It is the middle way of Bishop Oscar Romero, neither to Right nor Left. But, for the People. Let the People tell you what they need, and let us as catalyzers, change-agents help make them want what they most need. They have thir human rights.*

I know of a leader who went into a remote area and started right away, a Big School of Carpentry for the Poor Boys of the Area! But they did not want any carpentry. The police cops were on the look-out to nab them in, because they were cutting trees and making wooden planks so that they could do his carpentry project. By all means, start some small project, so that it can become a point of entry for awareness, a point of formation and education.

It is the same with that most foreign of affairs—the tragic tractor symbol, of neo-colonialism in agriculture: the one time helpers of a big country were deployed all over the world on 'Projects' and "Operation missions" to teach people How to Repair Tractors, to hand out technical training and manuals on How to Handle Land-Masters, and How to Master Air-Conditioners and Tackle Television-sets.

The more we 'Institute' repair-work for machines that should never have entered the village in the first place, the more we teach them something they should not learn, and the more they will yearn to buy those same tractors and allied equipment. True Total Development can never be equated to more technical progress. Real inner progress, change of attitude, mind, heart (buddi, cetana) are the very souls and dynamism of the development process and of the upliftment of the village.

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MALWANA QUIZ

## KALAWANA

By R. Kahawita

**HEY**, we are tipsy, we are inebriated, we are developing a sort of paranoia, we are doped; doped with what we do not know. Is this the reason why The Government says we need rehabilitation of alcoholics and drugaddicts? As bystanders we begin to wonder whether we are poweraddicts too which also need rehabilitation.

Some even think, we as bystanders are entertained to a bout of power skirmishes. Nay, we are grieved at the way the most sacred document, the Constitution



of the Democratic Socialist Republic of Sri Lanka is being torn to bits before the ink of the signatories to this sacred document has dried up. As bystanders, what is the information handed down to us in small but lethal doses to abort what we all accepted as the fundamental law of the country—"The Constitution", the Constitution to which we all sweat to honour, respect, and lay down our lives in its defence.

There is an "intended" by-election for the Kalawana Constituency, in accordance with the Constitution. The press informs us that on nomination day, only one political Party (a lonely one) had nominated a candidate. There were six Independents too. For them it is like investing a rupee in a lottery ticket expecting millions, Our National Parliament has come to that today. The ruling party has abstained from nominating a candidate because The Speaker had already ruled that the sitting member is the member for that constituency irrespective of the prelude to why a bye-election became necessary in terms of the provisions of the Constitution. In other words there is no vacancy in the House. Yet the Commissioner of Elections, ignoring the ruling of The Speaker, has fixed January 12th 1981 as the Polling date.

DOES IT MEAN that the Commissioner of Elections is holding an election for a fictitious seat—like the See of Rome honouring a church dignitary to a bishopric of an extinct civilization? Or is it going to be a mock election, in the same pattern as mock court-trials we use to participate in our school days? But with this difference, the latter did not cost anything to anybody except side splitting laughter, the former is no laughing matter, for the people will have to pay a surcharge on their food to stage this mock bye-election. In the wake of this, it is reported in the press, that the President has declared that after the bye-election the Parliament will decide who is the acceptable candidate to sit in the House. What is the criterion to decide that? We cannot take this in. It is a fine how do you do sort of democratic socialism.

What will be the outcome in the House after the bye-election is concluded? Will the House expel the "sitting member" and take in the new member, or tell the newly elected member, "Go to hell you have no seat in this House." Or will it end up in a civil war to establish the constitutional rights, like the American civil war? We have to wait till after the 12th January for you and me to pick up our bows and arrows and march on to Potomac Hill to defend the Constitution.

We like to go further into this puzzle, though we have no claim to any kind of expertise on the subject. We start with the events that rendered Kalawana Electorate vacant. In the July 1977 elections the people elected a U.N.P. candidate to represent them in the House. There was an election petition alleging that the successful candidate had resorted to malpractices to win the seat. This was upheld by the court and declared "the election of July 1977 was void". Thus a bye-election became necessary. Thereupon, the Commissioner of Elections was informed that a seat was vacant and steps initiated to hold a bye-election.

Why was an election necessary and not a nomination by the Leader of the Party that held the seat before it was disqualified? In other cases like Jaela or currently Attanagala the seats were rendered vacant for other reasons. These seats were held by the respective parties legally, i.e., the voters selected the Party and the Party nominations at the 1977 elections. Thereafter a vacancy can be filled without a by-election. The Party that collected the seat at the election can nominate a member for the vacancy.

IN THE CASE OF KALAWANA, (if we disregard the juggling resorted to by the member, during the inquiry into the petition to keep the seat) that seat was snatched, so to say, from the other contestants un-ethically, and has been challenged in the courts. If the conduct of the Party candidate was clean that seat might not have gone to the U.N.P. That was what the election judge had to decide. He has given his decision and the test is by a bye-election to determine the Party or the individual who should sit in the House by a majority consent of the voters of that electorate. This is the rationale of legally un-seating a candidate under the 1977 constitution. This contingency will not arise under the 1978 constitution, or in the 1983 Parliament.

So the necessary machinery to hold a bye-election was set in motion. viz. The announcement of a bye-election, registering of new political groups, nominations of contestants by different political parties, including the U.N.P. whose elected candidate was declared null and void. The nominations were accompanied by the usual canvassing behind the scene to get the Party tickets etc. The stage was set for the election of a candidate for the vacant seat. In the meantime while the Court case was going on, the 1977 U.N.P. candidate absented himself from the House without leave of the Speaker. He kept away from the House for three months and in terms of the Constitution he is deemed to have vacated his seat, as much as a striker loses his job because he did not report for work. After the order of the Court was conveyed to the Speaker, the ex-member took his seat in the House amidst shouts of "Stranger in the House", by members of other political Parties. He was asked by the Acting Speaker to leave the House, because his election was declared null and void. He did and very rightly too.

The ex-member (now) had planned a counter strategy which is clear from the letters to the Speaker as disclosed in the Press. His absence from the House was explained and accepted. He was reinstated by the House Administration. It seems to have been done by the Secretary-General of the House, the Commissioner of Elections and the General Secretary of the U.N.P. Accordingly it was gazetted to read that Mr. A. B. H. Pilapitiya to be "the member for the Electoral District No. 159—Kalawana in the First Parliament." He was not re-instated as a member to the second Parliament the second in the present term of Office.

WHILE THIS WAS GOING ON, the Supreme Court confirmed the order of the Election Judge that the election to the Kalawana seat at the general election



in July 1977 was void in Law and that there was no due election to that seat in July 1977. If there was no election ipso facto there had to be a bye-election to determine the Party and the candidate. That is what the Commissioner of elections had to do and intend to do. However in spite of what went before The Speaker, after going through the representations made by Mr. Pilapitiya, and ignoring the court order he declared that Mr. Pilapitiya is a member of the House. On the face of it the Court order was set aside by the Speaker and he "elected" a member to a seat legally declared void. How correct this procedure is questionable.

The intention of the Party High Command was to nominate a candidate to the bye-election, but did not do so because of the Speaker's ruling. The U.N.P. statement is "In view of the fact that the Speaker of the Parliament has recognized Mr. Pilapitiya as the member of Parliament for Kalawana the nomination Board decided that the question of nominating a U.N.P. candidate did not arise." So by this order the Speaker has brought the House to full membership in keeping with the post 1978 constitution.

**The U.N.P. now has the full quota of members as returned in 1977. However as a post script, the President has said that after the bye-election the Parliament will decide who is the acceptable candidate to sit in the house as quoted earlier. How Gilbertian the whole act is? There is no better way of ridiculing the Constitution to which you and I have sworn allegiance.**

**The sum total of this fiasco is the Kalawana Electorate will be voting for a candidate with no rights to sit in the house and a seat that is not vacant; the Commissioner of Elections will be conducting a bye-election for a constituency that is not vacant; the erstwhile member for Kalawana, who has been legally unseated will be sitting in the House as an appointee of the Speaker and not of the people of Sri Lanka under their Democratic Socialist Republic!**

THIS IS THE CONSTITUTIONAL MELODRAMA that is being staged. There are several actors to this. The Supreme Court Judges after much deliberations declared the July 1977 election, seat No. 159, null and void. When this verdict was given the electorate No. 159 of 1977 was rendered vacant. But at the time the verdict was given there was no member sitting in the House to represent the electorate. It became vacant when the member absented himself for three months without leave. So there need not have been an Election Petition, except to determine the Party that should represent that seat.

But when the petition was filed there was a sitting member so the inquiry had to go on. While the inquiry was going on, the sitting member, by his conduct got unseated automatically His conduct was not questioned—Why he could not have informed the House. This seems to be the pre-determined plan. Thereafter the member applied that he be restored to Kalawana

seat. Administratively this is possible. So the Secretary-General of Parliament and the Commissioner of Elections gazetted the filling of the seat—Not under the New Constitution but under the constitution under which the member was elected. This is quite clear from what the gazette notification says—"The member for the electoral District No. 159—Kalawana in the First Parliament". Why did the Secretary-General and Commissioner of Elections do this? It may be an administrative matter and the Administration had to produce the "Corpus" for the election Petition. They did it and thereafter there is meaning to an election Petition and its outcome.

When the member was disqualified legally, the House accepted the verdict and to maintain its dignity and prestige, asked him to leave the House when he was discovered in the House. Thereupon he made representations, or mis-represented facts, to the Speaker to rule that he is a member of the House. The 1979 gazette notification, clearly stated that he was restored to his seat in the First Parliament. As such he has to take the legal consequences for entering that House by mal-practices. The gazette notification did not say that he was nominated to the Second Parliament. A disqualified seat can be filled only through a bye-election which the Commissioner of Elections is taking steps to do.

Can we accept the Position that Mr. Pilapitiya is a member in the Second Parliament in terms of the ruling of the Speaker? People have so far not nominated a member to the Electoral district No. 159 of the 1977 Parliament. This is the right of the people—can the Speaker usurp this right? If it is possible, the preamble to our Constitution becomes a farce. This is the puzzle that has to be sorted out to restore the Constitutional rights of the people—The Parliament and its members are creatures of the people. They derive their position

#### LETTER

**Manu Ginige**

Of all Sri Lankan "expatriates" I have met over many long years abroad, Manu Ginige was one of the most pleasant, helpful and intelligent of men. I had the advantage of his balanced and objective analysis and sometimes of his courteous disagreements when we worked together at the Embassy in Paris (1970-1975) and, in the many letters I have had from European and Sri Lankan friends in France his appointment has been hailed as one more welcome than many.

It is of course his personal tragedy that some who now try bring his name into controversy are those who have reason to be personally grateful to him. I should know. Yours was welcome and courageous publicity.

**Tissa Wijeyeratne**

Kegalla.

23rd December, 1980.



and authority from the people. This is what has to be safeguarded and protected.

The Story is not over. We are getting tied up in knots, in trying to extricate ourselves from our guilt of conniving with the strategy of the ex-member of Kalawana to stay in the seat that was declared void by the Supreme Court. The end will be after the motion in the House and the election is over. One could now ask the question. "Why have a Constitution and elections? The Speaker and the Parliament can take into the House whom they like and any number to maintain their strength?"

**Post Script.** The foregoing seems to be correct. The *Ceylon Daily News* of 18.12.80 carries this Banner Head line news:— "Kalawana, Govt. to introduce legislation. Ejected member will also function as an M.P. Pilopitiya will continue to sit in house." That is to say, by legislation we are creating a super numerary seat as is the practice in the Public Service.

It means much more than a motion in the Parliament. To declare two members to a seat or to increase the number of members as provided for in the Constitution a series of Amendments to the Constitution have to be put through. Even then we are not quite sure that it will not lead to an ugly legal tangle. Ugly because we are questioning the very instrument through which we derive our Power. The question is:—Can the Speaker nominate a member to the House outside an election? Obviously not judging from the back stage activities and the various statements. If we concede this right to the Speaker, what prevents the Speaker nominating you or me, however unworthy we are, to the House, and then cover up the error by saying it was done "in the Public Interest"—The Public Interest in a Parliamentary seat can only be determined by the process of an election.

Gradually the place of an opposition in a democratic Parliament may be eroded, till we are faced with a single Party leading to a dictatorship. So the legend in the Constitution that the people are supreme under it will remain a legend. According to the Constitution we endorsed in 1978, the number of members to be in the Parliament and those members are creatures of the peoples. We did not create a Frankenstein to destroy us.

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POINT OF VIEW

## The Proportional Representation System

Recently His Excellency the President had been speaking highly about some foresight in this system. I foresee a tomb for the essence of democracy in this Proportional Representation (P.R.) system. Furthermore, I foresee a situation worse than that prevailed under a feudal system, and a gross betrayal aimed at the junior politicians if the F.R. system remains in force.

Normally a party becomes unpopular due to the blunders of the senior politicians of the party. According to P.R. system junior politicians shall lose their seats due to the blunders of their seniors. The back-benchers of this government did not understand the implications of the P.R. system and they dug their own graves, by voting for this P.R. system. If M.Ps. can not perceive these implications how can an ordinary laymen understand party policies. There is no sense of justice displayed in this P.R. system. A death toll was rung for suffrage at a time, when a day was allocated for fundamental rights. It may be a misadventure in the second childhood.

Let us ponder all the results of the eight general elections since the eve of independence. We come across a valuable truth. The government on each of these first seven elections obtained less than 50% of the votes that were polled, and, only on the eighth occasion (1977) obtained 50.9% of the votes that were polled. Even on this (1977) unprecedented occasion of obtaining 5/6 majority in parliament UNP got only 50.5% of the polling and only 47.68% of the registered votes. This unique occasion was due to the barren promises like 8 pounds of cereal contents per adult per week and due to the disgust over the previous regime. In the local elections held under P.R. system UNP obtained only 37.3% of the registered votes. Another feature in the local bodies election is 29.5% of the voters have not exercised their rights. Yet the government maintains that the people are politically advanced enough to understand party policies.

Since no party adheres to the election pledges strictly, it will be impossible to obtain an absolute majority for any party by fair means, in spite of all the manipulations entrenched in the P.R. system. The situation will demand a coalition government. Past events have left glaring and everlasting memories about the misfortune that had befallen on the coalition governments and their Giraffe structured policies. Now the constitution is also like a Giraffe. It would be a case of a Giraffe constitution yearning a Giraffe government regularly.

The convention stipulates 2/3 majority to ascertain the acceptability to a majority of the people in a feasible manner. Today the present constitution is passed by a clear majority of over 2/3 members in parliament, but the irony of it is, this government commanded only 47.68% of the registered votes. Votes that were not registered are not under consideration. Under these circumstances can it be construed, that this constitution is duly passed? Does this not require a re-affirmation? The government might have achieved 2/3 majority if it was passed unanimously, or, even an appreciable majority if this government had taken pains to obtain 2/3 majority ethnically. Unfortunately, the unilateral solutions put forward by this sophisticated government made it impossible to obtain an ethnically 2/3 majority. The ethnical majority is a prerequisite criterion in a multi-racial country under a democratic set up. Unfortunately our scholars and political pundits have been conveniently surpassing it.



If a martyr comes forward to assert the basic right to chose a representative, this P.R. system which was passed by a government which secured only 47.68% of the registered votes is liable to be challenged. It is the primary duty of every statesman to safeguard the rights of the citizens. Since no member had taken up this matter, it is doubted, whether we have at least one statesman in the present parliament. Now, the duty is falling on the shoulders of every citizen, to search for some statesman to re-establish suffrage by replacing this P.R. system if this government fails to repeal it.

R. Sanmuganathan.

58, Brown Road,  
Jaffna.  
20.12.80

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FORECAST?

## Which Way 1983?

By Satchi Ponnambalam

TO TAKE THE NUMBER OF VOTES polled by the UNP and the SLFP from 1947 to 1977 and to conclude that "the UNP would therefore have a majority of votes and a majority of members in 1983" (news report, *Tribune* 6 December) is not only to take the people for granted but also to regard them as mere robots in the political life of Sri Lanka. In actual fact, Sri Lanka's voters have consistently demonstrated that they are one of the most politically conscious and mature in the world with 85.2% and 87.3% voter turn out in the 1970 and 1977 elections respectively. Having suffered in silence they have at elections brought to bear their weight and might to give vent to their anger and wrath unreservedly and in the most convincing manner.

Even taking the voting patterns that have been relied on, it was only once in the 1977 elections that the UNP got more than 50% of the total votes cast. The relative UNP-SLFP percentage voting pattern in the eight elections from 1947 to 1977 is as follows:—

	UNP	SLFP
1947	39.81	—
1952	44.08	15.52
1956	27.44	39.96
1960 (M)	29.62	21.12
1960 (J)	37.57	33.59
1965	38.93	30.24
1970	37.92	36.63
1977	51.5	30.2

It is the trend of the voting percentage as shown above that is of importance in projecting the voter preference for 1983 under the proportional representation system and to determine as to whether any party could secure a two-third majority in 1983. In 1956 and 1960 (March) the percentage of the anti-UNP vote was more than two-third. And in 1960 (July), 1965 and 1970 the percentage vote polled by the UNP

was barely in excess of a one-third. Thus, even taking every other variable as fixed, from the voting percentage patterns of the past it requires no unusual swing to register a two-third anti-UNP vote. Thus a two-third vote against the UNP in 1983 is very possible and all the plans of mice and men could fall like a pack of cards.

BUT WHAT is more important is how the people of Sri Lanka have worked the Westminster model of bi-party system. Firstly, except in 1952 (which was a snap election and before the evolution of the bi-party system) the voters of Sri Lanka have with striking regularity always defeated the party in power at each election. In other words, they have never given a second consecutive term even under conditions of most optimistic and perhaps justified expectations of Dudley Senanayake's UNP in the 1970 elections. The reasons for this pattern are many and varied which is not necessary to reflect on here. If there is any single and decisive voting pattern one seeks to discover, it is this fact that is singularly striking. On this score, as to which party that will win in 1983 becomes clear as daylight.

The second regularity of the voting pattern is that since 1970, the electorate has not only been content at defeating the ruling party and putting the major party in the opposition in power, but has both in the 1970 and 1977 elections decimated them. In the 1970 election the UNP got only 17 seats and in the 1977 election, the SLFP got only 8 seats. Thus the elections of the 'seventies indicate a trend of total defeat for the ruling party and if necessary a clear mandate for the other party. On the basis of this trend as well, the UNP's hopes of riding to power will not materialise and that the SLFP could come to power with a two-third majority.

But the more important question is this. Is there any reason for anybody to hopefully expect the UNP to come to power again in 1983? Is it to continue the present policies of economic chaos and ruination? Is it to continue to devastate the economy for the benefit of the few? Is it to drive the thousands away to the Middle East to earn to support their kith and kin back home?

The UNP won the 1977 election on the promise of "8 lbs of cereals", reduction of cost of living described by them at that time to have risen to 'Himalayan heights', Socialism, etc. But what perfidy took place after the election is fresh in the minds of the people. In the first Budget of November 1977 the whole of subsidised food system was cancelled. In the 1981 Budget, the Finance Minister moans that the price level increased in 1980 by 32% and ominously muses that "more governments fall by inflation than by lack of development". And what of Socialism? There is no word of it nowadays!

THERE SEEMS to be nothing left in the Finance Minister's hat to conjure up his earlier visions of rags to riches with foreign aid. In the recent budget he has pathetically folded himself up with apologia and helplessness to state that "The outlook for foreign aid is



becoming bleaker every day! It is a tragedy that external factors outside our control threaten to jeopardise some parts of our development programme."

One must pause to ask where are the then trotted out visions of the Singapore style of development? Is it in the new Parliament building at Kotte, the 46 floor high rise at Echelon Square or in the Rs. 800,000 three bed room flats at Bullers Lane? 'Development' seems to have meant all things to all men and those who talk of development in Sri Lanka have well and truly developed themselves.

To return to the theme, it seems much to the horror of many that, in 1983, with or without Mrs. Bandaranaike the SLFP will be returned to power. And analysing the voting patterns of the elections of 1970s, it seems certain that the SLFP will receive a landslide majority, the necessary two-thirds majority to reverse and undo the present policies. However, let no one fear that heads will roll or be thrown in to these. For there is all to be gained by compassion and none from vengeance. For as Mirebeau once said "it takes pygmies to destroy but giants to build."

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TALKING POINTS

## Ministerial Junkets

—More Restrictions—  
By Veritas

Whatever people and Opposition critics may say, an area where President J. R. Jayewardene has exercised considerable discipline has been in relation to official trips abroad by Ministers, their Secretaries and other Senior Government officials. Naturally, with the increased development now taking place in Sri Lanka and its credibility and acceptance abroad under Jayewardene leadership, there have been more invitation, offers and genuine reason for official trips abroad. While the number of trips have increased by necessity, the strict discipline enforced by President Jayewardene in scrutinising the necessity of every trip abroad by each Minister and his Secretary has brought about some order in this business of Government activity. It is well-known that some officials trips abroad are solicited in the sense that officials get themselves invited or create a situation where the invitation from abroad will arrive on their desk. Some trips are really unnecessary except to make and keep contacts. But all in all, it is also conceded that Representatives from Sri Lanka to any foreign Conference or Seminar perform well and are invariably ask to give leadership to the event by chairing the sessions etc. so that on an impartial evaluation, Sri Lanka's credibility abroad is improved. The only debit aspect is that when Ministers, Secretaries and other senior officials are abroad often much decision making at home is held up and delayed until their return home—a situation that we can ill afford in the context of the pace of development now taking place in the country.

Recently, the President had also noted that Government officials—especially Ministers—who go abroad make use of the approval for the trip to visit other countries for which they had not got approval to visit. In other words, they extend the duration of their tour abroad by adding other venues to their approved itinerary. President Jayewardene had to recently remind his Cabinet Ministers to restrict their visits to the country or countries to which he had approved their visit and not to make it a habit to visit other countries as well merely because it was on the Airline route and incurred no real additional expense. This concern for strict discipline and to adhere strictly by the rules and approvals is a significant feature of President Jayewardene's methods of Government. It appears that in his view if you let little wrongs be done then you cannot correct the big ones. Its a good code of conduct that we fully endorse. It also shows that like a good captain of a ship (in this case the ship or State) he is keeping his eyes and ears wide-open to prevent any irregularity by the bosses, especially his Ministerial colleagues.

While on the subject of Ministerial trips abroad, it is worth taking a poll of the Ministers that have been abroad the most. Top of the Pops would be Minister A. C. S. Hameed our amiable Foreign Minister, who no doubt has to travel if not for nothing else only by reason of his Portfolio. Second in number of days abroad—not necessarily number of trips—appears to be Mr. Ronnie de Mel, Minister of Finance—who at least has discarded the traditional begging bowl of Sri Lankan

### IN THE MIDDLE EAST

#### Court Reduces Sentence In Adultery Case

The appellate bench of the Abu Dhabi Shariah Court, comprising Justice Majzoob Ali Eisa and Justice Abdul Muneim Ghurab, has reduced the sentence given by the Abu Dhabi Shariah Court earlier in a case of adultery involving a 25-year-old Indian and a 20-year-old Sri Lankan woman. The man had been sentenced by court earlier to imprisonment for three years and 90 lashes followed by deportation and the woman to six months' imprisonment and 70 lashes followed by deportation. The appellate bench has now reduced the sentence of the man to six months' imprisonment and 70 lashes to be followed by deportation. According to the judgement read out in the court, the bench considered that the two should be punished equally for the crime in which the judges said, the participation was equal. The appellate bench clarified that the punishment under the Shariah law could not be given as the man was a non-Muslim and there was not enough evidence to show that the woman was a willing partner. Both the accused, however, admitted their guilt in the court. The man is said to have been employed at a house near the one where the woman worked.

—*Khaleej Times*, Dec. 7, 1980, Abu Dhabi



Finance Ministers. Third in the list appears the portly figure of Mr. E. L. Senanayake the Agriculture Minister who always insists that his Private Secretary wife should accompany him. Next in line, is Mr. Thondaman, the Minister of Rural Industrial Development. Among Ministers who have avoided travel abroad—a very rare characteristic—are the Minister of State, Mr. Ananda Tissa de Alwis and the Minister of Fisheries, Mr. Festus Perera. For the 3 year period each of them have only been once abroad. One is reminded of the cartoon in the Opposition Paper *Aththa* when Mr. Festus Perera went abroad this year. It showed our Foreign Minister Mr. Hameed congratulating Mr. Festus Perera for joining the bandwagon of Ministers going abroad. "Go when the going is good" it said.

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## INTERNATIONAL NOTES

### Libya In Chad

By Omega

While the world was busy with the Afghanistan and Kampuchean issues, Libyan troops entered Chad to help its President Goukkouni Weuddi to fight his rebels. Chad's President who heads a national government has been fighting with his one-time Minister of Defence Hissene Habre to maintain himself in power. Libya has been meddling in Chad's affairs for a long time in support of its Muslim population. This has led to a parallel consolidation of French power. It has now reached a climax when direct confrontation between France and Libya appears to be inevitable. Whether the fight will be between Muslims on the one side and Christians and Aminists on the other or between factions one cannot predict now. But the open intervention of Libya has sent a tremor among other small countries of the region.

Gabon's President Bongo had already said that the French should use her military power to bring about a settlement to end the two decades of civil war in Chad. The French President and Ministers have already hinted that if and when invited France was ready to intervene in Chad's civil war. Officials in Paris say that when the French-speaking States of the region make statements similar to that of Bongo of Gabon then she will have justification for intervention. Third World countries both in Asia and Africa have not got over the shocks caused by such foreign interventions in the internal affairs of other countries whether invited or not, or in pursuance of an agreement. Thwarted in its effort to be a major voice in the Arab World, Libya appears to have turned to the South and South West of its borders and the reasons why she turned in that direction are significant. The main reasons for Libyan involvement in the internal affairs of Chad and other countries South of the border may be summarised as follows:

(a) Undoubtedly this is part of a plan to achieve Col. Gadhafi's grand design of a Muslim Saharan Republic constituting Chad, Mali, Senegal, Niger and Gambia

under the influence of Libya which has been accused of organising mercenary soldiers to destabilise these countries and impose its own influence over them. On account of these actions, Senegal and Gambia have severed diplomatic relations with Libya.

(b) Before the countries of the region attained independence France was the dominant colonial power in this part of Africa. Except for Gambia, others were former French Overseas territories. France still wields considerable political influence in the region and Libya has been anxious to neutralise French influence, especially in Chad. France has no inclination to withdraw from Africa and enjoys immense political punch in the Central African Republic, Tunisia, Gabon and Senegal. In fact in the Central African Republic, the French helped the ruling circles to depose Boukasa a close friend of Col. Gadhafi. France had also helped Tunisia when Libyan forces attacked the city of Gafsa in January this year.

(c) Gadhafi obviously wants to have access to rich uranium resources in Chad. Niger and possibly in Mauritania. He has already annexed Chad territory in Auzu region. The rich resources available in the region could be utilised for Libya's nuclear development programme and industrial development. As none of these territories are in a position to exploit them for their own use it is France that will benefit—unless Libya is able to oust France.

(d) To spread Gadhafi's brand of Islamic populist revolution. Though Chad is not predominantly Muslim yet it has Muslims numbering one-fifth of the Libyan population. Gadhafi has always maintained his intervention in Chad was to safeguard the interests of the Muslim population. Libya put forward similar justification for her interest in Philippines and Uganda.

(e) To encircle the moderate pro-western Morocco and to have a stronger African alliance against Egypt now a confirmed enemy.

These points, certain western observers point out, have been made by those who regard Libya and Gadhafi as a independent unit. They assert that many of Gadhafi's ventures and the outcome of his close relationship with USSR. It is said that over the last six years Libya has paid nearly twelve billion dollars for arms to Moscow and Libya maintains close military relationship with the USSR. This has surprised Moscow haters because Gadhafi was able to convince and obtain help from USSR without declaring himself to be a Marxist. In fact at times he has followed an anti-communist line. However, much Libya may deny it the West and Egypt like to regard Libya as a proxy of USSR in the Arab world as Cuba in other places in Africa.

This belief has already had its own repercussions in the area. Is it such fear that prompted France, otherwise a pro-Arab country, to react the way she did in the Central African Republic and now in Chad. The latest development also confirms the existence of this fear. Though the rebel leader Hissene Habre agreed to sign a ceasefire on December 16, yet he has vowed to continue the struggle to oust the President.



Unless the OAU which sponsored the ceasefire agreement go further and guarantee a permanent settlement, Libyan forces may become entrenched in Chad and French desire to expel them may lead to further complications.

But the Russian bogey is also a convenient excuse for France and the Western Forces to confront Libya which is emerging as the champion of power and developing countries in North and West Africa. The Russian bear behind Libya is reminiscent of customary western excuses to crush the demand for true political liberation and economic emancipation.

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NEW DELHI REPORT

## The Brezhnev Visit

By V. D. Chopra

As was expected the recent Indo-Soviet summit and its outcome have evoked two conflicting reactions all-over the world. The socialist countries, some of the non-aligned countries and a section of the western press, specially in West Germany have by and large welcomed the outcome of the summit because in the early eighties when the world is threatened by a new arms race and the revival of a new cold war, this is considered to be a significant development. On the other hand, an organised attempt is being made by some Western countries and conservative Arab regimes such as Saudi Arabia to belittle the significance of this summit. The conformist mass media in India is no exception to trying to make out that "the mountain was in labour but brought forth a mouse."

These two clashing reactions to the summit in a way reflect the two parallel developments which are taking place on the current international front. On the one hand, since the late seventies, the international situation has been deteriorating very rapidly. Along with the open advocacy of "limited nuclear war", the new thrust for piling up nuclear weapons and arms race has begun and Asia is becoming a new hotbed of tensions.

The region around India has become a special area of these strains. Besides the recent developments in Afghanistan and the Iran-Iraq war, the threat of Diego Garcia military base to India and other littoral states, the US has acquired new base facilities in Egypt, Somalia, Kenya and Oman. In the name of protecting the oil routes, it is feverishly building up a huge naval armada in the Indian Ocean and the Gulf region. Besides this the Pentagon has created the so-called "Rapid Development Force" in the region. These developments have a direct bearing, both on the security of India and the Soviet Union, notwithstanding the variation in the perception of the two countries about some of the developments in this region, including Afghanistan.

On the other hand, both the Soviet and Indian leaders firmly believe that the forces working for the

preservation of world peace have struck deep roots among the people of all the five continents of our planet. Therefore, the Soviet Union and India realising their responsibility for international peace have again expressed their determination to continue the persistent struggle for peace in accordance with the principles of peaceful co-existence. The Soviet Union places India on a high pedestal in the struggle for peace—a fact which Soviet leader Brezhnev stressed in his speeches and has been incorporated in the joint declaration. These are not mere "platitudinous sentiments" as some people would like Indians to believe but a clear manifestation of the common bonds which unite these two great countries for the cause of peace. The decisions of the summit, therefore, will strengthen the struggle for peace.

If one leaves aside the significance of this summit for the international community as a whole—an aspect which may look academic for those who have a very narrow view of life, the Soviet stand during the talks and the decisions taken thereafter have a direct bearing on India's security problems and its strenuous efforts to become self-reliant and economically more independent—a feature no patriotic Indian can ignore at this critical time in the history of this region.

Though what transpired between the leaders of the two countries in their discussions has not trickled down, two pregnant remarks of the Soviet President in his speeches have been very closely noted by watchers of Indo-Soviet relations. In one of these speeches, the Soviet leader said: "We regard as a very important field of our relations assistance in strengthening India's defence capabilities". Elaborating this point, he underlined that the Soviet Union wants to "see friendly and peace-loving India strong and capable of successfully defending its independence and promoting the cause of peace in Asia."

This shows that in the assessment of the Soviet leaders a self-reliant, strong and powerful India has become the key factor for stability and tranquility in this region. And that as far as this perception of the Soviet leaders is concerned, it coincides with the national interests of India, both long-term and short-term.

Moscow's willingness to invest its prestige and tangible support to New Delhi's defence potential in the last two decades, particularly after the Chinese and Pakistani aggressions on India may have been a part of the evolution of the Indo-Soviet military relationship, but still it is doubtful if this is the total explanation. In addition to "availability" of specific weapons which satisfies India's defence requirements, the second element in the explanation is the policy need, arising out of common perception about the security problems of the two countries.

In the sixties and seventies, it must not be forgotten that the basis of the military relationship between Delhi and Moscow lay in the Indian evaluation of the Chinese threat. But in the early eighties, the situation has radically changed, particularly after the convergence of the US-China-Pak axis.



In this new scenario it is in India's interests to work for an improvement of Indo-US, Indo-China and Indo-Pak relations. Indeed, it is fair to state that on the eve of President Brezhnev's visit to India, this question was the uppermost in the minds of our foreign policy experts. And their anxiety to project India's independent foreign policy, particularly on the tensions in this region including the Afghanistan issue, was further enhanced by the mood of the petro-dollar rich Arab countries. Naturally the Soviet leaders too had to take into account this fact in the bilateral discussions between the two countries.

Nevertheless, India's foreign policy expert or seemed to be aware of the fact that our search for normalisation with Washington, Peking and Islama bad has been hampered by the oft-changing perceptions of these countries about India's role in this region. And thus uncertainly has been further increased by the speed with which these three countries are coming together and working out a common geo-political strategy for this region.

On the other hand, our experts are clear about the assessment of the Soviet Union about India's role because examined from any angle a strong, united, and self-reliant India coincides with the interests of the Soviet people, the Asian people and the world

community as a whole. On the other hand, a fragmented, economically and militarily weak India fits into the geopolitical ambitions of the present ruling circles of the USA and China.

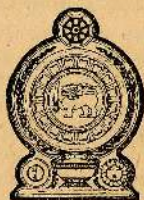
Again it is in this framework that Soviet President Brezhnev's glowing tributes to Jawaharlal Nehru and his policies and the assertion of the Soviet leader that "it is clear to us that the great work to transform the country initiated" by the architect of modern India "is going on" needs to be weighed.

Though what course the Indian people and their leaders will follow for the regeneration of their economy is their own business, the Soviet leaders are not indifferent to the course charted for India's development by Jawaharlal Nehru. That the Soviet Union has made a valuable contribution in making India economically independent and self-reliant is too well known and is admitted even by the worst anti-Soviet baiters. That the decisions of the summit and the various protocols on economic and technical co-operation will give a new direction to India's struggle for self-reliance too will be recognised by all sections of the public opinion in the country. But what is important to note is that in the present stage of India's economic development and modernisation of its economy, Nehru's path of development by and large still holds good.

Thus the Soviet leaders not only support India's policy of self-reliance and non-alignment, they have and will continue to give moral and material support to further strengthen this policy. Thus, the decisions of this summit are in our own larger national interests. To say this does not mean that one should ignore that Indo-Soviet ties and friendship are also in the interests of the Soviet people. They are mutually beneficial to the people of the two countries because the central pillar of these relations is a common perception of world affairs, centuries-old ties, though not an ideological identity. The summit is a living testimony to the relevance and validity of the principle of peaceful co-existence.

—Patriot

Govt.



Notice

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

**Notice Under Section 7.**

Ref. No. 3/63/458

J. 78 I, 227

It is intended to acquire the Land/Lands described in the Schedule below. For further particulars please see Government Gazette No. 122 of 02.01.1981 (part III)

**Schedule**

Name of Village etc. :- Bingiriya village in 415, Bingiriya G.S. Division, Bingiriya A.G.A.'s Division Kurunegala District.

Name of Land :- Aswedduma Kumbura

Plan and Lot No. :- Lot Nos. 121, 122, 123 and 124 in supplement No. 11 in F.V.P. 1442

**H. M. W. Chandraratna**  
District Land Officer,  
Kurunegala District.

The Kachcheri, Kurunegala.  
17 December, 1980.

AFGHANISTAN

**And the Soviet-Indian Summit**

By **K. Gerokyan**

Moscow, December 20,

Delivering a speech in the Indian parliament, the Soviet Leader Leonid Brezhnev touched upon problems connected with the situation concerning Afghanistan. He pointed out that opponents of the normalisation of the international climate and initiators of the arms race often try to justify their actions by the situation in Afghanistan.

Western mass media daily bring down on readers radio listeners and TV viewers torrents of reports, in the gloomiest tones, which grossly distort the actual

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state of affairs in Afghanistan and Soviet-Afghan relations. The words "Soviet threat" can be found practically in every article or a commentary on this subject. Western propaganda tries to make the world public believe that the Soviet Union threatens Pakistan, the Persian Gulf countries and even the whole of Asia. In so doing it passes over in silence the fact that a tremendous American fleet of warships, with 1,800 marines and 200 planes ready for action, is concentrated in the Persian Gulf, that American B-52 bombers with nuclear arms on board are patrolling the Indian Ocean, and that in addition to existing American air and naval bases the USA is building new ones in the region.

While conducting a strong anti-Afghan campaign, the USA and its allies lay much stress on the presence of the limited contingent of Soviet troops in the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan. They clamourously demand, said Leonid Brezhnev addressing the Indian parliamentarians, that the Soviet Union should end its military aid to Afghanistan, but in fact they are doing everything they can to hamper this. The road onwards making it possible for the Soviet troops to leave Afghanistan is well known. For this purpose it is necessary to implement the proposals of the Afghan government of May 14, this year, briefly. Afghanistan proposed bilateral talks with Pakistan for normalising relations. During those talks the sides should commit themselves not to conduct armed or other hostile activity against each other. Afghanistan believes that appropriate guarantees of some states must make up the basic part of the political settlement. The United States' guarantees must include a clearly expressed obligation not to conduct any subversive activity against the DRA, including the conduct of such activity from the territory of third countries.

Afghanistan's peace proposals would create prerequisites for the complete political normalisation of the situation, including the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan. They are doing everything they can to preserve tension and to prevent the normalisation in South West Asia, as Leonid Brezhnev put it, they fear like death an understanding between Afghanistan and its neighbours. Far from stopping their undeclared war against Afghanistan, Washington, Peking and Islamabad constantly expanding it. They continue to train hands of mercenaries, supply modern arms to them and smuggle them into Afghanistan. As the American press admits, the USA sends to counter-revolutionaries tanks with neuro-paralytic and other poisonous agents and chemical grenades which are used against the civilian population. Financial means and arms are channelled to the mercenaries through so-called "aid to Afghanistan Committees", established in the United States.

Not long ago the Pakistani newspaper *Taanir* said that the United States was against peace talks and that it stood for fomenting a civil war in Afghanistan. It wants to see only blood in Afghanistan. The USA's political and military schemes of establishing its bases in the region stand behind these plans.

However, though the West and Peking continue

their undeclared war, life in Afghanistan is gradually returning to normal. The fog of misinformation, said Leonid Brezhnev in New Delhi, will eventually disperse. And then Afghanistan's neighbours will realise that a good-neighbourly accord with the Afghan government is the only realistic need. As a result, conditions will emerge for a complete political normalisation of the situation, including the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan.

—APN

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CONSUMERS'

## Boycott Power

By Jean Baumier

Paris,

The associations of consumers in France, which appeared on the scene a few years ago played a rather passive role for a long time in French society. Their publications studied certain delicate subjects very thoroughly, blamed the producers or the commercial circuits and tested goods for their quality or their harmfulness. But they didn't really manage to mobilize the public opinion in wide-scale campaigns, as the famous Ralph Nader had been able to do in the United States or some of his European emulators had done.

Today, things have changed radically. And the consumers' associations have just demonstrated their power in an effective and striking way. After attacking a brand of tyres which were considered to be dangerous due to abnormal risks of bursting, and after getting clients reimbursed for any defective tyres, the consumers' unions launched a much wider operation which achieved complete success, not only in France but in other European countries too.

Early in September, the "Union Federale des Consommateurs" gave a general order for the boycott of veal, which it accused of being "a product of mediocre quality, potentially dangerous for the consumer and a source of energy waste....." According to the U.F.C. and its press organ "Que choisir?" the trade in hormone-treated veal was not an accidental phenomenon practised against the law, it was a generalized practice against which a real outcry should be raised in order to put an end to it as rapidly as possible.

The U.F.C. campaign was based on a reliable set of facts which was backed up favourably by most of the media. And so the boycott order for veal was very widely followed by the consumers, who refused to buy it, causing sales to drop for the dealers, the stock-raisers and the shops. The Ministry of Agriculture immediately endeavoured to take measures which would put the consumers' minds at rest concerning the quality of veal. But the problem was not just in France; the frontiers were open to other partners of the Common Market, where the meat rules were much less strict than in France. Under the pressure of French consumer organisations and with the support of others



in some other countries in Europe, the agricultural ministers of the "Nine", meeting in Brussels, decided to abolish all the regulations which tolerated the use of hormones in the raising of veal, of whatever nature.

In France, the U.F.C. concluded an agreement with the Minister of Agriculture, Pierre Mehaignerie, providing that the new rules would be applied with the necessary severity and that surveillance in the slaughterhouses would be improved. In future, one animal in twenty will be examined, compared with one in four thousand previously. For the stock-raisers, a "veal charter" now obliges each breeder to respect the standards of quality. If he doesn't, he will have to pay a penalty.

And so, thanks to this very efficient campaign, the consumer organizations have acquired a new reputation. They mobilized public opinion and obtained satisfaction, for their claims were well-founded. In the future, it is certain that other of their well-founded demands will be needed by the producers as well as by the consumers and the public authorities.

—Radio France

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AMERICAN SOUTH ASIA EXPERT

## Looks To Continuity In U.S. Policies

Washington, December 9,

Although American International Relations Professor Louis D. Hayes thinks there will be differences between the Reagan and Carter approaches to foreign policy, he believes continuity will be a more important feature of US politics as the United States passes from one administration to another. Interviewed at the University of Montana, where he teaches modernisation and political development, Asian affairs and the politics of energy, Dr. Hayes discussed some of his expectations for the new administration. "One has to separate campaign rhetoric and hyperbole from the basic substance of policy," Hayes said. He went on to make a case for the argument that "whereas there may be some different emphasis—one administration such as the Carter administration may stress Human Rights, while another may put more stress on security relationships—the basic thrust or theme of American policy has not changed dramatically since the second world war." In South Asia for example, he said the US aim has consistently been to "pursue an essentially even-handed foreign policy with all of the countries in the area." Characterizing Pakistan as more interested in establishing security relations with the US than India has been since 1947, he said this accounts for the past US establishment of a closer relationship with Pakistan. He noted, however that "now, even though India has a treaty arrangement with the Soviet Union, we still have a working relationship with India". Hayes went on, "I don't think the changes are so much a demonstration of changing American policy as a changing set of circumstances and conditions in the region."

Comparing international politics to a game which must be played by rules Hayes stressed the dominant role of the United States in regard to one of the most drastic changes in the area: the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan. He termed the United States "One of the key rule makers and rule enforcers.....because we're one of the few players in the game of world politics who can make the rules stick." He then pointed out the need for the United States to "take a very active role regarding Afghanistan in order to maintain the integrity of these rules.....I'm completely in accord with Carter's response.....the general posture was correct," he said. "On the other hand, the United States is not in a position to do anything specific about Afghanistan—militarily or economically," he added, expressing the view that like other countries in the area, "we simply don't have the capability." As a result, Hayes predicted, on Reagan's agenda will be the development of an enhanced military capability. "Two ways are emerging right now," he went on. "One is to develop the rapid deployment strike force which is clearly geared toward a Middle East involvement, and collateral to that are such things as the joint manoeuvres in Egypt, and working out the base agreements with other countries in the area."

EFFORTS on the part of the Reagan administration, he said, will most likely "involve diplomatic efforts, and symbolic efforts, more than.....actual military involvement." He added, "I don't see Reagan establishing American military facilities, but getting permission to use them, and having joint manoeuvres." Regarding what he termed "the shifting sands of Middle East policies," he said that with Iran "out of the picture as a dominant factor," it remains to be seen who is going to fill the vacuum. Noting that the United States is "in the progress of building up a new power arrangement in the Middle East," he again stressed that it tends to be the conditions that have changed and not US orientations to the region. By the same token, he said, he regarded the shift of US interests to Iran to Saudi Arabia as "a shifting of instrumentalities to achieve the same basic goal.....(of) strategic stability in the region." Speculating on possible developments, he hinted that in the "very interesting and complicated scenario" in the Middle East lies a possibility of an Israeli-Egyptian-Saudi Arabian-Iraqi coalition arising from the threat posed in the region by the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan and the revolution in Iran. HEYES DID NOT FORESEE in the next four years any easing of the problem of maintaining an even-handed approach to Pakistan and India which, he said, is "not all that dissimilar to our problem in the Middle East with Israel and the Arabs." He stressed the importance of maintaining the kind of long-term negotiating connections with India that derive from the existence of agreements such as the one to supply US fuel to the nuclear reactor at Tarapur. Counting a proliferation of bilateral and multilateral arrangements as "most unsatisfactory" for controlling the spread of nuclear weapons, he emphasised the superiority of worldwide agreements.



Turning to the domestic scene, Hayes was optimistic about energy prospects, citing US reductions in imported oil, increase in conservation efforts, and considerable movement in finding alternative energy sources such as synthetic fuels and the products of nuclear research. "I think as a matter of emphasis, the Reagan administration is going to be less concerned with energy," Hayes said. "Not that they will abandon it altogether and go back to the big automobile with tail fins and four miles to the gallon—but is overall political and legislative strategy. I think there will be less concern with conservation and more concerned with the production side of things."

He added that studies of reduced traffic fatalities with the 55-mile-per-hour speed limit promoted by the Carter administration as an energy saving device have yielded significant statistics to defend any change in the speed law. Hayes also anticipated "a reduction in numbers of regulations" but noted "they won't abolish OSHA (Occupational Safety and Health Administration)—they're not going to get rid of the Department of Energy." Dr. Hayes was hired for his skills in international relations, but his first love is South Asian affairs, which occupied most of his teaching activities at the University of Montana.

Hayes has made several trips to South Asia since receiving his doctorate in 1966 from the University of Arizona. He has been a Fulbright-Hays summer Institute fellow in India (1968), Fulbright-Hays senior lecturer in Nepal (1970-71) and in Afghanistan (1977), and most recently spent six months with an American Institute for Pakistan studies in Pakistan in 1979. His publications cover a wide range. *Student unrest in Nepal*, *The Impact of the US Policy on the Kashmir Conflict*, *Comparative Federal Systems*, *Communism in Afghanistan* are some of the many topics on which professor Hayes has published articles or books.

In December, he will be leading an Alumni Group tour on a visit to the Asian sub-continent, the second time he has undertaken such a trip. (In 1979, seventeen University of Montana students spent two months in India under his guidance). While in India Hayes, will team up with political science professor Howard R. Penniman to exchange views with Indian colleagues in several cities in India. Among the topics they will be discussing are comparative federalism in the US and Indian contexts, and the effects of the recent US elections on US policies in energy, defence and international affairs. —USICA

## HORN OF AFRICA

### Ethiopia, Kenya & Sudan

In the face of increasing US military involvement in the Horn of Africa and its seeking bases for its rapid deployment force in the Red Sea and the Indian Ocean, Ethiopian President Mengistu Haile Mariam has moved to improve ties with neighbouring Sudan and Kenya.

In a declaration of "basic principles of friendly relations and co-operation" signed in Addis Ababa by Sudanese President Gaafar Nimeri and President Mengistu, the two countries reaffirmed their desire for peace and their determination to widen the mutually advantageous co-operation in all fields. The two sides also agreed to prevent "subversive activities directed against the other." They also decided to closely co-ordinate their "efforts to ensure regional peace and stability."

President Nimeri was compelled to sign such an agreement as a result of the collapse of the Eritrian separatist movement engineered from Sudan. The movement had split and had weakened during the last two-three years. 'Land to the tiller' in Eritria was a revolution against separatism. The forward looking wing of the Eritrian movement saw no reason for separation from Ethiopia. They began to argue that the slogan of a separate state and anti-colonialism slogan, when the region was under the Emperors domination. This was the basic cause of the split in the separatist movement which had exhausted its progressive appeal after the overthrow of Emperor Haile Selasse. The split and the weakening of the movement had also scuttled Egyptian President Sadat's plan to destabilise and destroy the Ethiopia - revolution via Eritria, with Sudanese support.

In the Addis Ababa declaration signed last Sunday, President Nimeri also joined President Mengistu on a "commitment to struggle against imperialism, colonial-

#### LETTER

##### Is Parliament Supreme?

Sir,

Criticisms voiced in Parliament by Mr. M. D. H. Jayewardena, MP for Kaduwela, have caused some to question his loyalty to the Party.

This makes me wonder. Do the Party bosses, in the name of "loyalty to the Party" or "Party discipline", have the right to infringe the Parliamentary privilege which guarantees Members of Parliament the right to speak freely on the floor of the House?

The Party leaders are not elected by the people and are not answerable to the people. Their meetings are not open to the public. No public statement is made as to who said what, or what arguments were discussed before Party leaders decided to propose certain matters to the Parliament. If then members of the Party are expected to act like rubber stamps, automatically endorsing whatever is proposed by the party leaders, it seems that the real rulers of the country are the Party leaders. Parliament is not supreme, if Members of Parliament are afraid to speak in Parliament.

Claude R. Daly S.J.

31, Clifford Place,  
Colombo 4.  
1980 December 21.



ism, apartheid, racism and expansionism." Immediately after mending fences with Sudan, President Mengistu flew to Nairobi. Kenya like Ethiopia did not have good relations with Somalia which is now receiving military aid from the US in return from bases for the US forces on its Indian Ocean ports. In a joint statement signed by the heads of the two countries, need for establishment of a zone of peace in the Red Sea, the Gulf and the Indian Ocean was emphasised. They also called for extension of detente to all regions of the world, including the African continent and restoration of peace, stability and security in the region of Horn of Africa. Ethiopia and Kenya came out for a peaceful solution of the Iran-Iraq conflict, a comprehensive settlement in West Asia with the PLO as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people. They also decided to support the Namibian liberation struggle. —ADN

“PAKISTAN ECONOMIST” ON

## A Free Economy Philosophy

Our foreign friends, advice about adopting a free economy philosophy has to be taken with a sizable pinch of salt. Under certain circumstances, it may suit Pakistan authorities to go along with an IMF or World Bank advice. There can also be conditions in which that advice may not suit Pakistan at all.

Karachi,

A mailed first has hit the Pakistan economy. The blow came out of the blue. Oil products' prices are up; electricity tariffs have gone another notch upward; and sugarcane and wheat procurement prices have also been enhanced. What the effect will be is not difficult to see. No erudition is required to forecast the overall impact on the economy. The cost structure of the entire economy has been given an upward push. The arguments the Government has advanced are known, indeed well known. Within the four walls of certain assumptions, they are valid. If ours is a free market economy—and we intend to make it more so—the idea of everyone charging a price that the market would bear is perfectly sound. But then the argument will have to be taken to its logical conclusion. Every labourer would be entitled to grab whatever wage rate he could manage with or without free bargaining between trade unions and managements. We sense that the government has been moving steadily in this direction. It has been receiving powerful nudges from such “friends” as the IMF and World Bank experts, of course in the same direction. The current year's Budget permits the public sector corporations to raise the prices of their products or services as and when they see fit. We recognise the trend; superficially, it is deserving of our support, but only superficially, let us hasten to add. We undoubtedly support the idea of free market forces being given free play. But, as we put it earlier, it is hedged in with certain large assumptions. What are these?

Chief of these is that the State has no role in the direction or management of the economy. Is the present Government of Pakistan prepared to go that far? We are fast approaching what may be our moment of truth in economic matters. It is, in fact, a question of the basic economic philosophy to be followed; the basic norms of free market economy are still the same as they were laid down by Adam Smith. We are only too painfully aware that no country in the world, be it the mighty US or Japan, or the Common Market Commission, is quite ready to regard itself as an integral part of a free world economy and, as such, it thinks it does not require any apparatus of economic control within its national frontiers. Alas! It is an El Dorado that never was; perfect competition and wholly free movement of capital, labour and goods across national frontiers were never a reality.

FOR ONE THING at the basic conceptual level, it negates the concept of nation-states sovereignty. Perfect world-wide competition and a single world economy could only be achieved if there were a single political authority in the world. Let us face it, it is a faulty concept; let alone the hiatus between it and the reality. All compromises that have been made in history—and they have been absolutely countless—were ad hoc and without having been based on any discernible, much less commonly accepted, criteria. What follows from this is this; the departures from the *laissez faire* philosophy have been the rule and everyone has always felt free to determine the size, distance and direction of the divergence according to his own lights—or shall we say, needs?

While no one in fact came up to the standard of rectitude recommended by the prophet of the dismal science, everyone continued to profess faith in the laid down virtues even as he merrily went on sinning. In terms of the day to day practice, the ignoring of the norms is a matter really of convenience and the perception of immediate needs. Needless to say, we are much less visionary than apparently is the Government in Islamabad.

We are quite certain in our mind that Pakistan economy's needs must have a national policy-making apparatus, deciding matters on the basis of realistic assessment of the national situation vis-a-vis the world-economic trends. How much of control there should or should not be is, we hold, a matter of our national convenience, or call it policy (which is a dignified term for recognising ugly realities.) This long aside was, in our view, necessary to put the matter in perspective. Our foreign friends, advice about adopting a free economy philosophy, or let us revert to the modern idiom of calling it the preferred development model has to be taken with a sizable pinch of salt. For, there is no law of nature—or of economics for that matter—that enjoins a definite coincidence of interests between Pakistan and the rest of the so-called free world economy. Under certain circumstances,



it may suit Pakistan authorities to go along with an IMF or World Bank advice. There can also be conditions in which that advice may not suit Pakistan at all.

The World Bank and IMF are guardians of the capitalist world's economic system, if it can still be called a system in today's chaotic conditions. Their basic interests and pre-occupations are to stabilise the fast decaying system. A notable dissonance between their interests and Pakistan's can be seen by common newspaper readers. The world order, such as it is, assigns a place for countries like Pakistan that is, as a matter of simple fact, not acceptable to the latter. Pakistan is, indeed, in the forefront of the efforts to revamp the entire international system.

If Pakistan is really serious about its desire for a new and more equitable world system, it can scarcely be very anxious to prove its bonafides as an ardent believer and practitioner in the arts and crafts of a free economy—which would help stabilise the crumbling world economic structure and keep countries like Pakistan in their old and unacceptable place of poverty and under-development.

Having put the matter in its proper perspective, let's briefly see what the new measures will actually do. As sure as night follows day, higher rates of petroleum products will be followed before many weeks are out, by increases in transportation charges of all kinds. That will add to the overheads of all business activities in the public and private sectors. Increased power rates will do exactly the same. Insofar as wheat purchase prices are concerned, it is hardly necessary to point out that it is a key commodity. True enough, it will enhance the earnings of farmers. Well and good it may be in its own way. But it is prone to lead to higher selling prices in the free market. Mind you, the size of the market covered by the rationing system is limited.

The plea that the selling price of *atta* from the ration shops will not increase is less than satisfactory for two good reasons; first, it would take care of a small section of the population. Secondly, it would add to the subsidies burden in the 1980-81 revised Budget, which in the next round of negotiations with the World Bank-IMF teams, would become a bone of contention. On the present showing, the economic bureaucracy would be stampeded into increasing the issue prices of wheat and *atta*. Anyhow, when the price of the staple diet goes up, what else will not! There may be persistent demands for wage increases on the valid ground of wholesale price increases in all commodities of common consumption. We forego the discussion over sugar cane purchase prices. In the overall scheme of things, it is apt to sound like quibbling.

It is obvious, as we have already hinted, that it will complete one more cycle in the upward inflationary spiral. We would like to put a straight question to our economic wizards; how would this round of across-the-board price increases in all—or most—commodities

and services serve any of the stated Government policy objectives? Would it really decrease consumption, leading to less imports and a better balance in external payments? Instead, would it not be more true to say that consumption of everyday commodities would not significantly decrease while price increases would make our exports dearer and throw the whole effort of monetary control out of gear? Can anyone doubt that another round of inflationary increases will necessitate a larger amount of money supply?

We shall pause here to repulse a counter-attack on this argument. The lily-white theoreticians would immediately ship in; a little bit of inflation in the short run is a price well worth paying because higher wheat purchase prices will induce farmers to produce more. This is too shallow an argument and ignores the entire sociology of Pakistan agriculture. We have approximately 125,000 large farms that, by using subsidised tractors, tubewells, power, credit, modern inputs and insecticides produce all the surpluses that come on the market. All the rest, by and large, produce for themselves and in about 80 per cent of cases, they have to buy their food deficits from the free market not at all covered by the rationing system, even if the issue price of wheat products is not increased in the rationing system.

The incentives being offered are to those big, large gentlemen-farmers whose income is already indecently large and who have to bear absolutely no direct tax burden. They will be made richer thereby and the "small" increases in the commodities of day-to-day use; would scarcely affect them. We do not wish to press this argument of social justice by going deeper into the infrastructure of our land tenure system. That may reopen quite a few unhealed wounds. But the small man, both in cities and the countryside, would go to the wall.

But what would be the repercussions of these decisions on the country's balance of payments? Would they increase our exports? Would they decrease our imports? Would they make us less dependent on foreign loans? At this stage, we hold these decisions would have simply no beneficial effect on the country's balance of payments either way. We are being charitable in saying this. For, it is possible to argue that the demand for consumer durables would very substantially increase in 1981-82, thereby tilting it even more against the country. In the short run, the people in the lower income groups would be subjected to more hardship for no ascertainable economic benefits. Social peace is being jeopardised for basically theoretical and book-keeping purposes, for the economy managers have yet to convince that this so-called economic pricing of goods and services would really confer on the economy discernible benefits. On the contrary, we hold that by fueling the cost-push inflation the economy is being rendered even less viable than before.





## In The 'Eighties

By Fyodor Breus

Moscow, December 10.

The Soviet Union has begun discussing the "Guideline for the National Economic and Social Development in 1981-1985 and in the Period up to 1990". So far, this is only a new draft plan, offered by the Soviet Communist Party's Central Committee for nation-wide consideration. Experience has shown that such discussions provide a rich material for perfecting plans. Three months from now, in February of next year the Soviet Communist Party's 26th Congress will be held to sum up the results of the discussion and formulate its final resolution on the draft. The scientific and technical revolution has made its own corrections in the planning, too; it is now clear that we need planning for five years and more. We have to foresee at least the effects of our forceful invasion in the affairs of nature. We must not be misguided by easy solutions holding promise in the immediate five years but fraught with unforeseeable complications. *The Soviet economy is tremendous in scope and in the course of development it entails problems which are actually inevitable in the increasingly complicated economic affairs. But we do not want these problems coming like a bolt from the blue. Here we cannot do without scientific prognostication, and the draft contains a plan for a five-year period and a scientific prognosis until the late 80's.*

TAKE SIBERIA, for instance, which has long since stopped being a "thing in itself". To regard Siberia as only a gigantic container of oil and gas of world-wide importance would mean robbing ourselves and, particularly, the generations to come. Siberia today is a new stage in the development of Soviet industry and it operates chemistry, petrochemistry and a number of other updated industrial branches. A comprehensive opening up of Siberia is new unthinkable without all-encompassing foresight.

The development of nuclear power engineering, the making of the integrated power grid of nuclear power stations along with the hydro-electric and thermal power stations, has undoubtedly been a well-aimed effort. Scientists now suggest a more intensive development of fast-neutron reactors and the use of nuclear power for heating cities. The draft plan has made provisions for this work, which will be carried out in co-operation with other socialist countries. The up-to-date and up-to-the-minute industries, which are the boosters of progress, must develop along the same lines and must not conflict with the traditional branches. Thus, unlike the industry making instruments and means of automation, the light industry is still on the side of the road of fast economic progress. Hence, the draft plan provides for accelerated rates of the technical re-equipment of the light industry. Agriculture, an open-door "green factory", is still insufficiently protected from unfavourable weather. Over the past five years, the

average annual grain yield in the country has reached 200 million tons, being 181 million tons in the preceding five-year period. But the demand keeps growing, too, especially for fodder grain for livestock-breeding. And so the draft plan envisages the development of a comprehensive plan to pool the efforts of many industrial branches to break the bottlenecks in farming. **ALL THE PROJECTED GOALS** for the next five-year period rest on a solid foundation of the Soviet economy, effectively strengthened by the tenth five-year plan period closing this December. The Soviet national income, the generalised indicator of economic growth, has grown and four-fifths of it has been spent for consumption, and housing and welfare building activities. The production of fuels, power, and ferrous and non-ferrous metals has grown too. However, in the new five-year development plan we shall give priority not to fuel, energy or metals, but to achieving our ultimate goal. The draft emphasizes that in the eighties the communist party will consistently pursue its economic strategy, the supreme goal of which is to achieve a steady rise in the people's material and cultural level. Priorities in the economy will be changed—produce of group B (consumer goods) will be increased at faster rates than the industrial produce of group A (production of means of production). Was this decision motivated by fresh opportunities, wishes or necessity? In all probability it was brought about by the combination of all these factors.

**Wages and salaries have risen, family incomes have grown and consumption has increased in this country. But demands have grown, too. Every year over ten million people have their housing conditions improved. They want to beautifully furnish their apartments, buy a colour TV set, have good kitchen, outfit carpets and other things. A large selection of these goods is necessary. True, there are clothes and footwear in shops, but young people want to follow the fashion, and the choice of stylish goods is regrettably so far limited.**

THE DRAFT of the new plan puts forth an extensive system of measures to improve the supply of people with consumer goods in every respect. The light industry will be assisted by electrical engineering, aircraft and automobile industries, ferrous metallurgy chemistry, communication means industry and machine-building. All these industries are given concrete assignments. Although all the goods and services are vital in every-day life, reducing the tasks in the improvement of the people's prosperity to their enumeration means oversimplifying this problem.

Sociological studies show that in this country the majority of people are interested not so much in enjoying material benefits, as in having an opportunity to reveal their creative abilities, to adopt decisions on organising the production and distributing these benefits. Participation in running the production has become the need for most of the working people. This is a sphere where economic and social interests interact. A whole system of measures on introducing moral and



material incentives, which has been worked out after a series of experiments, will be applied in it. Thus, managers have been given greater independence in solving different problems. The role of trade unions in the system of planning and stimulating work has been increased, and their protective functions have grown. The rights of the people's control bodies have been extended to encourage criticism and influence on the economic and social processes from below.

All figures for the new five-year plan can be expressed in one key formula—raising the population's real incomes by 16-18 per cent, which necessitates a 17-20 per cent increase in labour productivity to give at least a 85-90 per cent increase in the national income. This formula reminds, as it were, all the 135 million working people that only work can multiply our national wealth, while the society can distribute only that what has been produced. The higher the results of work, the greater the extent to which personal and social requirements are satisfied.

—APN

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FROM EUROPE

## Milky Gifts

By John Clark

The European Economic Community gets rid of its dairy surpluses by giving them as food aid to developing countries. This has obvious advantages for Europe. But does it do more harm than good to the poor of the Third World?

FOR MANY YEARS, the major headache of the European Economic Community has been how to deal with its vast quantities of surplus dairy produce—the milk “lakes” and butter “mountains”. Giving it away as food aid to needy people in developing countries appears to be an ideal solution. Such aid can certainly be beneficial to Europe—it helps to open new markets. But does it do more harm than good to the Third World?

The backbone of the EEC is its Common Agricultural Policy, which guarantees farmers high prices for their produce, particularly milk. This may enable smaller farmers to stay solvent but it also encourages over-production. The use of high-yield cows and immense quantities of animal feed now means that one litre of milk in six is surplus to requirements. The surplus of milk produced by the EEC each year weighs more than the entire population of the nine member countries.

The surplus milk is separated into butter oil and skimmed milk powder (SMP) for storage. But it is expensive to store and must ultimately be disposed of. Most SMP is sold cheaply as a substitute for soya in animal feeds. The US soya bean lobby protests that this cuts unfairly into their market. And the use of SMP in cattle feed increases milk yields and helps create further surpluses. SMP is also offered cut-price to European industrial concerns in the hope that they will discover new uses for it. So far, few companies have shown

any interest. Some SMP and butter can be used in European welfare programmes—but again this accounts for relatively little of the surplus. Selling off dairy produce outside the usual commercial channels, at subsidised prices, has proved to be politically unacceptable. Most publicised was the sale of cut-price butter to the USSR, which raised a popular outcry in Europe.

Food aid to the developing world offers an obvious outlet. It is seen as a humanitarian gesture, and is therefore politically acceptable. With 500 million malnourished people in the world, there should be no shortage of demand for European dairy produce. But the solutions is not that simple. Very little of the dairy aid goes to the Third World poor. A much larger proportion is intended as a source of income for Third World governments, who can sell it to their local food industry—often to subsidiaries of multinational corporations.

THESE COMPANIES process SMP and butter into a variety of dairy products, which are then widely advertised. Dairy aid helps the food industries create new tastes which will one day be met by trade from Europe, and aid. It is also welcomed by the relatively rich urban middle class who buy the new products. In the long run, this could be just what the EEC needs. The UN Food and Agriculture Organisation has noted that dairy aid has “paved the way to rapid expansion in the commercial trade in skim milk.” The European Commission admits that its aid “should not be regarded as a simple act of charity.” The needs of the poor are not the first consideration. In 1973 a year of world food shortage, high prices and massive famines—SMP aid was a quarter of that given in the late sixties.

Dairy products, given to countries where farmers keep cows, can threaten these farmers' livelihoods. As the UK Overseas Development Administration recently commented, dairy aid “can lead to disincentive effects on domestic dairy production by keeping prices down.” When the aid actually reaches the poor themselves, it can still be harmful. It can, says the ODA, have “undesirable side-effects on health, local dairy production and eating habits.” A recent ODA survey in the Sudan showed that skim milk powder, when mixed in unhygienic conditions, often leads to vomiting, diarrhoea and fever.

Nutritionists protest that SMP offers no advantages over locally available foods. Its use as a substitute for powdered baby milk is cause for even greater concern, for it does not contain adequate nutrients to feed babies. A wealth of evidence shows dairy aid to be at best irrelevant and at worst harmful to the poor of the Third World. But as long as the vast European dairy surplus continues to be an embarrassment to politicians, and as long as aid offers the chance of future commercial trade, the EEC programme will continue. Is it fair, however, to present it in the guise of relief for the starving millions of the Third World?

—Earthscan

Courtesy: Pakistan Economist, 8.11.1980.



## Pioneer Work In Tamil

**THE CONSTITUTIONAL DEVELOPMENT AND CHANGES IN SRI LANKA 1833 — 1978**  
 BY AMBALAVANAR SIVARAJAH (Neervely 1980 pp. i—x+132 Price Rs. 12.00)

Except for the commercially baked fast selling catechisms aimed at bringing quick examination results, there are only very few valuable text books for Social Sciences in Tamil especially for the study of constitutional development in Sri Lanka. This situation has made students to depend entirely on the lecture notes for the last two decades or so. Mr. A. Sivarajah of the Peradeniya University has attempted to fulfill a long felt need to provide a book on constitutional development in Sri Lanka: The constitutional development and changes surveys the period beginning with the Colebrooke Cameron reforms to the second republican constitution of Sri Lanka. The book is divided into 6 chapters besides author's preface. In the first chapter the nature and importance of various types of constitutions have been discussed; the second chapter deals with the role played by the constitutionalists in the national movement. Here he briefly discusses the early protest movements, secondary protest movements and modern national movement. Part 2 of this section describes the role of the elites in the constitutional development. Chapter 3 deals with the period 1833-1948. This was the period in which the British had effective control over Sri Lanka. The period up to 1910 has been glossed over but it is a period that should have been dealt for it provided the basic platform for future constitutional agitations. The contribution made by men like William Digby, Sir Muttu Coomarasamy, Ramanathan and organisations like the National Association should have been given sufficient emphasis. Because the early demand for a self government for Sri Lanka was mooted during this period. Chapter 4 and 5 have been devoted for the discussion on the 1st and 2nd republican constitutions respectively. The author has endeavoured to pinpoint the salient features and principles of these constitutions. He has also incorporated the arguments advanced for and against these constitutions by learned scholars and political analysts.

Though Sri Lanka had been toying with the idea of framing a new constitution since independence yet they could not come to a decision until 1966. Though the S.L.F.P. and the U.N.P. especially the former, had thought of the necessity to revise the constitution, yet it was the ruling given by the Privy Council on the interpretation of section 29(2)(b) of the Soulbury Constitution that compelled them to devise a new constitution for Sri Lanka. The Left parties were able to convince the S.L.F.P. as to the urgency to undertake the task of providing a new constitution solely on this decision. This has not been given due prominence here. Except for a change at the Head for all intents and purposes the constitution continued to be West-

minister model. Any radical change may be said to have come only with the second amendment to the first republican constitution. With the introduction of the Presidential form of government, Sri Lanka entered into a new phase of constitutional development. The second republican constitution of 1978 only confirmed the second amendment. The working of the proportional representation has been dealt in detail and students and general readers would be able to form a clear picture by reading this book.

In a book of this nature the author should have been more cautious about the accuracy and precision of dates, events, names of persons and institutions. It is historically inappropriate to say that prior to 1970 Sri Lanka was under the grip of monarchical rule for two thousands five hundred years; nor was it under foreign (Western) rule for the last five hundred years. This type of generalisation may mislead an average reader. Secondly if the name of Colvin R. de Silva had been rendered in Tamil the mistake of writing it as Colvin R. De Silva could have been avoided (pp. 67+68). The British Parliament is situated at Westminster and not at Westminister. This is rendered both in English and Tamil wrongly and repeatedly and cannot be printer's devils.

The book also gives the impression of a hurried work. Ideas pregnant with deep meanings have got marooned in long sentences. For example para three on page 128 tries to emphasise the fact unless a contribution is designed to conform to wishes and aspirations of its people it would not endure long. It would only be an abstract imitation of a foreign constitution and would appear to be one that had been forcibly introduced by an aggressor. But author's long sentences in this para do not convey this. The para should be rephrased in the second edition. In the bibliographical section names of books and articles used by the author are given in English. This book is meant for Tamil readers and it would help them if the articles and books in Tamil had been indicated separately in Tamil. *Ootru* and *Poorani* are journals published in Tamil and so is Mr. E. Muthu Thamby's book.

The quality of the book would have been still higher if only the author had expanded the economic aspects of the constitutional development (page 89) especially the very latest one. Article 157 had been subject to severe criticism and it should have been discussed fully. There are claims that the entire articles in the constitution leads to Article 157 which guarantees safely for foreign investment. The necessity to have a strong executive, with few fundamental changes, reduced cross over from one party to another etc., were aimed to provide a stable government and a peaceful atmosphere to ensure smooth economic development. The second Amendment which nullified Article 161 also deserves brief discussion. There is a change that this amendment was devised to help "renegades of a political party" and in this instance of a particular political party in the opposition. This section also will be of major importance and may lead to constitutional crisis as in the present Kalawana election case.



It would be also of general interest to observe that the National Flag, National Anthem and National Day have received constitutional status by the incorporation of each of them in Articles (6), (7) and (8) respectively in the Constitution of 1978; the National Flag and the words and music of the National Anthem too have been incorporated as schedules two and three respectively in the constitution. This shows the importance attached to each of them in Sri Lanka.

One cannot but observe with the author that over a period the constitution has consciously and consistently lent itself to the gradual aggrandisement of power and privileges of the majority community. From being a secular multi-racial Soulbury Constitution under which Sri Lanka gained her independence, the constitutions of 1972 and 1978 have given precedence to the values cherished by the majority community. This has made the author to point out that unless the constitution has the whole hearted approval of the minority community it cannot said to be perfect (p.129). It cannot be denied that while the first republican constitution led to heightened political tension, the second republican constitution has helped to defuse such tensions. However, the minorities feel that it is still a far cry from what they have been trying to achieve.

The success of a Constitution depends on the willingness of its people to work it. Lofty ideals could be incorporated in any constitution. The Ceylon Citizen Ship Act of 1948, Official Language Act of 1956 and Schools take over of 1960 were enacted in violation of Section 29 (2)(b) of the Soulbury Constitution. This experience reveals that everything depends on how the people of the country chose to translate the constitution into practice. The fifth republican Constitution of France was tailor made for Gen. De Gaulle. Since 1958 it had been subject to amendments. The De Gaulle Constitution was the result of series of Constitutional Crisis and fall of governments in quick succession. Except on one occasion Sri Lanka did not face such situation. The introduction of some features such system into Sri Lanka's constitution of 1978 and its outcome is still to be tested. These and other important queries have been raised and left unanswered for the future. The book would certainly be a valuable addition to political studies in Tamil and the author should be encouraged to undertake a bigger and elaborate edition next time.

K. Arumainayagam

16-12-80

## REFLECTIONS IN THE WILDERNESS

### A White Elephant

By Qadri Ismail

Merely because of its immense bulk, the elephant deludes itself that it is the king of the jungle. This could be understood (but remain untrue) in the case of the majestic African variety. But the Asian beast is so slothful in comparison (sloopy ears, unimpressive tusks), that its delusions of grandeur are pitiable. Self-deception is the worst crime. Elephants should realise

that might, though it may prevail for the nonce, is not necessarily right.

There is none so blind, (this saying is hackneyed, but true) as he who refuses to see. And the elephant is restrained by its own physical limitations. Having weeny eyes, its field of vision is limited. Besides, being sensitive to sunlight, it closes them whenever it gets too intense. Thus, losing the opportunity to see better, and perhaps not ruthlessly crush the little animals that tread below it.

These little animals would get away, of course, if they make themselves heard. But the sheer hulk of the brute, combined with its not infrequent habit of ostentatiously blowing its own trumpet, terrifies them, thus silencing any possible protest. This does not mean that the creatures do not mutter among themselves. They do and often. One cannot silence thought. Anyway, small things are more intelligent than big. And one would, since elephants have massive ears, expect them to hear these utterances and come rapidly down to earth. But these organs of hearing are so high above the ground, so far away from the pratter of the common herd, that they actually are superfluous.

I said before that the elephant is slothful. Is not its walk teetering and ungainly? Is it not in the habit of discharging turd after massive turd, and passing water, *ad nauseum*, regardless of time, place or purpose?

The one characteristic we are all familiar with, and tell our children about when they're old enough, is that the elephant never forgets. That it is a shrewd, crafty, animal (we do not expect elephants to be fair and just, do we?) which would wait long periods of time to get (what it regards as justice, but is actually) revenge, plain and simple.

Elephants generally stick together—one day they'll get stuck together. Though they understand the lingo of other animals, they'd rather hear only their own voices. In fact, the only other creatures that the elephant will tolerate around it, are puppies. Perhaps, these green whelps amuse their giant masters. They must also prove to be a source of some bother at times, being subject to sudden frenzies and prone to become rabid occasionally, apart from being given to fits in the most august surroundings. They must be tolerated though, due to their sterling quality—an unhesitating ability to wag their collective tails in unison, saying "Woof! Woof!" to their masters' every command.

When monkeys attack the doings of elephants—by throwing stones—they let them bounce off their thick hides, paying scant attention. This is sad. Elephants may not care for the opinions of monkeys, but they should never forget that it is the lion that is the actual king of the jungle.

The lion is generally a placid animal, which is not aroused unless its progeny or food is threatened. Hell may have no fury like a woman scorned, but the lion is master of the jungles on earth. And when forced to take an elephant on in battle will do itself proud, and undoubtedly and victorious. Thus proving to all, who the true master is:



## Rent Act Amendments

Sir,

I herewith enclose for your information and for publication in your widely read journal, a photostat copy of a letter dated 26th November 1980, which I have received from Mr K. H. J. Wijayadasa, Additional Secretary (Development), Ministry of Local Government, Housing and Construction, in reply to my letter dated 1st November 1980 on the above subject to the Hon. Prime Minister Mr. R. Premadasa.

The Hon. Prime Minister has been extremely kind and gracious (as always), to acknowledge with thanks my letter to him dated 1st November 1980, and he has clarified the position very clearly and categorically, by stating that 'The Amendments that have been introduced to the Rent Act do not empower a new landlord who has bought a house over the head of a tenant, to eject the tenant who was in occupation of the premises at the time of the purchase of the house.' While expressing my grateful thanks to the Hon. Prime Minister for his kindness and consideration for this much needed clarification, may I also venture to hope that the publication of this clarification in your widely read journal, will also help in enlightening and allaying the anxieties and worries of tenants who are worried about the interpretation of some of the Amendments introduced to the Rent Act.

R. Wijaya Indra.

10, Jaya Road,  
Colombo 4.  
12.12.80

### MINISTRY OF LOCAL GOVERNMENT, HOUSING & CONSTRUCTION

Post Box 547,  
Colombo.  
November 26th 1980.

My No: PDD/PR/84/79  
Mr. R. Wijaya Indra,  
10, Jaya Road,  
Colombo 4.

Dear Sir,

#### RENT ACT AMENDMENTS

I am directed by the Hon. Prime Minister to acknowledge with thanks the receipt of your letter dated November 1, 1980, on the above subject. The amendments that have been introduced to the Rent Act, No. 1 of 1972, do not empower a new landlord who has bought a house over the head of a tenant, to eject the tenant who was in occupation of the premises at the time of the purchase of the house. The other issues raised in your letter are presently being examined.

Thanking you,

Yours faithfully,

Sgd: K. H. J. Wijayadasa  
Additional Secretary (Development)  
Ministry of Local Government,  
Housing and Construction.

IN BANGLADSH

## Stranded Pakistanis

By S. Bashar

The problems of stranded Pakistanis in Bangladesh is yet to be solved. When the Foreign Secretary of Pakistan visited Dacca last month, it was expected that there would be a fair and reasonable understanding between the two countries for the repatriation of Pakistanis. But in reality nothing fruitful came out.

After the liberation of Bangladesh in 1971, the non-Bengalee citizens wanted to go to Pakistan. They opted for Pakistan claiming that they were Pakistan nationals. But Pakistan did not accept them. When the then Pakistani premier Z. A. Bhutto visited Bangladesh in 1974, the issue was discussed with the then Prime Minister of Bangladesh Sheikh Mujibur Rahman. But there was no progress on this issue. This question, *inter alia*, delayed the establishment of diplomatic relations between the two countries. After the partition of India in 1947, many Muslims came to the then East Pakistan from Bihar and other adjoining areas of India. So, the non-Bengalee people of Bangladesh became known here as Biharis. The problems of stranded 'Biharis' turned as a refuge problem after the liberation of Bangladesh. In this regard, the role of Bangladesh Government was logical from the very beginning. If the Biharis wished to stay as Bangladeshi citizens, then the question of repatriation would not have arisen. But as they opted for Pakistan, it was expected that Pakistan would accept them at least on humanitarian grounds. But Pakistan did not.

Now, the stranded Pakistanis are passing their days in distress with an uncertain future. They urged the Bangladesh Govt. to arrange repatriation, but there was nothing to do as Pakistan all along refused to accept them. The stranded Pakistanis demonstrated several times in support of their cause, even once they attempted a long march to Pakistan through India. They are continuing the movement till now and have organised themselves under an Action Council.

The recent meeting of Foreign Secretaries of the two countries at Dacca, failed to change their fate. Pakistani authorities stated that they can accept only seven thousand non-Bengalees from Bangladesh. But the number of stranded non-Bengalees or Biharis is about 400,000. Pakistan raised the financial question for the repatriation of those seven thousand people mentioned above. It is funny to note that Pakistan provided shelter for one million Afghan refugees on her soil, but are refusing to accept her loyal citizens from Bangladesh. Whatever Pakistan is doing is for her political interest, but this attitude has created trouble for Bangladesh and aggrieved the stranded Pakistanis.

For economic reasons Bangladesh is not in a position to maintain such a large number of refugees permanently. On the other hand, acceptance of stranded Pakistanis is a moral obligation for Pakistan. Moreover, for humanitarian reasons, Bangladesh and Pakistan, should meet in higher levels to bring an end to the sufferings of stranded Pakistanis.



# Confidentially

## Condensed Milk & Synthetic Sapphires

IS IT NOT FUNNY that the taking over of the much lamented Polonnaruwa Condensary of the National Milk Board (NMB) by Nestles on the day before Christmas came at a time when Condensed Milk had become a rare and costly commodity retailing at Rs. 13 to Rs. 17/50 a tin? That the day after the Committee Stage debate in Parliament which spotlighted the sad defects of Sri Lanka's dairy business, Nestles whose sixty-four agreement with the NMB had come in for sharp criticism, the daily papers had quarter page advertisements about Milkmaid Sweetened Milk? That they said was "Rich and Creamy—Makes the Tasty Difference!.....Milkmaid Milk gives your tea and coffee a unique irresistible taste. Milkmaid also makes a delicious instant topping on fruits and puddings. Or spread out straight on bread?" That the advertisement had further proclaimed that a 397 grams tin was R. 9/25? That for well over a month before the date of the advertisement (i.e., December 3 1980) even government agencies like Markfed were selling the 397 grams tin for Rs. 10/25 and other retailers were selling the same at Rs. 11/25? That on the day the advertisement appeared a Tribune Investigator telephoned the Nestles outfit in Colombo and asked them where Milkmaid Condensed Milk could be bought at Rs. 9/25 a tin? That the reply was revealing.... ".....you can buy it in some shops in Maradana.... we have no stocks ourselves at present.....we are expecting shipments soon....we do not know the names of the shops in Maradana but we are told that some shops at Maradana have them and they will sell the milk at our price....."? That shops in Maradana wanted Rs. 17/50 for a tin and laughed at our Investigator who had the temerity to tell the Manager of the shop that Nestles had told him that tins were available at Rs. 9/25 each? That it will be recalled a tin of Milkmaid was selling at Rs. 5/25 (when Perakum was Rs 4/75) only a few months earlier: i.e., before the agreement was signed on a 60 : 40 basis with Nestles to hand over NMB's Polonnaruwa Condensary to the multinational? That soon after Nestles came into the picture, the price of Milkmaid Milk was increased—those who know the ways of Nestles say that this behind-the-back increase of price is part of the strategy to collect super profits when Nestles was the 60:40 boss of our Condensary under the benign but purely titular overlordship of two officials who had most to do with the Nestles negotiations? That even before Nestles took over the Polonnaruwa Condensary the price was *de jure* Rs. 9/25 a tin but *de facto* anything from Rs. 11/25 to Rs. 17/50? That the few consumers who can afford Condensed Milk at this price, will thus get used to this range of prices? That the balance our people cannot afford to buy will be "exported" with the Nestles brand name? That this will

make the mass of our people (already starved for milk) see the export of milk they need for themselves? That the joke is that in the midst of this Nestles take-over, the Milk Board inserted advertisements in the daily papers that nobody should pay more than Rs. 7/25 for a tin of its "Perakum"? That nobody had seen a tin of "Perakum" for a long long time and today when available it is Rs. 13 a tin?

THAT WHILST THE MILK FRONT continues to cause grave discontent news has come in that the Russians have perfected a system for making synthetic Sapphires? That a recent issue of *Moscow News* had an interesting piece "The All Union Research Institute of Electrothermal Equipment in Moscow has developed a simple and cost-saving technology for making synthetic sapphire crystals of a desired shape, which yield great economic advantages as well as in beauty and value. The sapphire rivals the diamond in its hardness. The first two qualities thrill jewellers and their clients, but hardness—nine points on the Mohs scale and only one point lower than the diamond—has ensured the sapphire recognition in different sectors of industry. Equally attractive for new technology is its unique combination of remarkable properties, such as heat resistance and chemical inertness, optical transparency and mechanical strength, as well as good dielectric characteristics and a high degree of thermal conductivity. The job was to grow sapphire crystals of a predetermined shape, i.e., to produce finished articles. The Institute's laboratory headed by Lev Zatulovsky was able to grow sapphire crystals of a predetermined shape using a technology based on the method of Alexander Stepanov which takes advantage of the capillary phenomena in the smelt to shape the geometry of the growing crystal. The new technology makes it possible to develop graded rods of different cross-sections and a variety of intricately shaped articles needed in varying areas of science, engineering and industry in general. Sapphire articles are now being effectively used in the national economy. The new method of growing sapphire crystals of desired shape has also interested jewellers. Formerly, even the most skilful and patient gem cutter would not tackle a job like a sapphire daisy." That with smuggling of our gems on the one hand and the manufacture of synthetic sapphires on the other Sri Lanka has to keep its weather eye open to keep afloat? That at the rate we are going we will not even have a little condensed milk to sweeten our tea or coffee?





# NOTICE

## Ministry of Fisheries

The Ministry of Fisheries will be shortly introducing 80 Nos. 34' Gill Netters/Long Liners and 10 Nos. 34' Class Fishing Trawlers to be used off the North West Coast of Sri Lanka under a loan given by the Abu Dhabi Fund for Arab Economic Development. These boats will be sold to individual fishermen, Fisheries Co-operative Societies and to persons and organisations engaged in fishery activities. Priority will be given to buyers from the Project area which is the Coastal area from Mannar to Negombo. The Construction of the boats will be carried out in Sri Lanka. The first vessel will be ready for launching by March 1981. It is estimated that a fully equipped boat with Engines fishing gear, Radio Telephone, Fish Finder (for Trawlers) will cost around Rs. 900,000/— Buyers are entitled to various tax benefits as indicated below and a 35% subsidy, on the vessel and engine including equipment fitted such as Radio Telephone, Fish Finders etc. The vessels will be provided with facilities to run on sails. A subsidy of 75% for sail cloth and life belts will be given in addition to the subsidies indicated above.

### TAX HOLIDAY

Under the provisions of the Island Revenue Act No. 28 of 1979 the profits and income of any company engaged in carrying the following undertakings shall be exempt from income tax for the period commencing from the date of incorporation of that company and ending on March 31st, 1983.

- (i) An undertaking for off-shore or deep-sea fishing;
- (ii) An undertaking for carrying on off-shore and deep sea fishing and processing of its products.

This tax holiday is suitable to companies:—

- (i) Incorporated on or after November, 15th 1977;
- (ii) Approved by the Minister of Finance;
- (iii) Commenced to carry on any of the activity stated above on or after November 15th, 1977.

Applicants from prospective buyers for the purchase of the above boats should reach the DIRECTOR, DEVELOPMENT, MINISTRY OF FISHERIES, GALLE FACE, COLOMBO — 03, on or before 31st January, 1981. Further information can be obtained from Director Development, Ministry of Fisheries.

ANURA WEERARATNE,  
SECRETARY  
MINISTRY OF FISHERIES.



## TENDER NOTICE

# Ministry of Fisheries

North West Coast Fishery Development Project Funded  
by the Abu Dhabi Fund for Arab Economic Development

Tenders are invited for the supply and delivery of Electrical Accessories required for outfitting 90 numbers 34' Class Fishing Vessels constructed under the above Project.

The Tenders should be made on prescribed forms. The Tender documents would be issued from 9.00 a.m. on 30th December 1980 upto 12.00 noon on 29th January 1981 by the Director/ Development Division, Ministry of Fisheries, Galle Face, Sri Lanka on the production of official receipt from the Chief Accountant, Ministry of Fisheries for the payment of a non refundable fee of Sri Lanka rupee One Hundred and Fifty (Rs. 150/-) and a refundable tender deposit of Sri Lanka rupees Five Hundred (Rs. 500/-).

The Tender will close at 2.00 p.m. on 30th January 1981.

**ANURA WEERARATNE**

*Secretary, Ministry of Fisheries &  
Chairman, Tender Board.*

**Ministry of Fisheries,**  
Sir Mohamed Macan Markar Mawatha,  
Galle Face, Colombo - 3.  
SRI LANKA.