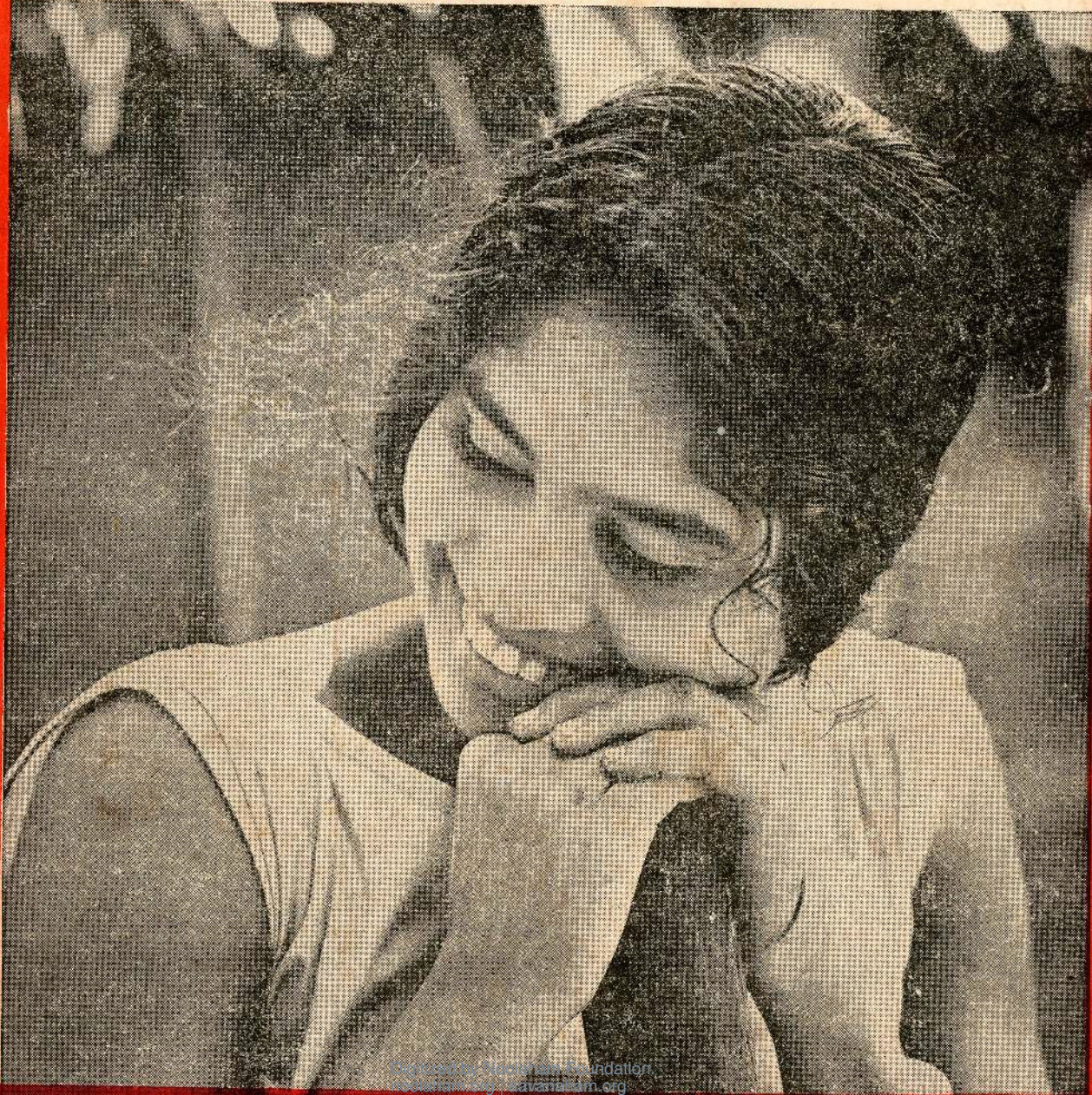


Vol. 25 No. 17 — November 8, 1980 — Rs. 3-00

TRIBUNE



26TH YEAR OF PUBLICATION



Marx, Engels & Lenin

Now available complete Works of LENIN

45 volumes, each

Rs. 7.50

full set

Rs. 300.00 only

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

MARX & ENGELS each Vol.

Rs. 37.50

We can reserve for you the other volumes on request.

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

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

People's Publishing House Ltd.,

124, Kumaran Ratnam Road, Colombo 2
76, Galle Road Colombo 4.

Telephone: 36111.

Letter From The Editor

THIS NOTE IS BEING WRITTEN before the results of the American Presidential Elections are known and the details of the Fourth Budget of the UNP Government have been spelt out. When this issue of *Tribune* is out, the world will know the choice American voters have made and the people of Sri Lanka will have the details of the fiscal impositions and budgetary burdens for the ensuing year. So far as the presidential election is concerned, the Iranian decision to release the hostages on terms the Carter administration has found acceptable in principle will undoubtedly infuse a swing in favour of Carter but whether the tilt will be big enough to carry him to victory is hard to predict. But, whether it is to be Carter or Reagan may have significance for the people of the United States in the conduct of their domestic affairs but so far as the world is concerned, it matters little whether it is Carter or Reagan. In the matter of foreign relations, Wall Street on the one hand and the military-industrial complex on the other ultimately determine the bi-partisan global political and economic policies of the United States. Reversing the earlier adherence to detente, the Carter-Brzezinski combine have launched a new hard-line determination to establish the United States as the dominant military power in every part of the world. For purposes of vote-catching Reagan had adopted even tougher hardline postures than Carter especially in the matter of using nuclear bombs to establish the new version of *Pax Americana*. It was made out that Marxist logic and Soviet power were an increasing threat to "world peace" (based on imperialist and neo-colonialist exploitation) and this was made the excuse for Anglo-Saxon and European countries to increase their armaments and indulge in the cold war propaganda and "limited war" strategies. The West unfortunately had believed that John Foster Dulles had successfully frozen socialism with his military alliances —SEATO, CENTO, ANZUS and NATO... But this Dullesian attempt at *Pax Americana* failed to hold the tide of national liberation or socialism. The growth of national liberation movements in Asia, Africa and Latin America and the desire for economic emancipation could not be contained by such alliances as CENTO and SEATO. The anti-monarchical revolution in Iraq in 1958 made a joke of CENTO and the defeat of American forces in Vietnam threw SEATO into the dustbin of history. The Western powers wanted to maintain the post-second world war *status quo* at any cost, but the old methods of government and domination were no longer effective. The old colonial powers therefore embarked on the new strategy of conceding political independence whilst increasing the economic stranglehold through neo-colonialist devices. Socialism—symbolising the desire of the under-privileged to end exploitation nationally and internationally—could not be contained by military alliances or cold war propaganda. More and more of the newly emergent and newly independent countries sought socialist remedies to end capitalist enslavement. Cuba opted for socialism and it has persisted in it for twenty years. Vietnam has become a powerful socialist power in South East Asia and has brought the other Indo-China states—Laos and Kampuchea—into the socialist orbit. Even Dharmista Sri Lanka has socialism on its masthead. In China, the Deng reversal of Mao's policies to venture on a new Mandarin package of socialist-cum-capitalist policies is not likely to pull western chestnuts out of the fire in the East. Finally, the Saur Revolution of April 1978 in Afghanistan with socialist overtones that first erupted without Soviet prompting showed that post-war *status quo* could no longer be maintained. For over 18 months, the West tried every means to overthrow the socialist regime in Kabul but without success. The presence of Soviet troops in Afghanistan brought fresh tremors to the West. In the meantime, Iran threw out the Shah in January. The focus of Western attention now shifted to the South Asia region. The Indian Ocean is today the centre of concentrated western global military activity. The "limited war" between Iraq and Iran has now given the US the excuse to bring the whole area under its electronic surveillance. Will Carter be any different from Reagan so far as the Third World is concerned? The prospects are bleak as the dark forces of war spread over the area.

TRIBUNE

Ceylon News Review
 Founded In 1954
**A Journal of Ceylon
 and
 World Affairs**
 Editor, S. P. Amarasingam
 Every Saturday
 November 8, 1980
 Vol: 25. No: 17.
TRIBUNE
 43, DAWSON STREET,
 COLOMBO—2
 Tel: 33172.

CONTENTS

EDITOR'S NOTEBOOK	
—Budget Blues?	p. 2
JOURNEY TO INDIA—2	
—Getting Ready	p. 3
FILM FOCUS	
—Kandy Cinemas	p. 5
CIVIC RIGHTS	
—For The Record	p. 6
PATTICALOA	
—Drought Menace	p. 9
PLAN IMPLEMENTATION	
—Integrated Development	p. 10
ZIA'S ADDRESS	
—Concluded	p. 12
DIGAVAPI	
—R. Kahawita	p. 13
ARTISTIC HERITAGE	
—Henry Pieris	p. 15
MANJUSRI	
—Jag Mohan	p. 19
SRILANKAPORE	
—Great Silence	p. 20
GRAMA SASTRA—28	
—Flies	p. 21
NGUVU—17	
—Animals	p. 22
CHRONICLE	
—Oct. 23-29	p. 23
WEST-EUROPEAN	
—Neo Facism	p. 26
NUCLEAR	
—Mushroom	p. 27
INTERNATIONAL	
—Iraq-Iran	p. 27
SALT 2 OR 3	
—US Experts Dialogue	p. 30
CONFIDENTIALLY	
—Milky Mess	p. 32

Budget Blues?

Colombo, November 3,

The cover picture this week, like last week's, is a resurrection from the past. The picture captures a mood very typical of what many young people feel today. They are puzzled, they are amused and they don't know just what is in store for them in the future. Yet they live in hope, and smile. No budget blues make them gloomy. But they have many questions.

Bus and train fares have been pushed up—thirty, forty, fifty percent from the last upward jump. It is over a hundred per cent hike from 1977. People are told that subsidies are bad and that for their own good they have been eliminated. They are told that OPEC has increased its prices and fare increases cannot be avoided because everything has gone up in price. But the young are not so easily fooled. They know bus and train fares have been pushed up far beyond the global and OPEC inflation and what was necessary to do away with subsidies. Rightly, or wrongly, they have come to believe that the steep increases are partly to cover up losses from waste, neglect, inefficiency and corruption. Any political party that says that bus and train fares can be brought down twentyfive to thirty percent if malpractices and corruption are ended will get a sympathetic hearing at the next elections.

This argument will evoke even greater response where the Milk Board is concerned. The price of pasteurised milk has this week been pushed up 60 cents from Rs. 1.40 to Rs. 2.00 a pint. People are amused with the story that 35 cents of this 60 cents will go to the milk producer. Is the balance 25 cents, they ask, to cover the losses incurred by negligence, neglect, waste and corruption? It is also known that the milk producer has had a raw deal over the years and that he continues to be cheated.

It is the milk collector, the Milk Board operator and the bowser drivers who will benefit from the price rise. They cheat the producer in many ways, especially by rejecting their milk until they agree to accept a lower price (under cover of a lower fat content). They add water in bowser loads and they collect more from the Milk Board than they pay the producers. What part of the 35 cents will go to the producer is difficult to say—probably less than 15 cents.

In spite of this, and in spite of the exposures in the Government owned paper *Dinamina*, the Chairman and Directors of the NMB are allowed a fantastic price rise—no doubt to enable those who have so far made millions out of the nation's milk to make billions in the future. It will not be long before the young will stop being amused by these milky acrobatics.

There is no excitement about the Budget. Everybody knows what is coming. Salaries will be pushed up a little. But prices will go up twice that. And

more and more people will decide to quit the country for jobs abroad, even as labourers. Very soon, Sri Lanka will have only the old living on remittances from abroad or the lickspittle largesse from the hands of tourists. One part of the island from where the export of manpower has been intensive has already become virtual home for the aged.

At the rate agricultural production has begun to decline, it is difficult not to be gloomy. Manik de Silva in a front-page story in the *Ceylon Observer* of October 30, 1980 refers to the drop in the production of our primary crops: "A substantial decline in production of Sri Lanka's primary crops has been recorded in provisional figures gathered by the Central Bank. According to these figures there has been a considerable shortfall in the production of tea, rubber and coconut, the traditional tripod on which the country's economy stands. The bank said that tea production for the period January to August was down 11 per cent against last year's production, coconut production was down 15 percent, during the same period and the country produced 16 per cent less rubber during the first half of this year against the comparative period of 1979. However, substantial price gains have off-set the production losses which are mainly attributable to the drought that affected agricultural production. According to the Bank's figures, tea production between January and August this year was 124 million kilos compared to 139 million kilos recorded the previous year. Rubber production for the first six months of the year was 61 million kilos compared to 73 million kilos recorded last year. Coconut production which normally reflects drought conditions a year earlier has been placed at 1,300 million nuts for the eight months covering January-August against the harvest of 1,593 million nuts over the comparative period last year. The monitoring of the economy by the Central Bank also reveals that electricity sales to industry, an important index of the health of manufacturing activity in the country, had fallen 7 per cent during the first eight months of this year."

The true picture is really much worse than set out by Manik de Silva. A study of the most recent report by the Central Bank reveals a more dismal picture. According to the figures we have in tea the production drop for January-June 1980 as compared to 1979 is a decrease of 17%. It is doubtful if the production in July and August could have brought the 17% to 11% (as suggested by Manik de Silva). The approximate loss of foreign exchange due to decrease tea production will amount to Rs. 300 million.

In coconut, the drop for the six months is 15%: in the January-June period in 1979 the production was 765 million nuts and in 1980 was 705 million nuts. The approximate loss in foreign exchange is Rs. 170 million.

There was a 22% drop in rubber in January and February 1980 compared with the same period in 1979 (20 million kgs. in 1979—to 20 million kgs. in 1980). The approximate loss of foreign exchange is

about Rs. 80 million. But if this decline has persisted for 6 months the loss in foreign exchange will be Rs. 200 million. What all this adds up to is that the loss of foreign exchange on plantation crops in the first half of 1980 as compared with 1979 will be over Rs. 600 million. Sri Lanka is going round the world begging for money when we are throwing away good money by the inefficient, wasteful and corrupt management of our plantations.

Budgets will be meaningless if this trend continues. Can anybody be blamed if the young people are tempted to say that the estates should be handed over to the private sector—because the public sector has failed to run them efficiently under the SLFP and the UNP?

X X X

JOURNEY TO INDIA—2

Getting Ready

by S. P. Amarasingam

I have been to Delhi many times since 1942.

Today, one can reach the Indian capital from Colombo in about 4 flying hours, if one can get the connection in Madras without delay. Our much-lamented Air Ceylon for a short time had a direct flight Colombo-Delhi (once a week) but though it was popular it was short-lived because the airline collapsed for other reasons. Whether Air Lanka will revive this flight is not known but it will attract tourist traffic. Delhi is today the most important metropolis in South Asia and a four-hour hop from Colombo is something to look forward to.

In 1942, and for many years after, it took many days and nights in a train to reach Delhi. It was two nights and a day from Colombo to Madras via Talaimannar and Dhanuskodi—a good thirty-six hours. And if my memory is right, the Grand Trunk Express, reputedly one of the fastest in India at that time, took very nearly 60 hours to cover the 1200 miles from Madras to Delhi. Today the same Grand Trunk Express does the run in less than 36 hours whilst the faster Tamil Nadu Express takes only 29 hours. The train journey from Colombo to Madras now takes longer after the pier at Dhanuskodi was completely washed away by the 1964 cyclone. There is now also a 18-24 hour delay at Rameswaram before one can get the connecting train (and that is if one is lucky). A passenger-cum-cargo steamer service from Colombo, Trincomalee and Kankesanurail to Tuticorin, Nagapatnam and Madras will not only ease the congestion on the railway and the ferry (now chock-a-block with repatriates) but will be considerably cheaper than air travel.

In 1942, India and Ceylon were under the bring umbrella of the British Raj and there were no passports or visa formalities. But with the dawn of independence in 1947 such documentation proliferated with varying

degrees of irritating intensity at different times depending on the whims and fancies of politicians and bureaucrats. At the moment, the Sri Lanka administration permits its nationals to travel without subjecting them to humiliating exipermits and other stupid restrictions. And a citizen is also given a reasonable amount of exchange within the rules so that one can travel without being at the tender mercies of friends abroad or the ruthless greed of black-market operators.

Before I get on to other matters, it is necessary to mention the particulars of the Conference in which I was expected to participate. The letter I received from the Ministry of State said: "This South Asian Regional Conference will discuss funding and recommendations of the MacBride Commission for the Study of Communication Programmes. . . . Participants will be two each from Afghanistan, Bangladesh, India, Nepal and Sri Lanka."

I had heard of the MacBride Commission which the Secretary-General of the UNESCO had set up with specialists from sixteen countries with Sean MacBride, former Foreign Minister of Ireland and a winner of Nobel as well as the Lenin prize for peace as the Chairman. Although the report had been released many months ago, in Sri Lanka little or no information was available about it.

I had up to that time only read criticisms of the MacBride Commission Report from Western sources. Among my cuttings I was able to trace a comment in the US Magazine *Editor and Publisher* of August 2, 1980. The heading was REACTION TO MACBRIDE REPORT ON WORLD INFORMATION NETWORK and the extract read:

In the opinion of Jan Breman, Ambassador from the Netherlands to the Council of Europe, the UNESCO report by Sean MacBride on a world information network is a "cocktail of generalities and platitudes." Writing in a council journal, Breman said: "The result of the MacBride Commission's work is a study in escapism if not hypocrisy. The remedy for existing shortcomings can never be slogans, playing with words and moral arm-twisting which would inevitably lead to a state control and its ugly twin-brother censorship."

"Our Western pluralistic societies," he continued, "cannot survive without the freedom and autonomy of the mass media. Call it our oxygen, call it our life blood, call it our irritant, if you will, one hopes that the dangers of taking the most natural things in life for granted are truly grasped."

This was not the first occasion on which the only information made available about an important document like the MacBride Commission Report was slanted criticism.

Immediately I was nominated by the Ministry of State I had endeavoured to get a copy of the MacBride Commission Report. No copy was available in Colombo. The Ministry then made arrangements to obtain copies from the UNESCO headquarters in Paris. I was lucky to get a copy a few days before I left Colombo.

In the meantime, I wanted to get better acquainted with the problems of the contemporary battle for a New Information Order. From the time of the Algiers Conference, the Non-aligned Movement had stressed the urgent need to establish a New Information Order as an adjunct to the New Economic Order—no doubt to usher in the New World (Political) Order. Whilst the New Economic Order was still a distant dream and the New Political Order was even more distant, it was felt that the New Information Order could be ushered in more easily and more quickly and that in any case it should be a first priority because it was realised that no advance could be made on the economic and political fronts without making correct information universally available.

Resentment against the existing Information Order has been growing so immensely and so rapidly that analysts in the West have in recent times examined this problem in depth. The prestigious US quarterly *Foreign Policy* in its Spring 1979 issue published a revealing article by Rosemary Righter (the Development Correspondent of the *Sunday Times* of London, and author of "Whose News", "Politics, the Press and the Third World"). The opening section of her article read:

"A profound mistrust of Western liberalism permeates political thought in much of the Third World. Freedom of exchange—whether of goods or of information—is becoming a suspect idea. As developing countries seek to establish their national identities through self-reliance, they are increasingly focussing on the role of the international media, which promote what they see as alien values. Western assertions that pluralism is universally applicable and that free expression is a human right are being dismissed as at best irrelevant and at worst a form of cultural imperialism.

"Thus, the doctrine of the 'free flow of information' is coming under sustained attack from the Third World. Its leaders allege that the concept has simply enabled the handful of Western news agencies and networks that collect the overwhelming bulk of the world's news to impose Western attitudes and market economies on developing societies. They argue that the imported model of a free press only sows dissent and conflict in their countries, instead of promoting the unity vital to economic development and to the building of an independent, modern state.

"The attack on the international news media consists of three main charges. First, the media are too powerful: they penetrate too widely and too thoroughly. Second, their services are not truly international: news is selected to suit Western attitudes and interests and is heavily biased toward coverage of the industrialized countries, leaving Third World news rooms flooded with irrelevant information. Last, they lack the virtues of accuracy and objectivity on which they base their claims to international respect. Much of the reporting from the Third World is ill-informed, prejudiced and sensational. Western dominance of the international

news flow therefore inhibits national development and misleads Western societies about the nature and justice of the Third World demands for a new world order, thereby perpetuating an inequitable global system.

"These accusations are most forcefully pressed by governments, many of them authoritarian. Although the debate over these matters suffers from political rhetoric and exaggeration, the developed world must not underestimate the gravity of the issues at stake.

"There is justice in many of the developing countries' demands for better and fuller coverage of their affairs and for the right to put their own views directly to the rest of the world. The dilemma for the West is that the principle of freedom of information is being rejected as intrinsic to the neo-colonialist pattern of dominance. At home, Third World governments are increasingly establishing laws to insure that the media mobilize the masses behind their governments. On the international front, they are demanding protection against what they see as irresponsible reporting through the imposition of codes of conduct and other controls on the news flow.

"The question of communications and their control thus enters the international political arena, where Third World governments are pressing for what they call a New World Information Order. At stake is the public accountability of governments that rule two thirds of mankind, access of knowledge about countries where the press is guided, and the character of development in those countries.

"The new order, of course, will not spring into existence overnight. Most developing countries, whatever their public stands, still co-operate closely with Western agencies and broadcasting organisations so a system of control over the news is not yet inevitable. But before the Third World position hardens further, the West must define the areas where co-operation can be increased on a basis of partnership and not of charity. Such co-operation can begin among professionals themselves. But there are political issues that cannot be solved by journalists alone. The imbalance in the news flow is also linked to the economic gap between North and South. Even with massive aid program, the information gap will persist, along with the Third World's frustrations over its inability to transform the global communications structure....."

This is a realistic appreciation of the sentiments and feelings in the Third World. I shall examine some of the matters Rosemary Rights has specifically raised in her piece, as I get more and more involved with the Information Order in this series of articles.

Armed with a copy of the MacBride Commission Report I set out for New Delhi. There was a new Order at the Katunayake Airport. It was full of anomalies. The turn off road to the Security Office where Rs. 10 is collected for the permit for one person to see a passenger off was in a terrible state of disrepair.

All the roads to Katunayake right up to the Terminal building are in excellent shape, but this little stretch is a disgrace. It had holes, ditches ruts and gaping depressions (when I went there last week they were still there). It may be that only because natives like myself use this road it is kept in this miserable state of disrepair. Tourists and foreigners need no passes because they come packaged. There is now a tendency in Sri Lanka to pay pooja to foreigners and neglect the poor natives.

Inside the terminal building the new order was even more apparent. I had not been to the Airport for many months and one innovation that struck me was that the Customs examination now comes first. I didn't mind this (I see many advantages in this), but my encounter with a young Customs officer who was not able to communicate in any language—English, Sinhala or Tamil—amused me although for a moment I was really angry.

Of this I will write next week when I start on the first leg of my journey to India.

(To Be Continued)

FILM FOCUS

Kandy Cinemas

The persistent heat in Colombo, an attractive weekend that beckoned and the all-welcoming hospitality of a doctor friend of mine in Kandy whose family warmly fall in line, took me to the Hill capital to take the humid sweat off on a short holiday. By sheer force of habit and as a critic's duty to the State Film Corporation, I squeezed time off to visit the 5 cinemas in town, and what I witnessed (with the co-operation of the respective managements) took me entirely sur-Regal, New Sigiri and the Ocean in that order. The severity of the initial impact that hit me forcefully in the face was that all these cinemas were screening Sinhalese films, sticking unswervingly to the needs of the five Sinhalese circuits like a prayer, cruelly oblivious to the fact that there was a sizeable non-Sinhala picturegoing public in Kandy, looking out in vain for their evenings' entertainment. The films in these five cinemas were **Sankapali**, **Hansa Vilak**, **Muwan Pelessa II**, **Para Dige** and **Mage Amma**.

The English film seeking picturegoers, now that the tourist season was also in full swing, were left out in the cold, while the Tamils and the Muslims, had no alternative, but to hug the "fireside" and pray hopefully for the cinematic crumbs that might come their way in fits and starts. I do not know frankly who has to shoulder the blame, for this sad state of affairs, but I can assure the State Film Corporation that in this respect, the discontent on Kandy is very widespread in the feeling that such discrimination exists.

I do not like to intrude on the intricacies of the

"5 circuits" creation that maintains a stranglehold, but prompt and immediate action is called for and Chairman Anton Wickremasinghe must address his mind to this problem without delay. Of these cinemas in Kandy, those under private ownership—Wales and New Sigiri carry on bravely with hold-over limit problems, their voices and petitions being given a step-motherly hearing, while the others seem to be faring better with the help of their godfathers at their respective head offices in Colombo.

These cinemas are however well maintained, the toilet facilities, I noticed were better than what existed in many of the Colombo cinemas. The projectors with-out exception were in sound order, and other repairs were on, to maximise the comforts of their patrons. Last shows for the day at 9.30 p.m. do not seem to be worth their run, due to transport difficulties, and some of the cinemas have quite rightly done away with them except during weekends. The Wales by its proximity to the Market square and overlooking the Central Bus halts should be able to net a better profit in the daily takings if the existing distribution is geared tri-lingually, while pains are being taken by the New Sigiri proprietor to knock his once neglected cinema into ship shape and also supplement its immediate vicinity by a new cinema.

Of course none will dispute that in the Odeon cinema—built uphill with a panoramic view of the Kandy town, particularly when night takes over—we have one of the best positioned cinemas in Sri Lanka. It is by far the best maintained cinema (if your heart can withstand the strain of a stiff climb to the top) and won the Presidential Award for the best cinema in Kandy at the Awards Festival. To conclude this round-up, I would recommend that while three of these five cinemas be kept on for Sinhala films exclusively, the Odeon which should suit the English picturegoers, tourists and the planting fraternity, even transportwise uphill, be made an English circuit, while the New Sigiri with its Muslim milieu around, be made a Tamil one—mind you, the Tamil hits **Deepam** and **Niram Maratha Pookal** have yet to be shown in Kandy. Sampan theatre on the outskirts could also switch over from Tamil to Sinhala. If the S.F.C. works the mechanics of this out, with their daily returns, they would be in for a surprise and what's more, murmurs of discrimination would cease for ever.

DOCTOR ZHIVAGO (English): I regret having delayed comment on this MGM perennial, but this release being a popular revival, its excellence should have reached picture-goers by word of mouth by now. On the run in Panavision, buttressed by brilliant camera work, this film weaves a tender love triangle, while throwing up forcefully, the dictatorship moods of the new born proletariat, during the dying days of the Czarist regime in Russia. Lenin the redeemer plays his part in the background victoriously, but that emancipated slaves could also metamorphose into tyrants is a message that seeps through.

The naval war by Boris Pasternak, who won the Nobel Prize for it, and the acting of Omar Sharif (Zhivago), Julie Christie (Lara) and Rod Steiger (Moma- aravsky) is a rare film treat for all lovers of good cinema. At this point, I would leave Director David Lean to take over and talk about his creation. He says, "In bringing Doctor Zhivago to the screen, we did not make an anti-communist or pro-communist film. We simply hoped to present as accurately as possible, the feel of Boris Pasternak's remarkable novel. After all, human beings are pretty much the same all over the world, and I am sure Pasternak was trying to prove in his book that the relief of the suffering of a human being is worth more than the results of a revolution, which produces such suffering. In our film we tried to approach the subject with the same detachment, that Pasternak exhibits in his novel." Lean continues "that it was tragic, that this film was banned in Russia and that political pressure made it impossible for the author poet personally to accept the relevant Nobel Prize for literature which he was awarded." This triumphant film is the winner of six Academy Awards, with unobtrusive and haunting musical score by Maurice Jurre, considered by many as the best for a motion picture.

RIVER OF THE GREAT CAYMAN (English): Produced by Sri Lankan, A. M. M. Yousoof Riffai, who has entered the local film making field in a big way, and directed by Sergio Martino of "Mountain in the Jungle" fame, this film has been shot in its entirety in Sri Lanka and carried forward colourfully by the camera to do credit to the scenic splendour that splashes all around us. It is a tourist booster too in so far as it catches our shores and the jungles, but in between unleashes the fury and the fangs of a man-killing crocodile (Cooma), that minces all and sundry who come within reach of them. Actor Mel Ferrer in the story is the tourist manager, who with money in mind invites visitors to this 'island' of drum-beats and coconut palms but takes care to fence in the "Cooma" existence, away from their ears, to fill their eyes instead with the abounding virginity of nature. The crocodile however breaks through, and how, is for you to watch in a fierce climax. Rather juvenile in concept, the story could be a sweet pill for the adventurous little ones, while adults can cool their eyes on "Eden" and beautiful Barbara Batch alternatively.

James N. Benedict.



FOR THE RECORD

The Denial Of Civic Rights

We publish below two statements on the burning topic of the day, viz., the deprivation of civic rights of political leaders. The first statement is by the Civil Rights Movement of Sri Lanka issued on October 1, 1980 and the other by the All Ceylon Tamil Congress issued on October 10. Both statements were released before the crucial debate in Parliament on October 16 when the Bills to disenfranchise Mrs. Sirimavo Bandaranaike and Mr. Felix Dias Bandaranaike were adopted.

Parliament is to meet shortly to consider depriving two persons of their civic rights for seven years. One of them is the leader of a major opposition party, Mrs. Sirima R. D. Bandaranaike M.P., President of the Sri Lanka Freedom Party and twice Prime Minister of Sri Lanka. This measure seeks to deprive her of her present seat in Parliament. It also would prevent her from voting for or being elected to the next Parliament, disqualify her from contesting the office of President and debar her from holding any public office. What is involved here is not merely the individual rights of the persons concerned, but the right of the community to choose its leader. It is thus an appropriate moment for the Civil Rights Movement (CRM) to re-iterate and amplify its position on the Special Presidential Commissions of Inquiry Law, in respect of which CRM already voiced its basic stand in 1978. CRM's observations are as follows:—

1. CRM has always encouraged the principle of investigating and exposing for the public judgement the way in which power has been used by those to whom it has been entrusted. CRM itself voiced many criticisms of the use of power by the former government and by some of its officials. CRM has, in particular, drawn attention to the need for a proper inquiry into allegations of police atrocities, and into the operation of emergency rule. CRM has urged the introduction of very specific legal safeguards to prevent misuse of emergency powers in the future—see for instance CRM's evidence and memorandum to the Select Committee on the Revision of the Constitution in 1978.

2. Any machinery set up to investigate and expose such happenings must, however, contain adequate safeguards for those against whom allegations are made. If penal consequences or legal disabilities are to flow from the findings of a tribunal the safeguards must be much stricter than those of a mere fact finding commission.

3. In the present instance the two persons to be deprived of their civic rights have been found guilty under a law which does not provide these basic safeguards. The Special Presidential Commissions of Inquiry Law allows a Commission to ignore the normal law of evidence and to admit "any evidence, whether written or oral, which might be inadmissible in any court in civil or criminal proceedings." It lays down no rules of procedure. It states that the findings of the Commission shall be final and conclusive, and does not provide for any appeal against them. CRM makes no comment at this stage on the actual proceedings that took place. These are currently the subject of an application before the Supreme Court.

4. An even greater objection to the Law is that it is retroactive in effect. The civic disability to be imposed is in respect of acts which were not an offence at the time they are said to have been committed. Furthermore the offences of "corruption", "abuse of power", "misuse of power", are undefined and vague. A finding that a person's conduct has, in the view of the tribunal, been unethical or improper, is one thing; to thereafter attach legal consequences to it as if it had all along been an offence is unacceptable.

5. CRM further points out that many of the criticisms which were made against the Criminal Justice Commissions Act of the last government hold good for the Special Presidential Commissions of Inquiry Law. The mere fact that judges of a superior court are appointed to a tribunal is no guarantee that its functioning will be fair and correct or command public confidence. It has been pointed out that where members of the judiciary serve on Tribunals where the rules of evidence and procedure are relaxed and from whose findings there is no right of appeal, there can be two unfortunate consequences. Firstly, the tribunals themselves may depart from acceptable standards. Secondly, and more important, public confidence in the judiciary itself tends to be undermined. The Criminal Justice Commissions which heard insurgency and exchange control cases were manned by Supreme Court judges, yet the functioning of these tribunals was open to grave criticism. *Amnesty International* reported at the time that the Sri Lanka judicial process had been "diluted to serve political purposes", that there "should never be a compromise of the standards of justice such as were undergone in the Criminal Justice Commission", and that "the effect of doing so is very seriously to put in jeopardy the public regard for the independence of the judiciary and to inflict a kind of second class justice for political offenders". This Act was rightly condemned and repealed by the present government—a step which CRM welcomed.

6. CRM also underlines the importance of the obligation that Sri Lanka undertook in May this year when the government signed the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights. The proposed deprivation of civic rights will now be contrary to Sri Lanka's

international obligations. The Covenant prohibits the retroactive creation of offences and the retroactive imposition of penalties. It also provides, in Article 25, that every citizen shall have the right and the opportunity, without any distinction such as on the ground of political opinion, and without unreasonable restrictions, to take part in the conduct of public affairs and to vote and be elected at elections. It is unfortunate that the government has not signed the Optional Protocol to the Covenant which would have enabled aggrieved persons to seek a remedy before an international tribunal.

7. The recent extension of the warrant of the Commission to look into allegations of misconduct by the present government as well might in other circumstances have been welcomed. In CRM's view, however, the taking of this step at this stage does not rectify the situation. Moreover the same considerations apply, and the same need for adequate safeguards exists, whoever is the subject of an inquiry. CRM therefore asks that the Law be repealed and that no further steps be taken under it. At the same time adequate and effective alternative machinery to investigate complaints against the present administration should be provided.

8. CRM is also deeply concerned at the banning of public meetings at this juncture.

9. CRM finally wishes to emphasise the danger of using a parliamentary majority to disqualify one's political opponents and to remove them from the normal political arena. Such a step is not merely a serious undermining of the democratic process, but could also drive the opposition to resort to extra parliamentary methods.

CRM URGES THE GOVERNMENT

(1) to ensure full freedom of expression and public debate on this issue including freedom of assembly and peaceful demonstration; (2) to desist from depriving any persons of their civic rights in consequence of findings of the Commission; (3) to repeal the Special Presidential Commissions of Inquiry Law; (4) to proceed in the ordinary courts under the normal law against any persons who are considered to have infringed the existing law while holding public or political office; (5) where the existing law is defective, to amend it to provide adequate legal safeguards to prevent misuse of power in the future, including misuse of emergency powers; (6) to adhere to and effectively implement the principle of full and fair inquiry and public exposure of misdeeds by any government or any holder of public or political office, in pursuance of the people's right to know, and in keeping with the aim of placing the facts before the people to enable them to exercise a fully informed judgement in their political decisions.

Desmond Fernando
Secretary.

CRM
16/1, Don Carolis Rd.,
Colombo 5.

ACTC Statement

The proposed legislation to deny civic rights to Mrs. Sirimavo Bandaranaike and Mr. Felix Dias Bandaranaike in pursuance of the recommendation made by the special Presidential Commission appears to be one which calls for serious consideration by the public at large. The proposed legislation appears to overlook and negate certain basic principles of democracy. This issue does not appear to have been seen in the correct perspective. The denial of civic rights to a citizen appears to be much more than a punishment meted out to that individual citizen. It is really a denial of the right of the electorate to choose that individual as a representative of the people. It is the denial of the freedom of choice.

That the proposed legislation can really deny the electorate its freedom to choose the individual whom they want to represent them is not just idle fancy. The electorate's choice is supreme. The right of the electorate to choose anybody to be its representative should not be abridged or in any way circumscribed. Sovereignty ultimately resides in the people at large; that is, the electorate; not in the body of persons at any stage commanding a majority in Parliament. The proposed legislation will be a measure brought by the party commanding a majority in Parliament at the moment, which will not even receive the unanimous approval of Parliament. It will savour of political victimisation. The electorate has delegated to Parliament the right to legislate for the good Government of the country. The delegation so granted is a limited delegation; certainly nothing has been delegated, and indeed cannot be delegated, to deprive the electorate of the freedom of its choice. A delegate has certainly no power to interfere with or circumscribe or abridge, on any ground, the inherent powers of the delegator. The very fact that the constitution provides for a referendum is undisputable proof of the limited nature of the power delegated to Parliament by the electorate.

If an individual has done something wrong, he could be dealt with under the ordinary laws and by the ordinary courts of the land. The President and Parliament are creatures of the electorate. Creatures have no right to interfere with the inalienable right of the creator—in this instance, the electorate.

A finding of misuse or abuse of power is a value judgement. Value judgements are not universal; they can differ from person to person. The value judgement on this issue, which the majority party in Parliament may reach, may not be the value judgement the electorate makes.

Values are not absolute; they are relative. One man may look at just one fault of an individual; others may look at the totality of the individual's character and service and may ignore or condone the fault. The electorate is entitled to make its own value judgement and Parliament can not interfere with the electorate's

freedom of choice. It is the duty of every citizen, and necessarily of every Parliamentarian, to expose the misdeeds or the abuse or misuse of power by persons in official positions. But at the same time, the right of the electorate to make the value judgement of its own should not be interfered with.

A machinery should be set up, as in other countries, where persons in power could be brought to book whilst they are still in power, for any abuse of that power. This would seem to be the right thing. Mrs. Gandhi of India was rejected by the electorate in 1977 for flagrant abuse of power. Many commissions were instituted to inquire into the misdeeds of her administration. Notwithstanding the adverse findings of the various commissions, the one sovereign body, the electorate, did choose her soon after to guide the destinies of her country.

If the Government wants to proceed with the legislation proposed, it should, in fairness to the electorate, seek a referendum on the issue whether the freedom of the electorate to choose its own representatives should be abridged by legislation enacted pursuant to the findings of only a commission of inquiry. The All Ceylon Tamil Congress fights this issue as a matter of principle. If this legislation is proceeded with, it will be creating a dangerous president. Such measures could add to a one party dictatorship. We demand that the freedom of the people, democratic rights, justice and reason must prevail.

G. G. Ponnambalam
General Secretary.

The ACTC
120, Main Street,
Jaffna.
11.10.80

Now On Sale

HAVANA TO KABUL

A Sri Lanka Non-aligned View

BY S. P. AMARASINGAM

Sri Lanka Price: Rs. 12/-50 a copy.

Foreign US \$ 1.50 Postage Extra.

Available at leading booksellers,

TRIBUNE PUBLICATIONS,

43, Dawson Street, Colombo 2.

Telephone: 33172

Drought Menace

by K. Kanapathipillai

THE RAINFALL FIGURES FOR BATTICALOA for the years 1979 and 1980 are given below in millimeters.

Month	1979	Total	1980	Total	
January	98.5		23.8		
February	179.2		0.0		
March	6.3		0.4		
April	19.8		37.1		
May	65.4		39.5		
June	3.9		2.5		
July	39.7		24.3		
August	3.5		6.0		
September	210.0	626.3	21.8	155.4	25% of 1979
October	286.6				
November	619.1				
December	342.5				

These figures are startlingly revealing. Hence they deserve our most earnest attention.

Batticaloa's weather pattern may be summed up in the following order. (1) *Season of the winter Monsoon and cyclonic whirls—January and February*: Season of chilly dry north-east squalls and blasts. Very short spell of rainy weather: wind direction variable from north-east to south-west with cyclonic effects. Sky generally over-cast marked by thin drizzles. Rainfall for 1979: 98.5 mm and that for 1980 23.8. A marked drop is recorded in 1980. February rainfall figures are surprisingly low for 1980—0.0; 1979—179.2. Why is this? What is the deterioration due to? Let our weather pundits explain. (2) *Season of drought March-May*. Inter-monsoonal season; now and then thin drizzles are recorded. April mango and cashew showers are a marked feature. Hot and steamy, grueling and sweltering; lurid skies. Thunder showers bring rain. Rainfall in March is very low; in April moderate. May is an improvement on April. Perhaps this is the last month for cyclonic effects. (3) *Kachchan Season*: Mid May to Mid September. Season of light showers. The Tamil saying goes thus: 'Adi Kachchan padi adikkum'—the kachchan sings and blows and blowing doth sing. Very dry parching wind; devastatingly enervating and has a depressing effect on man, animal and vegetation. Rainfall figures are revealing. June is generally dry. 1980 being drier than 1979. July records some rain. Again the 1980 figure (24.3) is lower than that of 1979: (39.7). August is very dry: 1980 (6.0) having a better rainfall than 1979 (3.5). (4) *Season of the retreating Monsoon: Mid September-December*. September is the month for migrant birds; teals and cormorants. They forsake the parching tank beds; a tell-tale sign of prolonged drought. In the September rainfall figures there is a startling disparity between those of 1979 (210.0) and of 1980 (21.8).

Here is something alarming: How can the

inordinately protracted drought of 1980 be accounted for? Perhaps the dwindling and fast-shrinking vegetational cover may have much to do with the very low precipitation up to September 1980. The October, November and December rainfall figures for 1979 being 286.6, 619.1 and 342.5 respectively, there is some hope for some rain in these months in 1980 too. But since the total rainfall for the period January to September for 1980 is 155.4 as against that for 1979 which is 626.3, one has to reasonably expect only 25% of the total precipitation for the months of October, November and December of 1979 to come down during these three months in 1980. If it comes to that, then we are in for the severest drought ever on record. But let us hope for the best.

Now, what are our "findings"? 1. That in 1980 the rainfall up till 30th September is very low; (2) that it is only 25% of the rainfall for the same period in 1979; (3) that the water-table has almost reached down to rock-bottom in most parts, especially in the red-earth region; (4) that there is only a mere trickle of water in the otherwise perennial water-supply wells of the coastal sandy strip; (5) that most of the minor village tanks have been left with baked beds; (6) that even the major irrigation tanks are threatening to expose their parched bottoms; (7) that cattle have no pasture to graze, not even brushwood to browse on; no shade trees to rest under, no water to drink; (8) the migrant birds have abandoned their once favourite haunts. Jackals have become rabid. They bite the dogs which give the disease to man. Man in this region is confronted with gargantuan problems; no water to drink, no vegetation of any kind, no convenience of any sort, no comfort of any kind; no kindly hearts, no kindly words. Man has turned out to be much more cynical than ever before.

The cardinal question is: shouldn't he be prepared to face all these heavy odds and hazards with perfect equanimity and lead a peaceful life?

Now, what should he address his mind to?

The first and foremost duty he will perform have to perform in his own interest is to bring back the green blanket that had been torn to tatters by the recent cyclone: the shrubs, the brushwood and the shrubbery and mini oases and the umbrageous trees, each one in these parts should deem it his or her bounden duty to plant and nurse to full growth at least five fast-growing trees like the Ipilpil (*Leucaena*), Eucalyptus, mango, casuarina etc. and he or she must act according to the age-old Upanishadic injunction: "Annam-babu-kurveedha—Thath vrdham"—consider the production of abundant food as your bounden duty.

The state has already sized up the immensity and significance of the task of reforestation and tree planting. And they are out to see to it that the forests are preserved and conserved (we have scarcely 19% of our land area under virgin forest); for a dwindling forest wealth loudly spells an impending national calamity; loss of forest cover being directly proportional to the loss in the amount of rain received. So says the sage: "If the rain fails: then will all life perish."

Integrated Development, Employment & Manpower

IN ORDER TO ACHIEVE a balanced and accelerated growth of the country's rural areas, the Government of Sri Lanka has adopted a strong policy of the decentralised agricultural and rural development. Within the framework of this policy, the Government of Sri Lanka emphasises the strengthening of the district level administrative and political organisation on the one hand, and on the development front the planning and implementation of integrated rural development programme for the districts (among other agricultural and rural development programmes). Several institutional changes have been brought about in recent times including the establishment of the district minister system, and the decentralised budget. Proposals are being formulated for the establishment of district development councils. The aim of the government is to strengthen the district as a political and administrative unit, while at the same time evolve it into the key sub-national development unit.

Formulation and implementation of district integrated rural development projects is one of the important innovations adopted in Sri Lanka during the last few years in bringing accelerated development, particularly in districts which have not yet benefited from large-scale and extensive agricultural development programmes. Under this programme 10 districts have been selected and the implementation of three of these programmes in Kurunegala, Matara and Hambantota commenced in 1979, and in Nuwar Eliya in 1980. Two other districts, Matale and Puttalam would commence project implementation in January 1981. The other four districts, viz. Badulla, Moneragala, Vavuniya and Mannar will reach implementation stage in 1981 and 1982.

Essentially the programme aims at evolving district specific medium term development plans specifically designed to meet the development problems and bottlenecks and to realise the development potential of the district with short-term investments and institutional improvements. The broad objects of these plans are to bring about an increase in income, employment and the general standard of the rural population of each such district. The fulfilment of local needs and the realisation of the local potential for development is a dominant strategy employed to achieve these overall objectives. Each project represents elements of regional resources, development as well as of integrated rural development. This approach provides for widespread dispersion of the benefits for different groups and different areas within the district in contrast to localised operations of purely resource development oriented sectoral projects.

The report then sets out the basic details of the integrated plans for the (1) the Kurunegala District (1979-1983); (2) Hambantota District (1979-1983); (3) Matara District (1979-1983); (4) Matale and Puttalam Districts (1981-1983); (5) Nuwar Eliya District (1980-1984); (6) Moneragala District (1981-1984); Mannar District (1982-1987); (8) Badulla District (1982-1987); (9) (a) Vavuniya District Rural Development Project (1982/83-1987); (b) Vavuniya District Basic Needs Project (1981-1984).

EMPLOYMENT AND MANPOWER PLANNING DIVISION

The Employment Data Bank Scheme: The Employment Data Bank Scheme was established in 1978 to enable the placement of unemployed persons registered on an electoral basis, in vacancies arising in the State Service and Public Sector Institutions. Of the applications received upto 31.5.1980 numbering 84744 in the Employment Data Bank, 84003 applications were duly coded and computerised. The referral and placement functions of those registered under the Central Computerised Scheme is attended to by the Placement Unit located in the Ministry Office. Of the applicants registered hitherto 61931 have been referred for interviews in respect of 19390 reported vacancies. Further, 6246 registrants have been referred for selection in respect of 2936 training placements. Under the District Job Bank Scheme referrals have been made for interviews in respect of 52364 reported vacancies, including casual jobs of short duration.

Income Support Scheme. The government proposal to operate the Income Support Scheme was first announced in November 1977, and the implementation of the scheme was entrusted to the Employment and Manpower Planning Division of the Plan Implementation Ministry. This scheme was introduced as an interim measure to grant relief to unemployed and indigent persons considering the severe unemployment situation. Under this scheme a monthly allowance of Rs.50/- is paid to the head of the family unit on behalf of an unemployed member who conform to the stipulated criteria. The payment of allowance is restricted to maximum of two unemployed person per family unit. Implementation work connected with the Scheme was completed by the end of July 1978 and the payment of allowance to eligible family units commenced from August 1978. Now applicants were not admitted to the scheme after the scheme was implemented in July 1978. However, there were large number of applications which were under investigations and those investigations were completed by end of April 1979.

According to the scheme a beneficiary becomes ineligible to receive the allowance as a result of any one or more of the following conditions:— (i) family income exceeding Rs. 6,000.00 per annum; (ii) on securing gainful employment; (iii) by marriage; (iv) over 40 years of age. The information that was available through petitions, inspections and audit investigations revealed that the incidence of ineligible persons who drew these allowances was high.

As at June 1980 there were 247,764 family units with 325,907 beneficiaries receiving the allowances under this Scheme. The table below shows the distribution of beneficiaries by Districts as at June 1980. The allocations that had been given on this scheme for the period July 1979 to June 1980 was approximately Rs. 217.5 million. The payment of allowances under the Scheme has been discontinued with effect from June 1980. The savings under the Scheme have been utilized for implementation of development projects under the Decentralised Budget Programme.

Manpower Planning. In addition to rendering information and data needs and services to Public Sector Institutions. Technical Assistance Missions and individuals, several ad-hoc surveys were conducted to elicit data on employment and manpower questions. The surveys undertaken are briefly described below:—

- I. *Study of employment possibilities for persons trained as Secretaries, English Stenographers and English Typists.* The above study was undertaken to assess the manpower demand in the above occupational categories. The annual requirements of these categories for the public service, corporation sector, and the private sector for the period 1979-1983 have been estimated separately. The study disclosed the existence of a comparatively large number of unfilled vacancies, and that the pressure of demand has rapidly increased leading to substantial increases in the wage and salary levels. The main object of this study was to highlight the availability of increasingly large possibilities for employment in these occupations for school leavers on the one hand, and to draw the attention of the training authorities for the need to expand opportunities for training which had been recognised for some time, on the other. The report was published in February 1980.
- II. *Survey of Employment Opportunities in the Private Sector.* This study was undertaken to ascertain data on the growth of employment in the Private Sector, consequent to the far reaching changes in the economic and fiscal policies introduced by the Government at the end of 1977 and thereafter. The survey was based on examination and listing of job opportunities advertised in the daily newspapers. In the first quarter of 1980, this study was continued in respect of the period July-December 1979. According to this study the number of job opportunities advertised by the private sector in 1979 amount to approx. 35,000. Reports in respect of 1978 and 1979 have been published.
- III. *Survey of selected occupational categories at craft level in the construction industry.* This

survey was undertaken to obtain information relating to several important craft level occupations, such as masons, carpenters, plumbers, fitters, welders and electricians in the construction industry. The collection of survey data has been completed, and the tabulation and analysis of data is in hand. Report writing is in progress.

- IV. *Survey of Engineers, Architects and Technologists.* A survey to ascertain the existing stock, the demand for the next 5 years, employment mobility, including outflows for employment abroad and other connected data was started in September 1979. It is observed that the response from some organisations supplying the information requested was delayed and due to this reason it has not been possible to adhere to the original time schedules for tabulation and analysis of the data.
- V. *Survey of manpower surpluses and shortages.* Information is collected for this purpose from advertisers who notify their vacancies in the local newspapers. The collection of data in respect of this survey upto 31st December 1979 is progressing satisfactorily.
- VI. *Survey of Accountants.* A study was undertaken to assess the supply and demand position with regard to Accountants in the public and private sectors. The work in connection with regard to the data collection is proceeding.
- VII. *Supply and demand of medical Doctors—1979.* A study was undertaken to assess the supply and demand of medical Doctors at the request of the Ministry of Health. This estimate on the supply and demand imbalances was computed. The report has been submitted to Ministry of Health.
- VIII. *Migration of Sri Lankans to the Middle Eastern Countries—1979.* The report was published in June 1979. In view of the public interest on this subject, it was decided to publish the English version of the report which was printed and issued in December 1979.
- IX. *Driver Training Programme.* The programme to train motor car drivers which was initiated with the assistance of Sri Lanka Police Reserve, the National Apprenticeship Board, and the National Youth Service Council was continued during the past year.

**INCOME SUPPORT SCHEME
NUMBER OF FAMILY UNITS AND BENEFICIARIES
BY DISTRICT — JUNE 1980**

DISTRICTS	Family Units with one Beneficiary	Family Units with two Beneficiaries	Total No. of Family Units	Total No. of Beneficiaries
1. Colombo	8943	3846	12789	16635
2. Gampaha	17940	8582	26522	35104
3. Kalutara	12745	4790	17535	22325
4. Matale	6712	2901	9613	12514
5. Kandy	14414	6977	21391	28368
6. Nuwara Eliya	1848	593	2441	3034
7. Galle	15559	7011	22570	29581
8. Matara	12172	7926	20098	28024
9. Hambantota	7706	5960	13666	19626
10. Jaffna	10097	4302	14399	18701
11. Mannar	517	143	660	803
12. Yavuniya	555	180	735	915
13. Mullaitivu	470	176	646	822
14. Batticaloa	2426	725	3151	3876
15. Amparai	3719	841	4560	5401
16. Trincomalee	1211	449	1660	2109
17. Kurunegala	18920	8336	27256	35592
18. Puttalam	1464	370	1834	2204
19. Anuradhapura	4364	1571	5935	7506
20. Polonnaruwa	981	374	1355	1729
21. Badulla	3909	1402	5311	6713
22. Moneragala	1716	882	2598	3480
23. Ratnapura	7129	3010	13139	16149
24. Kegalle	14104	6796	20900	27696
TOTAL	169621	78143	247764	325907

Note :— Data in respect of some district for May/June 1980 have not been received and the position for the preceding month was taken in compiling the table.

CONCLUDING

Gen. Zia's Address At U.N.

WE, THE PEOPLES OF THE ISLAMIC WORLD, along with our bretheren of the Third World, have suffered together the trauma of colonial domination, we have struggled, side by side, to attain our freedom; we have gone through the same pangs of re-birth after independence; we have inherited similar problems; we are facing similar challenges; we share the same disappointment in the non-realisation of the rising hopes and expectations of our peoples.

The basis of the existing economic relationship between the developed and the developing countries is the principle—or the lack of principle in this case—of just and fairplay. The developing nations supply the raw materials, but the developed nations demand unjustly high prices of industrial goods they provide.

We, of the Third World, are at the mercy of the international market, which is manipulated by a handful of industrialised countries. It is in the interest of the developed countries to realize that the advantages of such basically unsound tactics are short-lived, we have entered an era of interdependence, and no single country can ensure its prosperity by adopting measures which frustrate the legitimate aspirations of other countries, and other peoples. Exploitative and discriminatory practices, against the developing countries, are the root cause of economic and political instability, which poses a great danger to world peace and security. The time has surely come, if it is not late already, to establish a new economic order which would be durable, because it would be fair.

The Group of 77, representing the Third World, has been pressing its demand, since 1964, for an international economic order that would ensure optimum growth of world economy for the benefit of all countries, and all peoples. The North-South dialogue has dragged

on, as a futile exercise, for nearly a decade. In the meantime, the problems of poverty and deprivation of more than half the world have become further aggravated, posing ever greater dangers to world stability.

MEANWHILE, the Islamic World has made a start, with concerted measures, to pool its resources, and has established financial and banking institutions of its own for the purposes. In the fullness of time, these institutions should enable the Muslims to achieve a substantial measure of economic self-reliance. In the true Islamic tradition, the oil-producing Muslim countries have shown a helpful attitude for alleviating the hardships of not only fellow Muslim states but also fellow-members of the Third World. At the same time, the Muslim countries will continue to exert themselves, to the utmost, towards the achievement of the objectives of the Group of 77. Their voice will also be clearly heard in the North-South dialogue, urging affluent nations to raise their official development assistance to the Third World at least to the agreed level of 0.7 per cent of their GNP. Can magnanimity be at such a low premium?

While so little is being contributed towards the elimination of the problems of poverty and backwardness, on which the future stability of the world depends, the commitment of vast resources to the acquisition of weapons of mass destruction continues to increase. A further tragedy is that large-scale transfers of arms and lethal weapons are taking place to countries which are already expending so much of their previous resources on armaments, at the expense of the welfare of their masses. World security is as much threatened by the reckless diversion of resources towards the arms race, as by the neglect of the fundamental needs of the under-privileged peoples of the world. Indeed, the two are inextricably linked. Consequently, the question of disarmament is vitally relevant not only to the reduction of international tensions, but also to the better utilization of resources for human development and progress. The goal of disarmament deserves the urgent attention of the world community, and needs to be pursued both at the global and the regional levels.

THE UNITED NATIONS remains the embodiment of our hopes and aspirations for a world order based on peace and justice. It is committed to the achievement of this objective by virtue of the ideals enshrined in its Charter. This Organisation has been a force for international peace and progress during its 35 years of existence. We do not feel discouraged by its occasional inability to translate its promises into tangible results. We are conscious of the circumstances which have prevented it from enforcing its decisions in respect of the right of the people of Palestine to establish a sovereign state of their own in their homeland, or redeeming its promise to the people of the State of Jammu and Kashmir to enable them to decide their future in accordance with its relevant Resolutions.

Since the reference to the State of Jammu and Kashmir touches upon Pakistan's relationship with India, I would like to say that, in conformity with our

established policy, we have continued our efforts for further normalisation of relations with India on the basis of the principles of the Simla Agreement of 1972. Substantial progress has been made over the years in the promotion of communications, travel and trade between the two countries. This process, however, can and will be further accelerated with a peaceful settlement of the question of Jammu and Kashmir. Pakistan's position in this matter is founded on universally recognized principles.

The Islamic World holds the UNO in great esteem, and will strive to further its fundamental objectives. The message of Islam—the message of peace, equality of Man, rule of law and supremacy of Justice—is also fundamental to the United Nations. As devotees of the religion that brought this message to the world, and as signatories to the Charter in which it is enshrined, the Muslim countries are thus double committed to the ideals of the United Nations.

We do not, therefore, despair if the ideals of the United Nations are still nowhere near achievement; if aggression and adventurism still disfigure the international scene; if the security and sovereignty of the weak are still being threatened by the strong; if might is still paraded as right. But we live in hope, and would continue to strive to come closer to the ideal, with the passing of every day.....In the world today, there is enough reason for mankind to see the future darkly, and to lose its bearing in the pervading atmosphere of gloom. People feel embattled and forlorn, and see perils and pitfalls all around them. There is social injustice within communities, and economic inequality among nations. All this, I venture to suggest, is a result of unbridled materialism, the eclipse of spiritual values, and a loss of faith.

Our redemption lies in a renewal of Faith; a revival of the belief in the Creator and His creation. I speak only as a Muslim, acutely conscious that arrogance of belief is forbidden to the Muslims; for Islam reproaches its followers for any conceit about their Faith.

I, once again, thank you, Mr. President, for the privilege of addressing this august Assembly.

Concluded

X X X

DIGAVAPI

Preservation Better Than Restoration

by R. Kahawita

YEARS BACK, the workers and officers of the Irrigation Department, and the Surveyors working in the area on the initial investigations of Galoya project stumbled on the ruins of a stupa which was identified as Digavapi as chronicled in the Mahavamsha. As the legend

goes Digavapi was one of the sites visited by Gautama Buddha during his mission to Sri Lanka. The Mahavamsa says of this place, "And after he had spent the day as it pleased him at the foot of this mountain, with the brotherhood be set forth for Digavapi." This gave birth to the legend.

The Mahavamsa, extolling the good deeds of Sadatissa says, "He built Viharas (from Anuradhapura) to Digavapi, one for every yojana." "Moreover he founded the Digavapi vihara together with the cetiya; for this cetiya he had a covering network made set with gems, and in each mesh thereof was hung a splendid flower of gold large as a waggon-wheel, that he had commanded them to fashion." Digavapi also became the abode of Sadatissa for a time for the chronicler says—"While the great King lived yet in Digavapi his eldest son Lanjatissa built.....". The identification of Digavapi as the place visited by the Buddha is difficult, though Parker suspects it to be Kandiyakattu tank south west of Batticaloa. Relating this period of our antiquity to the christian era Sadatissa ruled around 77-59 B.C.

There is no reference to Digavapi till after Parakramabahu the Great organized his campaign to unify his kingdom during the period 1153-1186. Digavapi is mentioned in his marches against the insurgents of Rohana. Then Digavapi was in the hands of the insurgents. He made Digavapi the "Army Head-Quarters.....to quell the insurgents around"—Batticaloa and Bible to us today. Thus Digavapi became a military district in the campaign against Rohana under military commander-in-chief. During these military excursions against "The hostile inhabitants of the country." The war cry of the Commander-in-chief was "Of the enemy who have invaded our country we shall not let a single foe escape." With such avowed dedication to his cause, nothing much of the district would have been spared by the two warring armies—including the "Digavapi Vihare together with the cetiya." of Mahavamsa.

SINCE THEN the place must have been abandoned and neglected till the popular folk-lore was remembered as a place visited by Lord Buddha, and this led the modern archaeologist on a journey of discovery. Thus Digavapi, assigned in history to the last century of pre-christian era has antiquity, sanctity and a hallowed link with the Sinhala people and their culture. Thus it has earned a claim to be preserved and sanctified with equal merit to "Samanakuta" where the master has left the traces of foot-steps before He left for Digavapi."

The development activities in the Gal Oya valley opened up the area to disclose the magnificence of the cetiya. To preserve this hallowed area the then Government about the year 1960 took steps to clear the area, construct a road, and declare the Dagaba and its precincts an Archaeologic Reservation. Five years later, about one square mile around the place was excised from the Gal Oya project and a Development plan was prepared with 560 acres of irrigable land to be given to the temple for its maintenance and service

as was the custom during the times of the Sinhalese kings. The land so allocated to the temple were to be leased out to Sugar cane farmers who were required to pay the lease money to the Viharapathi of the temple.

About the same time there were proposals and ceremonies held to restore the Stupa to its "pristine glory" on the same scale and manner as Ruwanwelisaya in Anuradhapura. The Restoration work was to have been under-taken by the R.V.D.B. under the advice and guidance of the Archaeological Department.

We then thought of a way of preserving the ruins, rather than restore it, as they were after removing and clearing the vegetation that had taken root over the centuries. The reason and thinking then was; restoration meant to cover and plaster what was left of the ruins thus obliterating the ancient work, methods of construction, bricks and brick work, stone carvings and the craftsmanship etc. Their work today is sanctified as relics of an ancient civilisation. Their concept of the work, their handling of building materials, the old stone-paving worn out by the foot-steps of the then worshipers were things to be preserved.

The antiquity of the dagaba itself should be visible to the present and future worshipers. They should come in direct contact with what was done by the ancestors and even almost hear the echo of the "Sadhu", "Sadhu", they raised in praise, piercing through the jungle. If we rebuild with new materials and workmanship all this would be lost under a mantle of brick and mortar, far inferior to what they did to enshrine the holy relics and other offerings to the Blessed One. We would be completely at a loss to visualize the Grandeur of the structure. Except for the name everything else would be imitations, but poor at that too.

RESTORATION and preservation are two different concepts in Archaeology. One is to reconstruct or rebuild from the ruined materials and with new materials to the forms and shapes to what a structure would have been before it was destroyed. The other is to preserve and protect from further deterioration what is left of the subject, thus maintaining and conserving whatever form and shape that is left in the ruins, in this process some sort of rebuilding may be possible using the "debris of the subjects", provided such forms and shapes can be reformed by putting the disturbed pieces or elements together.

Restoration and rebuilding of ancient monuments are almost sacrilegious to the memory of the ancient workers. One could not think of a restored Coliseum and to inspire in the viewer the glory of Rome that was. So we see this massive edifice preserved as it was after the sacking of Rome." This is an awe inspiring spectacle compared to the re-action one experience on Seeing the State Empire building.....in New

York. One could understand how this building took shape and came to be erected. In the other case it will always be a puzzle as to "How they did it two and a half centuries ago, and yet the "Ghost" stands as monuments to an ancient art and technology which we have not understood yet. The modern works can never belittle the grandeur of the old. They command admiration and provide the link between the past and the present. Restoration should be deprecated—"It has been spared the obliteration of its aesthetic and antiquarian characteristics at the hands of pious but misguided restorers, and no modern vulgarity raises its ugly head by the side of its venerable remains." So says Paranavitana in connection with another moment of our past.

This led to a desire to preserve the ruin in the state it was discovered to enable the present generation of worshipers to be almost in direct communication with their ancestors. To fulfil this desire we evolved a structure to umbrella the ruins, while adhering to the same form and shape to create the traditional concept of a dagaba. The structure is simple. It is a reinforced concrete shell supported on columns, the shell itself taking the shape of the Dagaba ending in a pinnacle. What was to be enshrined within the shell was the entire remains as it was except to touch up the work to prevent it falling apart.

This was not a new concept. Even the ancient designers had conceived a "parasol" to protect many of their Dagabas. The remains of Tuparama at Anuradhapura and at Madirigiriya give us an idea how they did it. The up standing columns in concentric circles and of varying heights give an idea of their concept. Even at Digavapi, there may have been one as one could surmise from the description in the Mahavamsa... "A covering net-work....". Within this "protective shell" all what remain to the glory of the ancients could be conserved so the present day worshipers can move around to see and feel the ruins to bring to memory the piety and devotion of their ancestors that is symbolized in Digavapi Dagaba.

We read in the press that steps are being taken to restore another Dagaba at Anuradhapura Jetavana Stupa. We hope this idea of conservation may catch on and full scale restoration will be abandoned. Rebuilding destroys the sanctity and the spiritual value that would otherwise inspire in us. We cannot match their work, so let us not desecrate them but preserve them for future generations to see and marvel at the intelligence of the ancestors and venerate their contribution to preserve the culture they have passed on from generation to generation through "these land marks" of a people's progress through Time.

Since we started on this article there was seminars and conferences at an International level to establish a cultural triangle in Sri Lanka, the tips of the triangle being Anuradhapura, Polonnaruwa and Kandy. From what we gather from the press, funds are being

collected for the restoration of our cultural heritage."—Restoration will be disastrous as expressed by Paranavitana.

We do not hear in the Western World—the restoration of the "monuments" on the Capitoline Hill or the Athenian group or nearer home the ruins of Mahenjo-daro in the Indus valley. What those nations are collecting funds, are for conservation or preservation and not for restoration. Let us learn from them and be wiser not to destroy their aesthetic and antiquarian value." Conserve our archaeological assets from further decay.

X X X

SOMETHING MUST BE DONE ABOUT

Our Artistic Heritage

by Harry Pieris

WE HAVE HEARD a great deal of talk recently about conserving our forests, our wild life, our soil, our waterways and the dangers of pollution from pesticides and other sources. I shall deal today with the preservation of yet another important aspect—our artistic heritage. Several years back in one of my radio talks I referred to the degeneration of art in Sri Lanka and attributed it to various causes such as loss of patronage after the fall of the Kandyan Kingdom, the rise of industrialism in Europe and the penetration of that and various other influences into this country which were not conducive to the development of art. Though this may have been true to some extent let us try to understand why art has not made headway since we gained independence and whether something cannot be done to bring about a healthy atmosphere for the wellbeing of the artist as well as for the arts in general. In this talk I shall confine myself to buildings and traditional Sinhala paintings.

Let us first examine the conditions existing today and see what should be done to bring about a more appreciative public to patronize art and the artist. We all feel justly proud of our ancient ruined cities and are inclined to boast of our past heritage and speak of the glories of an era that existed long ago. But what of the present? Surely it is not enough to glory in the achievements of our ancestors and be satisfied with that. What are we doing now which can be compared favourably with the past? If the past was great, it was due to the fact that the people at that time were highly developed or else they could never have created such monumental works of art. Our ancient cities would never have been what they were if the people at that time who commissioned such work were not highly cultured and civilized themselves. I do not wish to criticise but would like to make some suggestions that may rectify a few of our shortcomings.

We should stop blaming the foreigner for all our misfortunes. We have to be thankful to them for the Archaeological Dept which has preserved the

ruined cities which are now one of our chief tourist attractions. We have inherited two good museums one in Colombo and one in Kandy for which we have to be thankful to our colonial rulers. But since independence, what have we done to educate our people to learn from the past and to create for the future? We have a fine Art Academy, now the Dept of Aesthetic Studies in a University, but I never noticed there a single reproduction of any of the ancient masterpieces of either this country or of Asia to inspire the students. This applies as well to all our schools in Colombo and the provinces. I have not come across any books in Sinhala on the art treasures of Asia or Europe which would be of help to the local student.

I WAS FORTUNATE as a young man to study art abroad. It was in Europe that I became acquainted with the art of the East and learned to appreciate it because the museums and art galleries displayed great works both of the east and of the West and students are given every encouragement and facilities to study them. It is by visiting these collections that I was able to appreciate the great works of European and Asian art. *In this country the local student has no such facilities but this is a defect which is in the hands of our people to correct. Most of our temple paintings have been effaced and ruined beyond redemption and the few remaining ones will soon disappear if nothing is done to prevent it.* We have made great advances in our newspapers and the radio and now we have T.V. by which large numbers of people could be reached and better educated. What is needed is a sense of responsibility and civic sense on the part of the educated public without which no country can progress.

Most developed countries realise the need for a better general education of the individual and until this is achieved in our country art and the artists will have to languish. With modern discoveries technology and inventions I see no difficulty for our educationists to introduce Audio Visual means of instruction into schools, which is the easiest and quickest way to instruct students in any branch of study. More illustrated books on art both of the East and of the West should be made available in the national languages at cheap prices. Cultural centres or museums should be established in all the important towns of the island and should be administered by educated people who have been trained in such work. No good will avail if such centres are manned by people who have neither the ability nor the aptitude for such work.

I was most impressed with what I saw in China in 1957 to educate the masses and something on those lines could be followed in this country now that the wealthy taxpayer is compelled to contribute a large share of his wealth to the national treasury. Art collections should be encouraged and given tax incentives and concessions, like those offered to big business. In China all the precious old monuments are well preserved. Chinese paintings from early to modern times are well displayed and can be seen by anyone on payment of a small admission fee. Besides in their public parks and places of recreation films are constantly shown on

various subjects in order to educate the people. In the Art Schools both the Chinese and Western methods of paintings and sculpture are taught. The traditional method of Chinese painting is however still far superior and better appreciated by the people. Reproductions of Chinese masterpieces are available for all at very reasonable and moderate prices so that almost anyone could afford to buy and display these paintings in their houses. Now that we have T.V. here our traditional paintings and sculpture could be shown to advantage. Is it not a shame that Sri Lanka has not a worthwhile collection of its contemporary art for a visitor to see? Could we be proud of our one and only National Gallery? These are matters that can easily be remedied by the people themselves. Much money is spent in educating our youth in various branches of sport and business and hotel management. While all this is good and necessary should not the aesthetic and creative talent of our youth be encouraged and developed as well?

MOST OF THE WORLD'S BIG ART GALLERIES were founded by private individuals and gifted by them to their respective governments. Should not our creative talent be supported and encouraged by the wealthy businessmen of this country so that art too could pay big dividends and bring into the country much needed foreign exchange? Our children should be made aware of our art heritage and taught to appreciate it in schools. Scattered all over in this country there are many Buddhist temples which still contain valuable wall painting dating from the late eighteenth century to the nineteenth. Most of these paintings are fast disappearing due to neglect and ignorance of their value. Several of these temple paintings have been painted over and completely ruined, but quite a number still remain which can help a student to study and learn from our traditional Sinhala art. *As far back as 1905 Dr. Ananda Coomaraswamy in his "Open letter to the Kandyan Chiefs" appealed to the people of this country to preserve old building and painting for the nation but his appeal had no effect whatever on the people to whom his letter was addressed.* I wish I could read the entire letter to you but the time allotted to my talk will not permit it. There fore I would advise those who are listening to borrow or buy a copy of this letter and read the whole of it carefully. 350 copies were printed in that year. Then in 1957 the arts Council reproduced this letter again in English, Sinhalese and Tamil. I believe 500 copies of each were printed. **Most of the temples and buildings and paintings which Dr. Coomaraswamy mentions have been completely ruined but still a good number remain.**

Dr. Coomaraswamy in his letter states: "The repainting of the Dalada Maligawa now in progress, reveals the greatest possible neglect in this respect. For instead of the traditional home-made colours with their quiet richness are used cheap paints bought in the boutiques, and these (especially the new fangled green and blue) put on with little or no care and taste. It is just the same everywhere; for example the good old

painting of the Potgulkanda Vihara near Ratnapura, was being quite spoilt when I last saw it."

He also states in his letter—

"There are three kinds of buildings that should be mentioned, perhaps I should say four: these are the Vihares, Devalas, Private Houses and Ambalamas. In the Kandyan District the Sinhalese or Sinhalese-Hindu style of architecture prevailed until the end of the eighteenth century during which not a few of the surviving buildings were erected". Dr. Coomaraswamy was enamoured of the Kandyan style of architecture and painting for he goes on to say "there was a Kandyan style of architecture which flourished till the end of the 18th century. This Kandyan style having many obvious Hindu features but yet with a character all its own. Architecture needs for its complete expression the reasonable intelligent co-operation of all the arts; and in the days I speak of it did not lack this amongst the Kandyan; stone mason and carpenter, the blacksmith and silversmith, the painter and potter, and even the weaver contributed to produce buildings of a lovely and harmonious character, part as it were from the very soil it grew from and perfectly harmonious in style from the finials on the roof to the inland key plates on the doors and from the carved moonstones at the entrances to the woven chatty covers (gahoni) used for the procession starting out to fetch in new rice from the temple lands." "I have seen old buildings and new; and in the minor arts it has not been once or twice only that I have attempted to get made for myself some one or other of the wares that were once produced so easily and so well and of which a little of the wreckage survives in a few museums and private collections; and it has been again and again borne in upon me and as a result of bitter experience both in the remotest villages and in Kandy itself that character of steady competition which once distinguished the Kandyan craftsmen has gone for ever;" "a change such as the Industrial Revolution has brought about almost all over the world. And the sad part of it is quite needless redecoration of old work destroys what is at once a work of art such as can be no longer produced and at the same time effaces what is often a valuable historical document."

"In repainting Viharas nowadays the chief errors lie in the bad colours used. I say bad colours because the old way of making colours has been given up and with it all restraint in the use of colour, so that where only a few colours were once used (mainly red, yellow, white, black and greyish green) the painting now displays all the colours of the rainbow; and at the same time the beautifully conventionalised and restful traditional style is abandoned in favour of an overall and ineffective realism so that the inside of the vihara whose walls were once covered with worthy and decorative paintings are now as much like an ill drawn Christmas Card as anything".

In this letter Dr. Coomaraswamy refers to the Degaldoruwa Temple. He says "I know this vihara pretty well, as I have lately spent nearly 15 or 20 hours in copying the frescos there. Let me recall to your

minds the picture stories on the walls right and left of the inner door. Immediately on the left is the Vessantara Jataka pictured in the worthiest manner imaginable. The wall is divided longitudinally in panels where the story is met forth in order, the chief scene being specially indicated in a few words in Sinhalese beneath. One of the grandest is that of King Vessantara riding on his elephant with all the insignia of state; the elephant is drawn with the greatest skill the slow motion of the lifted feet and the swinging bells give just the right idea of dignified slow progress; immediately afterwards the elephant is seen again but King Vessantara has climbed down and is walking in front with one hand pouring water into the hands of the Brahman from Kalinga, betokening the gift of the elephant and with his other arm round the elephant's trunk; the elephant has stopped the while and the swinging bells are still. The gorgeous trappings of the elephant, the King and the attendant's dresses and the royal insignia are drawn with very great care and just like the early illuminated manuscripts of Europe are invaluable records of the past manners and customs. Two other scenes I must refer to: the first is the scene at the well where Jataka's wife Amittatapa is scoffed at by the other women fetching water, this scene is a fine piece of drawing. Beside the well are two coconut trees the conventional decorative treatment of which is quite perfect".

It would be interesting to know what has happened to the copies Dr. Coomaraswamy made. Where are these? He goes on to describe various other Jataka tales depicted in these paintings which I cannot reproduce here as it would take too much time. He says "all these pictures are drawn in a perfectly flat decorative style the only colours used are black white, yellow and greyish green. These colours as you know are made by the artists themselves. The walls appear to glow with colour though it is now about 120 years since the work was done. Well.....you will see here there are a series of paintings of great historical value, and if they are once destroyed or injured by complete or partial repeating nothing can replace them.....".

DR. COOMARASWAMY refers to the ruinous state of ancient buildings not only of devales which have suffered most in this respect and even of vihares and those the most beautiful and important, is a crying shame. He refers to the Poya Maluwa at Kandy which is also gradually being ruined. He says that in fact this lovely building could scarcely be in a worse state. It may fall to pieces any day. Every day and in every district some such memorial of your national ideal and your national art is rotting before your eyes and you do nothing to save it." It is heart-rending so many buildings and frescos to be ruined by mere neglect of the simple inexpensive precautions; all that was needed being a few tiles and a few reapers here and there a beam protected from white ants and so forth." "Of private houses and Walauwas and smaller houses of the old sort with their massive doors and stout adze cut timber fewer survive each year; even if their owners feel their old homes are unsuited to their present needs may

not a few of these be preserved, to say how men lived and wrote in the old days before commerce and progress changed the very face of the earth."

Most of the temple and buildings and paintings which Dr. Coomaraswamy mentions have been completely ruined but still a good number remain. The Kebellalena near Wariapola is one such. It is a large cave which contains some beautiful paintings in the Kandyan style. I should imagine they are older than the Degoldoruwa paintings. I saw this temple some 30 years ago and the paintings were still intact. The reclining Buddha was of course painted over but the wall paintings were untouched. When I saw them the paintings were still beautiful but in what state they are today I cannot say. The paintings done on the uneven rock surface of the cave gave the impression of a large flag fluttering in the breeze. I believe this cave temple comes under the protection of the Archaeological Dept and if it does I hope every care would be taken to see that these paintings are not ruined. The adjoining cave has modern paintings done in the 20th century style. This was a gift of a wealthy bus magnate. The vulgarity of this work is made obvious by contrast with the paintings in the older cave, the only advantage of this work being that it affords students a good example to note the difference between good and bad art.

Now the destruction and neglect of which Dr. Coomaraswamy spoke is going on still after so many years of independence. Our people have indeed a strange manner of honouring their great ones. There is a Society called the Ananda Coomaraswamy Society. Every year they celebrate either his birth or death anniversary with public meeting. Speaker after speaker extols his greatness. Year in and year out repeating the same platitudes over and over again: how his father married an English woman and how the son was educated in England and what great contributions he made in writing about the art of Asia and Sri Lanka but nothing is being done to carry out his ideas and preserve for posterity the ancient buildings and paintings of which he spoke with so much feeling. Some action must be taken to preserve what little is left to us. I would strongly recommend that Dr. Coomaraswamy's letter written to the Kandyan Chiefs in 1905 be studied in every school not only for the beauty of its language but also for the sentiments expressed. Though he refers only to the Kandyan Districts there are a number of paintings still existing on the Western and Southern coast of the island. THERE ARE SEVERAL OTHER TEMPLES, too numerous to name along the Western and Southern coast as well as in the interior of the island, which need special care and attention. The people in charge of these temples do not appreciate or understand the value of these paintings and the Cultural Dept should do everything possible to educate those in charge to see that these paintings are not ruined. It is more important that the simple village people who worship in these temples are taught to take the greatest care of these paintings

and not destroy them.

What good is it to spend money on attracting tourists if the people of the country are unable to appreciate or value their own heritage? The Kelaniya temple is one of the very few temples in which the paintings are well looked after. Great credit is due to its Trustees and those in charge of its administration.

Two other temples near Colombo in which the traditional Sinhala art is still to be seen are the Karagam-pitiya temple in Dehiwala and the Kotte Raja Maha Viharaya. Ouspensky had devoted one entire Chapter to this temple at Dehiwala which he calls the Temple of the Buddha with the Sapphire Eyes. On one of my visits to this temple during a pooja I noticed tables with offerings placed against the wall—with the result that the paintings within reach of human hands are gradually peeling off. If those in charge realised the value of these paintings would they permit such a thing to happen? That is why I feel government should step in to see that these paintings of the 18th and 19th centuries are preserved mainly for the study of traditional Sinhala paintings.

The other temples which deserve special attention are the Sunandaramaya temple at Ambalangoda, the Raja Maha Viharaya at Telwatte, the Sailabimbaramaya at Dodanduwa, Mulkirigala near Tangalla, the Poorwaramaya at Kataluwa and many other too numerous to mention. All these temples contain very interesting examples of traditional Sinhala paintings and if not taken proper care of the paintings will gradually peel off the walls as is already noticeable in the Sailabimbaramaya temple.

Artist Manjusri has rendered a truly national service in making careful copies of several of these paintings. I understand the Colombo Museum has purchased some of these copies. But why are they not displayed for all to see? Other artists too have made copies of these temple paintings following Manjusri's example. These too should be displayed in museums all over the island. A truly National Gallery of Art is therefore a very urgent need in this country where such objects should be on permanent display. Therefore I hope the present Govt' will realise the importance of such an institution and take steps to implement this national need without delay.

So far I have dealt with our Buddhist heritage but there are other buildings too which require our care and attention. I refer to the beautiful buildings we inherited from the Dutch. A few years ago I was invited by a lawyer friend of mine who has since become a Buddhist monk to listen to him addressing the Supreme Court in Hultsdorp. I was so appalled at the pitiful state of these magnificent old buildings that I could not pay any attention to what he was saying.

It was most depressing to see the state in which these buildings were maintained. The premises, as well as the furniture, were in a deplorable state. The two quadrangles have been ruined by buildings built on them. Whoever was responsible for this bit of

vandalism was certainly devoid of all aesthetic feeling. It is scarcely possible to believe that those in authority should have permitted such vandalism but that has certainly happened. Did no one protest? The state of those buildings and the manner in which these premises are maintained are a disgrace to the members of such an honourable and learned profession as Law and to those responsible for the upkeep of these premises. Does the accumulation of wealth amongst members of the legal profession kill all sensibility and feeling for beauty and cleanliness? I was reminded of what Dr. Tagore once said in Santiniketan: "There is so much beauty around us and there are so many unfortunate people who cannot see it." I asked him what should be done to make people aware of this and he replied, very sadly; "I wish I knew".

I was glad to read in the newspapers that any person who litters the streets in the Fort area, Galle Face green and Night Bazaar will face prosecution. Could not this law be enforced to cover the entire island? If that is not possible this law should at least include the Law Courts in Hultsdorp.

It is gratifying to note that the old Dutch Building which housed the Pettah Post Office is now being renovated and will be maintained as a Dutch Historical Museum. This was made possible due to the generosity of a group of people in the Netherlands interested in the Dutch period of this country. The Dutch furniture of that era will also be displayed here in a typical Dutch setting. But what is sad is that we have to depend on foreign aid to do what should rightly be done by ourselves. This is no doubt due to the fact that the appreciation of art and its history does not find a place in the curriculum of our schools.

There are many buildings and churches in other parts of the island belonging to the Dutch period which I hope will receive the care and attention they deserve before it is too late. We are indebted to the Dutch for their Roman Dutch Law, their furniture and several items introduced by them into our culinary art for which we should be eternally grateful.

Earlier I mentioned that my aesthetic appreciation was developed by seeing so much of good art in Museum and in the Galleries of art dealers abroad. I am convinced that our people's taste would improve if they were given similar opportunities. There is a good deal of valuable art hidden in private houses and temples which could easily be brought out and exhibited permanently if the owners were convinced that their precious valuables were taken good care of and were safe. It is up to our Government to give that assurance. Just in Deraniyagala and David Paynter have left behind a large number of easel paintings which if suitably housed and exhibited could be of immense value to our students as well as to those interested in contemporary Art. A very valuable and interesting collection of contemporary art could be displayed on permanent exhibition for the benefit of the local population as well as the tourists if only the Government gave the encouragement needed.

In conclusion may I quote again Dr. Coomaraswamy who said "Nations are created by Artists and Poets, not by merchants and politicians. In art lies the deepest life principles."

—Radio Talk on August 17, 1980.

—X— —X—

FROM NEW DELHI

Manjusiri—And His Exhibition

by Jag Mohan

It was in the fitness of things that L. T. P. Manjusri and an exhibition of his paintings and copies of vihara murals from Sri Lanka should have been given a VIP reception at New Delhi. The *rajdhani* (capital) treatment given to the Grand Old Man among Sri Lankan painters and Ramon Magsasay Award winner truly gladdened the heart of the painter.

Manjusri's visit has been sponsored by the Indian Council for Cultural Relations, which functions under the auspices of the Ministry of External Affairs, Government of India. The exhibition was organized by the Lalit Kala Akademi, the premier art institution of the country. And, the High Commission of the Democratic Socialist Republic of Sri Lanka in Delhi has also set its imprimatur by collaborating in this venture.

The exhibition consisting mostly of large-sized paintings and copies of murals was held at the Rabindra Bhawan, the home of the three Akademis—Lalit Kala, Sahitya and Sangeet Natak Akademis. For Manjusri, this had special significance. For, half a century ago, it was at Rabindranath Tagore's Shantiniketan that Manjusri discovered the art impulse welling up from the inside and finding release in creative painting. By that time (1932), Manjusri had passed through the vicissitudes of life of the type that great artists go through.

Born in 1902 of poor parents at Alutgama, in the low country south of Colombo, he had been a school drop-out and he had successively tried his hand in being a carpenter, an assistant to a balladeer and an assistant in a glorified boutique. At the tender age of 13, he took to the yellow robes and became a *samanera* at Mangala Pirivena in the footsteps of his grandfather, Kovis Gurunanse. Under the influence of Ven. Telvatta Ariyavansa and Ven. Telvatta Amaravansa, the eminent Buddhist scholars, Manjusri absorbed the import of Sinhalese, Pali and Sanskrit classics.

It was but natural that he should go to the roots and origins of Buddhism—India. He wanted to visit the places associated with the Buddha and stay for a while at Shantiniketan. He had become fond of the Bengali language. He wanted to learn Chinese. Besides, at that time Shantiniketan had an aura. The Ceylonese of that time had a special fascination for Tagore's multi-faceted experiments in education, rural reconstruction cultural renaissance and international cross-fertilization, largely due to Dr. Ananda K. Coomaraswamy, who had preceded and proceeded

to Shantiniketan by more than a decade and written about it.

It was at Shantiniketan that Manjusri found his true vocation, under the benign influence of Nandalal Bose, Benode Bihari Mukherjee and others. And at Shantiniketan, the late Ram Kinkar Baij and Indira Priyadarshini (now Mrs. Gandhi) were his contemporaries. (Incidentally, Prime Minister Indira Gandhi took time off from her busy schedule and visited Manjusri's exhibition but on a day when Manjusri was unfortunately away seeing the Taj Mahal at Agra).

It was at Shantiniketan that the "inner eye" of Manjusri was opened. Simultaneously, the artistic urge that had animated the Sinhalese folk artists, vihara painters and craftsmen through the centuries and which was dormant within him sought release. At first, he meticulously copied significant incidents from the Jataka stories painted on the walls of the viharas. At his first exhibition, held at Shantiniketan, his copies of murals occupied one wall and on the facing wall were the paintings of Gurudev Tagore.

Similar honour has been extended to 78-year-old Manjusri now in Delhi. As it so happened his exhibition was held at a time and a season when the art exhibitions are held—the winter season has just started. In two other galleries in the city were important exhibitions—one, a retrospective of the venerable Bengali artist, Jamini Roy, and the other a loan exhibition from the Philadelphia Museum of Art including works by Picasso, Brancusi, Leger, Braque, Cezanne, Manet, Pissaro and others.

Art lovers got acquainted with the unique qualities of the vihara murals and a sampler of Manjusri's many styles of paintings. The art critics noticed in particular that Manjusri had "absorbed the symbols and signs of many cultures without any ill effects," that the paintings were "natural and not hybrid," that the paintings have "fine texture and subtlety" and that the murals "narrate the story with clarity". Manjusri has also been interviewed on the All India Radio and Doordarshan (Television) as also by newspapers.

For the present writer, who has known him from 1950—and in what was then Ceylon—it was a rewarding experience to meet him and to see the exhibition. It was equally worthwhile to go through the book of his drawings, "Design Elements from Sri Lanka's Temple Paintings" brought out by the Archaeological Society of Sri Lanka to commemorate Manjusri's 75th birthday, with the text in three languages. This book also contains a valuable bibliography of Manjusri's writings.

This encounter with Manjusri and his work a quarter century after I left Sri Lanka—except once when Manjusri came and stayed with me at Bombay with his family—has convinced me that in 1950, Manjusri made an "existentialist decision" in the true sense of the expression. He gave up the robes, freed himself from the discipline and austerities of the Sangha, dissociated himself from the "43 Group" and became a whole-time artist, art critic and art historian. Subsequently he married in 1955 and became the father

of three children.

But, he has been loyal and true to his preoccupation with Buddhism (which half a century ago took him to the then very inaccessible Sikkim for copying murals), his life-time concern with Sinhalese art, both religious and secular, his creative impulse, his naivete, his modesty and his soft-spokenness. His services to the culture of Sri Lanka are monumental. He did not have the advantages of life that Dr. Ananda K. Coomaraswamy had in terms of birth, lineage, education and wealth. But for a true artist of the Third World, with his roots among the people and with an intuitive understanding of his country's arts and culture, history and archaeology, he is without a peer. And the book which he is currently writing on Sri Lanka's history and culture is something for which all of us will look forward with eagerness for it will be fruit of his labour as well as his wisdom.

X X X

MUSINGS FROM SRILANKAPORE

The Great Silence

by Richard Lee

October 16th 1980 marks a watershed in the brief political history of the Democratic Socialist Republic of Sri Lanka, and a shameful and tragic day in its experience of parliamentary democracy, now transformed for all practical purposes in to a tyranny of a five-sixth majority, coralled by a Presidential yoke and goaded by a Prime Ministerial stick. As is abundantly clear from the speeches and actions of both the UNP and the SLFP and its leaders, the stage is set for an intense and bitter struggle in which no quarter will be asked or given in the run up to 1983 and the elections which are scheduled for that year. The lines are sharply drawn and the country polarised into two camps as never before. The politicisation of even the hitherto uncommitted is complete. The battle between the legates of 1956 and the beneficiaries of 1948 has been joined.

The first shot in this campaign was fired on May 7th this year when Mrs. Bandaranaike decided to defy the Commission through her statement protesting the manner in which judicial procedures had been distorted to give effect to the political objectives of an incumbent adversary. The ex-parte proceedings produced the inevitable result, and the final coup-de-grace in a Parliament ringed by steel in a beleaguered metropolis was a foregone conclusion. The fall-out in the public mind is, however, vastly different to the expectations of a Government which is guilty of a sinister and calculated strategy of institutionalising political persecution and legitimizing a cold-blooded tactic of victimising its principal opponents and their supporters. What is alarming for the future of democracy is that the judiciary and legislature have apparently joined hands to subvert the fundamental freedoms of political dissent and the basic tenets of natural justice.

One has only to read the courageous and perceptive statement of the Civil Rights Movement of Sri Lanka issued on 8th October to recognise the true meanings and measure of the deprivation of the civic rights of political leaders. No English daily or weekly has thought it fit to acknowledge the practice of press freedom by publishing it in full and thereby, affording the concerned intelligentsia the opportunity of an alternative view, only available in the opposition Sinhala press unfortunately.

On a random survey and a rapid reading of the signs of the times in the spheres of public discourse and private inquiry the following trends or tendencies can be discerned.

1. Faith in the basic safeguards of an independent judiciary has been shaken, and legal procedures seen to be tarnished.
2. Parliament no longer represents national opinion and cannot be trusted to reflect popular attitudes and the democratic process.
3. Political activity and trade union military will be compelled to seek expression in the extra-parliamentary arena, and the economic and social motivations for such agitation grow with each passing day.
4. The enormous, passionate and partisan crowds Mrs. Bandaranaike has been drawing both before and after the near-midnight drama of October 16th demonstrate beyond any shadow of doubt that she remains, with or without civic rights, a national leader of an alternative government, and an impressively popular one at that.
5. The extension of the life of the Presidential Commission by a further year (two months of this have almost expired) to inquire into the abuse of power and misdeeds of the incumbent regime carries neither hope nor conviction. It took three years to conduct three inquiries, and with the staggering catalogue of corruption and misuse of authority since July 1977 revealed so far even in the kept press, it is extremely improbable that justice will be done in this brief space. Also with the present record of cover-up and concealment, the portents for a come-clean exercise at the hands of the same Commission appear remote indeed. The principal aim of the Commission is seen to be disenfranchisement of the SLFP leader.
6. The political vendetta being visited on even non-partisan intellectuals and artistes in the wake of October 16th, and the threats and intimidatory pressures on others are an index to the "closed-shop" party directives in the bureaucracy.
7. 1981 may well mark the demise of parliamentary democracy as we have known it since 1931, because adult franchise has been so devously

adulterated through a pernicious form of proportional representation in the interests of the ruling party, accompanied by cynical and opportunist revisions of electoral procedures in the present parliament. A commemoration may well be on the agenda in place of the proposed celebrations next year.

8. The District Development Councils are designed to be subservient tools of the central government, and subject to the whims of Presidential power. Neither a true decentralisation nor an effective democracy will emerge, and an entire era of local government autonomy and grass-roots democracy will be submerged. All that the provisions of this new departure in dharmista democracy guarantee is the further dominance of the present parliamentary hegemony of the United National Party. The elections to these bodies will virtually be rigged from the start—hence the Prime Ministers' cocksure postures.
9. The contrived public circuses of an administration under siege offer little inspiration and less comfort to a populace weary of the stale and impudent stridency of both brash, bankrupt and ageing politicians, presiding over a fast fading glory. Obscurantist religious poses, revivals of traditional rituals, and sophisticated techniques of repression are of little avail in a worsening climate of economic misery and mounting inflation.
10. The silence of the intellectual community, especially in the universities and the professions, is deafening indeed—the fear of reprisals and penalties has strangled the exercise of academic freedom, despite the much vaunted claim of a restoration of autonomy. Critical opinion and dispassionate inquiry are emasculated alike by the need to conform and the urges of self-preservation. The audacious statement of a senior lecturer in the University of Colombo published in the *Nation* of 24th October is, however, a singular candle in the enveloping gloom—may his lone voice become a tocsin!

GRAMA SASTRA—28

—Scribblings On Uva Villages

Five Rupees And Flies

by Gamiya

Forty flies stood in a row. Oh, no. They were soon most disorderly and "nervous", agitated around the four buns that had seen better days. They were just flitting across, sitting on, flying towards, attacking, drying their wings, resting from their labours, happily on those buns.

Animal Husbandry

by Bwana Rafiki

Driven by their frantic antics, I went out to the entrance of this tea-boutique-cum-restaurant of a large and well-known junction-town in Lower Uva, almost at the end of a sheer drop of 3000 feet. Then, I saw their source, the birth-place of innumerable flies. It was a drain so sad-looking and forlorn, for one side had been permanently sealed up and the other side flowed, from where to HKW (heaven-knows-where). It was made to take in stagnant water and leave it there till the cows came home! It was a dead-end like the Dead Sea, only here, there was no brine. There were old pieces of cigarette covers, several arecanut husks, five or six dried up plantain-leaf emergency "plates" and betel chew to cap it all. The restaurant-keeper was most gracious, obsequious even, imparting information at the drop of a cloth-cap, all information to suit his mealtimes (obtainable from his *bat-kade*). The 12.45 for N'Eliya was invariably announced for 1 p.m. "*Vela thiyana wa kaala yanda*" (you have time to eat and get off). Two people sat through the army of flies that sat on each bun, while their fly-companions were toiling upward, in the day. Two teas, two buns and two plantains—all for five Rupees. No sanitary inspectors ever showed up, nor do they ever show up in these areas, and the flies had not bribed them either. How come, as some would ask, and not get an answer.

Brackish water, home of stench, filth and priceless diarrhea for the poor workmen who ordered two loaves of bread and dish-let of dhal. Then came down to the flies like the Assyrians on the fold: forty became fifty, re-inforcements and all that. Their gyrations unbeatable, swoop, zoom and splash into the parippu now fading off.

It would seem that the authorities wanted both customer and flies. The former were tolerated for their money, the latter welcomed by their calculated negligence. Human stomachs mean persons, so what. The powers that be are in the front ranks praising Mammon. The hymn of lower Uva youth is only one:

"Than velenda tai thena giye: It is now the harvest time for the seller, the merchants".

Result: Tragic stomach aches for schoolchildren, work-absence for the workmen, due to this diarrhea. But who will ask why so may diarrhea patients crowd around Wellawaya hospital area. Why don't they get to the root of the trouble? Is it the manifest greed of the tea-boutique owners from small Ruhuna who have come to ruin the purses and stomachs of the peasantry of Upper Ruhuna? Dog eating dog.

But tell me, where have all the PHI's gone? I knew one who had 80 villages to see to, and he did not know how and where to start.

The eighty flies, where did they go?

They rush to the next table, see how they go!



Monday mornings in England, as I ought to know, who spent all my working life there, after I was demobilised, is distinguished in English parlance from other mornings by something known as the Monday morning feeling. Even where I worked with dairy cows and other stock on a Sunday, there was always a difference between Sunday and Monday. Stockmen and milkers, or cowmen rather, for milking is only one part of a cowman's duties, were always involved in agricultural work on the farm, work which they refrained from doing on Sundays. That gave them time off, and it was a case of back to a full day on Monday till Sunday came round again.

There was a mystery left over from my last article but one which I must still clear up. I refer to the conviction I had one morning that I must go to Colombo and my eventual reduction to a state of immobility by enlarging on the idea to a point of indecisiveness so far as my mind was concerned. In short, had I gone to Colombo that morning without delay I would have heard about the death of the last but one survivor of the generation before me and been able to attend her funeral. There is only my aunt left now. Strangely, I think of my parents as belonging to my generation. They knew how to work and play. Work is play if you think it out. God made us and He made us not to take life too seriously. We preferred to do so and make a god of and so become a slave to what were the creations of our own hands. We also tried to reduce the living God to the status of our own gods.

After this digression, let me get back to the matter on which I started, animal husbandry and Sunday leisure. I worked on a number of farms in England, on two farms in Hertfordshire, one in Hampshire and about ten in Cumberland, if I count the various places where I stayed, in the course of thirteen years, although the Hampshire one belongs to earlier period. It was only on two of the biggest farms owned by what were virtually gentlemen farmers that I think the head cowman had a full-time job with the cattle, and he alone. All the other cattlemen were involved in the work of the farm. I have come to realise that in Ceylon all our cattlemen on coconut estates for instance tend to be full-time stockmen. This may be because there is so little agriculture associated with stock-rearing, but what about the planting that goes on estates were the cattle are?

Last night I attended what was a banquet by the quality of its food and its presentation and there was the brilliance of the conversation of those who were present. I was asked my country of origin more than once and I had to confess that I did not know. What I loved was that there was a Chinaman, not a Communist, from the Mainland present, from no less a

place that Peking, and another Chairman, Singaporean born and bred, unless it was Hong Kong. There was an American from a state bordering the Pacific Ocean, not California. There were an American couple, probably mid-west. There was their Ceylonese host and hostess, and me. I was the only so-to-speak uninvited guest and I turned up in the most ancient of slippers. I forgot to mention the man who designed the house we dined in and his wife.

Last night it rained, rained after a short dry spell. At 5 p.m. it was dark enough to look like dusk and when the rain came on it rained heavily, not in torrents for that would not have lasted long, but a heavy rain that kept on through the night. It stopped for me to go round the cattle at about 2 a.m. and then it started again. The cattle had been tied well so that none were standing in water. In fact I think they liked the rain. The stud bull was under cover. Outside, conditions underfoot were not too bad as the dry ground must have soaked up the rain. Several days of it would have made the ground water-logged. The consequent constant walking in mud has in the past caused footrot among our people.

Yesterday it was a case of waiting for someone who did not turn up, and as he had informed me he was coming, I had my work cut out restraining a family on the estate from going out on what was their legitimate business without disclosing fully to them the business about which I wanted them to stay. In the end the visitor did not turn up and I had to let the family go out if, indeed, I could have restrained them from doing so any longer. The head of the family guessed the subject of the matter of this strange behaviour on my part and spoke about coming down on my side. As regards the word he used to describe what was in his mind at the time I said I wanted to help but only the truth. It is strange how our people in spite of their heathen oath based presumably on their religion think nothing of tampering with the evidence to favour one side or the other.

SRI LANKA CHRONICLE

Oct. 23 - Oct. 29

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—Virak-
kesari; ATH—Aththa; SM—Silumina; SLDP—Sri Lanka-
dipa; JD—Janadina; SU—Sun; DV—Davasa; DP—Dina-
pathi; CM—Chinthamani; WK—Weekend; RR—Riviresa
DK—Dinakara; EN—Eelanadu; IDPR—Information Dept.
Press Release.

THURSDAY, OCTOBER 23: The World Bank will fund two Integrated District Development Projects

for Puttalam and Matale under an agreement concluded with the Bank in Washington last week by the Ministry of Plan Implementation. Somebody appeared to have misinformed the Indian Premier Mrs. Indira Gandhi on the events relating to Mrs. Bandaranaike, Education and Youth Affairs Minister Ranil Wickremasinghe told the UNP rally at Kiribathgoda yesterday. "Mrs. Gandhi has said that Mrs. Bandaranaike and her family are being harassed by the present government. This is not true. Mrs. Bandaranaike and her family enjoy all benefits except that of being in the seats of power", he said adding: "The people removed her from this position. Furthermore this government has (a) appointed Seewali Ratwatte as Director of the Export Promotion Secretariat, and Deputy Director of the Greater Colombo Economic Commission; (b) appointed Barnes Ratwatte President of the Court of Appeal (c) allowed Clifford Ratwatte get back some of his lands. Responding to a proposal made by Sri Lanka's Prime Minister R. Premadasa the UN General Assembly is likely to declare either 1982 or 1983 International Year of the Home for the Homeless; the proposal made by the Prime Minister when he addressed the General Assembly recently is being given strong vocal support by the UN's Nairobi-based Centre for Human Settlements (Habitat)—CDN. Never again would one family, however powerful it may be, be allowed to have political parties; "Family bandysim will not raise its head again", declared the President J. R. Jayewardene addressing a mammoth crowd at Kiribathgoda Junction, Kelaniya yesterday. A shortage of surgical spirits in Government Medical institutions has resulted in the cancelling of operations in some hospitals and a reduction of "lists" in others—CDM. The Government yesterday decided to abolish Janawasas and bring all their activities under the purview of the Land Reform Commission; for this purpose the Janawasa Law No. 25 of 1976 will be repealed—SU. Government and Corporation employees will be paid a bonus 25% more than last year; this bonus will be paid to employees of Corporations making profits and the bonus will be limited to Rs. 1000—DP. The Cabinet has approved the purchase of modern radars that would give early warning of cyclones in advance; the radar would cost Rs. 676,136/VK.

FRIDAY, OCTOBER 24: The Lands Ministry has decided to eject non-citizen plantation labourers who have encroached on state lands in the northern and eastern provinces; about 72,824 acres have been appropriated, mainly by non-citizens in the five districts of Jaffna, Mannar, Vavuniya, Batticaloa and Mullaitivu; "But this is not high compared to the general figure of 605,565 acres. Compared to Anuradhapura and Kurunegala, where 90,415 and 80,245 acres have been encroached on this figure is negligible. But in these five districts unlike the others, most squatters are non-citizens from estate areas; this has led to a serious problem in the regularisation of such allotments"—CDN. Big time smugglers now use containers for their smuggling operations—CDM. The amended Parliamentary Elections Act prohibiting a disenfranchised person from holding public office has led to a new leadership

crisis in the Sri Lanka Freedom Party. Whether Mrs. Bandaranaike who has already lost her civic rights and stands expelled from Parliament, could continue to be the President of the Freedom Party is a question that is causing immediate concern in Freedom Party circles. According to Party sources, the politbureau meeting on October 28 will also discuss three vital issues; they are expected to be (1) the question of party leadership; (2) Mrs. Bandaranaike's successor to the Attanagalla seat in Parliament; and (3) the future programme of the party in the wake of current political developments. The succession at Attanagalla has become one of the hot topics among politbureau members. While Mrs. Bandaranaike's daughter, Chandrika Kumaranatunga is being considered as the likely successor to Mrs. Bandaranaike, a formidable section of the politbureau members are expressing the view that the seat should go to any deserving party member and not to one from Mrs. Bandaranaike's family. This they argue would obviate criticisms about family bandyism in the SLFP—SU. The government is considering to increase the guaranteed price of paddy by another Rs. 10/—; this matter was discussed at the monthly meeting of District Ministers held early this month—DP.

SATURDAY, OCTOBER 25: The Sri Lanka Electricity Board is to take over the entire electricity supply in rural areas from 213 local bodies, including Galle, Kandy, Jaffna, Kurunegala, Batticaloa, Badulla, Trincomalee and Nuwara Eliya the Board's Chairman, James Lanerolle said yesterday, in most of the 213 local body areas, the electricity supply systems have been found to be so badly maintained that a complete overhaul costing, at a rough estimate, Rs. 1000 million was necessary he said. Australia has pulled out of a joint naval exercise with the United States and Britain in the Middle-East because of fears that it could damage its relations with countries in the region including Iran, officials said today; the exercise is taking place in the far north of the Indian Ocean, south of Iran. India continues to nurture good relations with the Government and people of Sri Lanka an Indian External Affairs Ministry spokesman said; he was answering questions by newsmen on Prime Minister Indira Gandhi's remarks at her Press Conference on the action taken by the Sri Lanka Government against former Prime Minister Sirima Bandaranaike; Mrs. Gandhi's observations represented her assessment and view of matters relating to Mrs. Bandaranaike based on certain principles and preception" the spokesman said. India has good relations with Sri Lanka. The Government of India continues to nurture good relations between the Governments and peoples of the two countries, he said—CDN. Even if the government had an overall majority in Parliament its term of office will not be extended. Only a referendum of the people can extend the term of the government, President, J. R. Jayewardene said yesterday addressing a mass rally at Mawatagama; under the proportional representation system, even the UNP will not get a two-thirds majority, he added—SU. The government has decided to impose certain controls in the distribution of pesticides and weedicides because several

inferior varieties of such items are being distributed which have adverse effects—DP.

SUNDAY, OCTOBER 26: President J. R. Jayewardene said at Hingurakgoda yesterday that he neither advocated nor encouraged violence by members of the UNP or its supporters. He did not know who had thrown stones at the motorcade carrying Mrs. Sirima Bandaranaike from Attanagalla to Kandy. The President said violence beget violence. Before the civic disabilities motion on Mrs. Bandaranaike was debated various SLFP speakers had made provocative and violent speeches; the government knew how to deal with them through the normal laws of the land; Mr. Jayewardene said the deprivation of civic rights and expulsion of a MP was a legitimate right enjoyed by a legislature in a democracy. In Mrs. Bandaranaike's case this action had been taken on legislative, executive and judicial decisions. Democracy allowed the free expression of views through speeches writings and persuasive appeals to the electorate—SO. All recognised political parties will be required to submit to the Commissioner of Elections a copy of the party's constitution together with a list of office-bearers when the new Parliamentary Elections Act takes effect; a recognised political party will have to do this within three months of the Act becoming effective. Those making applications under section 7 to be treated as a recognised political party will have to do so within three months from the date on which such party is treated as a recognised political party; when a recognised political party amends its constitution or changes its office-bearers, the secretary has to inform the Commissioner of Elections of such change within 30 days of the date of such amendment or change—SU. Ceylon Petroleum Corporation sources said yesterday that there is a likelihood of the prices of petroleum products being increased shortly—VK.

MONDAY, OCTOBER 27: Unpaid agricultural loans add up to a massive Rs. 834.4 million representing 55 percent of the total sum of money granted as agricultural credit by the People's Bank and the Bank of Ceylon, Plan Implementation Ministry advisor Dr. Mervyn de Silva and Statistical Assistant Mrs. Indra Premaratne have said. Prime Minister R. Premadasa, who opened the Mathagramam model village in the Mannar electorate on Saturday, invited its TULF MP, P. S. Soosaitathan to join the government ranks so that he could render a better service to the people in his area. The Swiss government has made an outright grant of Rs. 24 million (1.8 million Swiss francs) for the State Pharmaceutical Corporation's sterile produce manufacturing plant to be built at Ratmalana; the total cost of the project is estimated at Rs. 63 million; the Sri Lanka government will meet the balance cost of the project, Rs. 39 million. Speeches made by Ms. Sirima Bandaranaike's Freedom Party members at recent meetings urging their supporters to resort to violence and to sabotage the government's development program are now being broadcast by the SLBC; these speeches are alleged to have been made at meetings presided over by Mrs. Bandaranaike—CDN. The United National Party

will protect the democratic rights of the people and that was why when the government received information that certain elements were attempting to create trouble on October 16 the day the resolution to deprive civic rights on the former Member for Attanagalla Mrs. Sirima Bandaranaike was to be taken up in Parliament, the UNP MPs were asked to mobilise all the youth league members to thwart any trouble that would have been created and to assist the Police and Services to maintain law and order; this was stated by President J. R. Jayewardene when he addressed a mammoth rally at the Panadura esplanade yesterday evening—*CDM*. The Transport Ministry has informed the Government that it would become necessary to increase bus and rail fares because of the losses incurred by the Transport Board and the Railway; the increase would be in the region of 20 to 30 percent above the existing fares—*DP*.

TUESDAY, OCTOBER 28: Food and Co-operative Minister S. B. Herath said yesterday that allegations of corrupt practice had been made against 17 MPs of the former Sirima Bandaranaike Government; some of these allegations had been made to the Police, CID and to the Presidential Commission. Former Indian External Affairs Minister A. B. Vajpayee today said that Prime Minister Indira Gandhi's recent reference to the deprivation of Mrs. Bandaranaike's of her civic rights was a clear interference in the internal affairs of Sri Lanka. The Asian Development Bank has approved two big loans to Sri Lanka under very concessional terms amounting to Rs. 378 million; the first loan amounting to Rs. 208 million is for the Third Tea Development Project and the second loan amounting to Rs. 170 million is for roads in the Mahaweli area—*CDN*. Airlanka's biggest and newest aircraft—the Lockheed TriStar L 1011—will be ferried by the national carrier's Chairman and Managing Director Capt. Rakhitha Wickramanayake from Britain is scheduled to touch down at the Colombo Airport, Katunayake morning at 8.15—*CDM*. Motorists will soon be called upon to pay one rupee more for every gallon of fuel instead of the annual revenue licence fee. The Supreme Court yesterday dismissing an application by an advanced level student challenging the district quota admission procedure to universities by the University Grants Commission observed that the present system cannot be regarded as "actually and palpably unreasonable and arbitrary"—*SU*. The financial year 1979/80 has been boom time for Sri Lanka's holiday industry with hotels recording unprecedentedly high profits and turnovers both as a result of higher tariffs as well as better occupancy of rooms; Serendib Hotels Ltd., has reported that the turnover had increased 54 per cent from Rs. 7.5 million to Rs. 11.6 million; pre-tax profits were up 57 percent from Rs. 2 million to Rs. 4.6 million enabling a substantial Rs. 2.5 million transfer to the general reserve of the company and a 25 percent dividend which really amounts to 50 percent as a one-for-one bonus share issue had been made recently; according to travelmen, Serendib's performance is not isolated with other hotels, including those owned by the Ceylon Hotels Corporation, doing extremely well despite

fears expressed by the Tourist Board earlier this year that the hotel industry was pricing the country out of the market. Musical maestro Amaradeva interdicted by the SLBC for allegedly signing a petition asking for sympathy for Mrs. Sirima Bandaranaike will be reinstated, the Minister of State, Mr. Anandatissa de Alwis said in Parliament yesterday; the Minister said Amaradeva had said that while he was busy with a program someone had come and got his signature; he had regretted having acted in that manner; Mr. de Alwis said his policy was that art was above politics; but as public servants these artists had behaved in an irregular manner and hence action had to be taken; he said a proper inquiry would be held and the artists will be given a chance to explain under what circumstances they had signed the petition; in Amaradeva's case this had already been explained and he would be reinstated—*CO*. The Executive Committee of the UNP will meet on Wednesday to decide on the nomination of a candidate for the Pottuvil seat in Parliament—*DP*.

WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 29: Finance Minister, Ronnie de Mel will have to bridge a massive deficit of Rs. 15,598 billion, when he presents the United National Party government's fourth budget on November 5; the estimated expenditure and revenue tabled in Parliament yesterday is Rs. 30,543 billion—Rs. 25,847 billion provided by appropriation law and Rs. 4,695 billion provided by special law. Party branches of the Attanagalla electorate were being summoned to a meeting on November 6 to decide on who will fill the vacant Attanagalla Parliamentary seat, Mrs. Sirima Bandaranaike told the party's 17 member politbureau yesterday, informed sources said—*CDN*. President J. R. Jayewardene will release Rs. 3 lakh from the President's Fund for replacing the damaged "Thers" (Chariots) to the famous Sri Pathirakali Amman Kovil, Trincomalee. A Press release issued by the Ministry of Transport says that the Railway Security Service has informed the Ministry of Transport that there is an increase of ticketless travelers in trains—*CDM*. Sirimavo Bandaranaike will continue to be the President of the Sri Lanka Freedom Party, its Politbureau decided last night; at a crucial meeting, the 18-member Politbureau decided that the status quo with Mrs. Bandaranaike as leader of the party should remain; the politbureau did not decide on the SLFP nominee for the Attanagalla seat as it was felt that there was no urgency in this matter; party sources said that no intimation had been made so far by the Commissioner of Elections as to this vacancy in Parliament; among the other decisions taken were: (1) Mrs. Bandaranaike with other party stalwarts will address a mass rally in Jaffna on November 22; (2) her application challenging the findings and recommendation of the Special Presidential Commission before the Supreme Court will not be withdrawn; (3) a conference of the five political parties the SLFP, TULF, LSSP MEP and CP (Peking wing) will be held on Thursday to review the decision to hold a day of national protest on November 11—*SU*. Yesterday's agreement between the GCEC and Motorola the US electronics multinational

to build a Rs. 360 million factory in phase 2 of the Katunayake IPZ may herald the arrival of more electronic manufacturers to Sri Lanka, the GCEC hopes CO. The Central Hospital in Jaffna will be moved to a site at Trincomalee and a new building for the hospital will be constructed on a 15 acre land at a cost of Rs. 500 million close the Jaffna University—DP.



WEST EUROPEAN

Neo-Fascism

by Prometheus

The item titled *U.S. View Outbreak of Terrorism* (by VOA) in the October 25th issue of *Tribune*, displayed a muted and distorted approach to current problems facing the international community. Beginning with "Terrorism" the piece went on to mention the recent Paris explosion outside a Jewish synagogue, which killed 4 people and injured 12 others along with other incidents and states. "While much of the international terrorism of recent years have apparently been the work of Leftists, it is clear that the radical Left has no monopoly on murderous intentions or on the willingness to carry them out". VOA then calls for increased international co-operation on this issue and suggests as an example of Cuban-American co-operation regard to hijackers.

While attempting to label all acts of violence as terrorism, VOA tries to gloss over the fact that recent events offer conclusive evidence that the actions of Hitler's successors are being co-ordinated on a European scale. Events of recent years show that the long and stubborn struggle of the peoples against the "brown plague" had not eliminated the possibility of reappearance of fascism since its deep social roots remained intact. In most West European countries the seeds of the brown plague" have not only remained, but also germinated. Parties and groups of a fascist persuasion operate in approximately 60 countries and international fascist associations are springing up. (A partial list of fascist parties, organisations and terrorist groups which are currently active in Western Europe would include in Italy—the National Vanguard, the National Front, the Italian Social Movement—the National Right, the New Order, the Youth Front, the Rose of the Winds, the Executioners of Italy, the Mussolini Action groups; in the FRG—the National Democratic Party, the New Right Action, the Austrian Comrades Union, the Sude-ten Germans association; in Britain—the National Front, the League for Europe an Freedom, the British Union, the National Independence Party, the Action Party, the Racial preservation Society; in Belgium—the Belgium Social Movement, the People's Union; in Portugal—the Portuguese Legion; in Greece—the New Order, the Arachni (spider), etc.) These parties dispose of large funds, have influential patrons among certain strata of the ruling class and often league up with the

most reactionary elements in Right-Wing bourgeois parties.

Some examples of their recent actions: in Italy they exploded a bomb at the Bologna railway station, killing more than 80 and maiming some 200. During a popular gala in Munich a bomb exploded, killing 12 and wounding 215. Paris has had an epidemic of arson and assassinations. In Los Angeles strongarm men from the American Nazi party in league with the Klu Klux Klanners exploded a bomb in local offices of the U.S. Communist Party.

It would do well for the West European countries to band together and take joint action to eliminate this wave of neo-Nazi terror sweeping across the continent. To quote *Newsweek* (October 20th, 1980). "... Who is giving the orders? Some analysts are convinced that there is a 'Euro-Fascist' network—complete with a ruling elite—that operates out of a secret headquarters, perhaps in Spain. After the synagogue bombing, an Italian police investigator said he was certain neo-Fascists were co-ordinating their efforts and that there was a connection between the French explosion and those in Munich and Bologna.....right-wing extremists gathered at the Flemish National Festival in Belgium and secretly held a summit in the town of Bruges. Nazis from throughout Europe attended, as did members of the virulent U.S. States' Right Party. According to officials, Euro-Fascists have established an "intensive" relationship with Gary Rex Lauck, central co-ordinator of the National Socialist Party. Lauck, of Lincoln, Nebraska., provides "educational material, bail money, and swastikas for propaganda purposes.....".

It must however be pointed out that the reaction of the West-European governments have not been very encouraging. Investigation of the crime in Bologna, the Italian press admits, is dragging out. In Paris, some of those who have been detained have been released because of "insufficient evidence". The French Ministry of the Interior, incidentally, has established that some 30 of the 150 known active members of a pro-fascist organisation dissolved a month ago are members of the police. In West-Germany, following the discovery on the scene of the Munich explosion of evidence that a member of a neo-Nazi para-military organisation was involved, the public is being told that the outrage was the work of a "lone criminal".

The resolution adopted by the Consultative Assembly of the Council of Europe places the responsibility for the struggle against the neo-fascists directly on the western governments. While there is no need to overrate the fascist danger, democratic and revolutionary forces must not forget the lessons of a not too distant past, which is that fascism does not arrive overnight. It gathers forces slowly by surreptitious methods (hence the term "creeping fascism"), and then at some moment it suddenly becomes active, as happened in the late 1920s and early 1930s. And although European Fascism is not strong enough to accomplish a direct seizure of power, it must be borne in mind that

Western Europe was the cradle of Mussolini's and Hitler's fascism, and that neo-fascism is part of the political reality of today.

X X X

NUCLEAR

Another "Mushroom"

Moscow, October 20.

The world news services are bristling with reports about a giant radioactive cloud formed as a result of an atmospheric nuclear explosion in China on October 16. First it began moving towards the Korean peninsula and the Japanese isles. Then, judging by the report of the US environmental protection agency, the cloud approached the US western coast, creating the risk that the lower layers of the atmosphere may get contaminated. Now a cable from Ottawa has come in: Canadian weathermen detected radioactive clouds above their country. Aircraft of the national airlines are advised not to exceed an altitude of 10,000 metres lest they become contaminated with radioactivity.

Commenting on these reports Lieutenant General of the engineering troops L. Afanasov, Department Chief at the Academy of the General Staff of the Armed Forces of the USSR, explained that Peking has long been known to regularly conduct nuclear explosions in the atmosphere, thus challenging world public opinion. On October 16 according to western news services, a nuclear device with an explosion power of 200,200. ciwotons to one megaton was set off in the area of the atomic testins range Lob Nor over the Taklamakan desert. This device exceeds dozens of times the power of the atomic bombs dropped on the Americans on Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

The atmospheric atomic explosion produces a huge fireball consisting of a mass of gases heated to a temperature of several million degrees centigrade. If an atomic device is exploded at a low altitude, the fireball touches the ground and, owing to its high temperature, evaporates several million tons of soil and rocks, which rise into the atmosphere in the form of a radioactive cloud. When vapours are condensed, there appears highly radioactive dust, which rises to an altitude of 10 to 12 kilometres. Then this dust begins falling out on the ground. Large particles are the first to fall, whereas smaller ones may be carried by air currents hundreds and thousands of kilometers away before settling on the ground.

Radioactive substances accumulate on the surface of the whole globe during nearly ten years after the nuclear explosion, mostly together with precipitation. I stress for ten years on average, about 10 per cent of the radioactive substances produced by the explosion accumulate during one year. They are especially dangerous because they consist almost exclusively of the long-living products of nuclear fuel fission—strontium—90 and caesium 137. The radioactive substances

produced by nuclear explosions in the atmosphere are eventually carried by air flows over vast territories. Falling onto the earth, more than 90 per cent of them are absorbed by water reservoirs and carried by currents all over the world. This pollutes even closed seas while the absorption of radioactive substances by the living organisms (plankton) living in them breeds the danger of infecting fish. For instance, after the American nuclear explosions made on the island of Bikini in 1954 rainfall, drinking water, vegetables, and dust on the roofs and in the houses in Japan became radioactive. All this, naturally adversely affects the people's health.

Special mention should be made of the following fact. Due to their prolonged effect and gradual accumulation, the radioactive substances which get into man's organism affect cells, interfere with the physiological processes in them, and lead to radiation disease. This disease, even if it does not immediately lead to death, often causes inflammatory processes in lungs, especially when radioactive substances get into the organism together with air. This changes the composition of blood, reducing the number of leucocytes and thrombocytes. This in turn, reduces the organism's resistance to infection, adversely affects the blood coagulation processes and hence, increases the danger of bleeding. The observations made in Hiroshima and Nagasaki have shown that infectious diseases ravaged among the victims of the atomic bombings and these diseases killed many people. Some other grievous after effects caused by radioactive contamination have also been registered.

In conclusion, it is necessary to say here that our country, coming out for radical measures in the field of nuclear disarmament, supports its statements by practical deeds. On the USSR's initiative and with its active participation major international agreements on banning nuclear weapons tests in the atmosphere, in space, and under water were signed in 1963, on nuclear arms non-proliferation—in 1968, on banning the launching of nuclear arms and other weapons of mass destruction to near-earth orbits and on the non-deployment of them on celestial bodies—in 1967, and on thesea and ocean bed—in 1971. Our peace overtures are supported by all peace forces in the world. It is high time to call upon the Peking "poisoners" to show discretion and to demand that they stop nuclear weapons tests in the atmosphere. —APN

X X X

INTERNATIONAL NOTES

Iraq—Iran War

by Omega

THE WAR BETWEEN IRAQ AND IRAN has once again surfaced the historical, religious, racial and even nomenclature differences that exist between the two States. As the warring states are situated in a region

which is the nerve centre of the world energy resources, especially that of the non-socialist bloc countries, it has attracted the attention of the entire world. Unlike in any other crisis area the behaviour of the super-powers, whatever the backstage role they might have played, have been constrained and cautious. Constrained not to give hopes to either party to count on the overt support against other; cautious not to jeopardise by hasty intervention that may aggravate the progress of the war. This would spell irrevocable damage not only to their respective economic, political and strategic interests but also to others. Also a significant note that neither party wished to see Iran's territorial integrity impaired despite the fact they are not popular in Teheran and are accused of helping Iraq.

To begin with, the very nomenclature (viz. Persian Gulf or Arabian Gulf) had been subject of controversy. The Arabs, especially after their resurgence in the mid seventies of this century insist that this Gulf should be known as Arabian Gulf. This insistence of the Arabs have compelled the non-aligned countries and their commentators to follow a middle path and describe it as "the Gulf". This surrender to Arab claims appears to be an unwarranted act in view of the fact that this by perforce should be followed by the change of names of Gulf of Aden, Gulf of Oman and more significantly the Arabian Sea itself. The moment one starts changing these names the end will not be anywhere near.

BESIDES THIS CONTROVERSY over the nomenclature which sounds insignificant there are many other areas of conflict between the two countries, some of them pre-date the Islamic Revolution in Iran. The relations between Shah's Iran and Iraq deteriorated over the issue of Kurds minority. Kurds, like many other small communities (even large communities) have been the victims of the complicated modern state system. They have been sandwiched between Iran and Iraq. During the second world war Kurds were able to establish a Republic of their own with the help of the Soviet Union. But this was a shortlived republic.

In order to contain the Baathist regime in Baghdad, the Shah of Iran encouraged Kurdish rebellious groups in Iraq. The Baghdad government were able to reach an agreement in March 1975 at Algiers, offering navigation and territorial rights in the Shatt-al-Arab estuary in return for Shah's withdrawal of help and encouragement to Kurdish rebels in Iraq. On British withdrawal from the Persian Gulf Shah also occupied three small islets, strategically situated in the Persian Gulf—Greater and Smaller Thumb and Abu Mousa, Iraq was not in a position to challenge the Shah. In fact the 1975 agreement and the occupation of these three islets were done at the height of Shah's predominance over the region. However Iraq has no legal claim to those three islets which are situated far away from Iraq. The islets strictly belong to the Arab Emirates and Iraq as champion of the Arab cause now claims them on behalf of the Emirates.

But the situation changed or rather was reversed after the fall of Shah in Iran. The Kurds who had been bitter opponents of the Shah, helped the revolutionaries to oust him. However when the Kurds renewed their agitation for autonomy it was not welcomed in Teheran. At the same time Teheran was also faced with similar autonomy agitations from other minorities within Iran. As relations between Baghdad and Teheran deteriorated, Iraq began to give support to the Kurds. Kurds are Sunnis and this caused further disenchantment from Teheran.

CLOSELY FOLLOWING the footsteps of the Kurds the Arab-speaking Sunni Muslims of Khuzestan (which the Arabs prefer to call as Arabistan) who occupy the vital oil bearing belt alongside the Iraq border began their campaign for autonomy. The situation in Khuzestan has some parallel to Assam, were sons of the oil have been edged out by the immigrants from other areas. The oil wealth of the province has attracted Persian bureaucrats, professionals and other non-Arabic speaking people and this caused socio-economic difficulties. The native Arabs became an underprivileged and the consequence of which was demand for autonomy. These rebellious groups were helped openly by Iraqi—in fact the headquarters of the rebels of Khuzestan is located in Basra, a port town in Iraq.

The heavy concentration of attack by Iraqi forces since the outbreak of the war confirms the allegation that Iraq was for the dismemberment of Iran as well as after the oil fields of Khuzestan, while Iraq says that it was meant to pressurise Iran into submission. But for Iraq and her allies (newly formed) Jordan and Syria, Saudi Arabia, the Islamic Revolution poses a formidable threat for other reasons as well—the message of the Revolution was extra-territorial and a Shiite message. Ayatollah Khomeini's talk of exporting revolution has panicked the secular socialist rulers of Iraq. By implication, the Islamic Revolution has the potential of the socialist revolution in 1917 in USSR of a different sort. The large anti-government demonstrations led by the Ayatollah Mohammed Bagher Sadr, the Shiite leader in Iraq had the support of Iran. This naturally caused panic among the Sunni leaders in a country where Shiites have a marginal majority and led to the arrest of Shiite Ayatollah. Baghdad also expelled nearly 40,000 Shia Moslems from Iraq to Iran; Ayatollah Khomeini's personal representative in Baghdad, Sheik Gholamrera Rezvani, too, was expelled.

IRAN HAD ALSO BEEN ACCUSED of supporting a secret organisation, *Al-Dawar* (Glory to God) in Iraq to fight the Baathist Rulers. The *Al-Dawar* group claims that the Baathist ideology was alien to Islam as it was based on pro-West-European socialist model. This organisation maintains an office in Teheran and enjoys the privilege of beaming its programmes over the Radio Teheran. Another similar secret organisation led by the Kurds rebel leader's son, (Barzani) known as the *Islamic Peykar Society* draws support from the leftist elements in both countries. They receive support from Iran and have been the cause of many assassinations

of people who were close to President Saddam Hussein of Iraq.

Having the above grievances in the background Iraq appears to have gone to war to seek clarification of her actual border with Iran which has not been properly defined in any of the settlements reached in 1913, 1937 and 1975. Secondly to assert the Iraq dominance over the Gulf which the Shah made it Persian Lake. Iraq has forged a friendship alliance with Saudi Arabia and Jordan, whose king fear that the spread of the Islamic Revolution headed by the "turbanned" Ayatollah may bring death knell to their "crowns" as it did to the Pahlavi dynasty.

Relations with the Super-powers are not clear. Iraq has moved away from Soviet Union despite her friendship with her. The Communist Party has been banned in Iraq and some of its members are either in jail or in exile in East European countries. It has enlarged its trade with the US. Iran on the other hand is not friendly with either. Even if President Abu Bani Sadr wants to defuse tension that exist between US and Iran over the hostage issue, Mullahs appear to be against it. But Iran now undoubtedly feels the impact of economic sanctions and lack of military spares. However for the present US may find accommodation in Iran for the simple fact Iranians have their own fear emanating from the Afghan events. Secondly, they also fear that leftists may take the leadership in the event of a break up in the present alliances. US has not given up wooing Iran.

The war was a surprise to many non-aligned countries. It was recently the *Third World Quarterly* in an editorial admonished that "the Iranians have suffered a very long time. The western world has ganged up against the people of Iran. Members of the non-aligned movement including the Muslim world should offer a united response to western threats to Iran". Such pious hopes have been nullified for the reasons stated above, and real reappraisal of the situation by the non-aligned group is yet to emerge.

WHY IRAN WANTS TO CONTINUE THE WAR: Having analysed the background the conflict it is now left to seek answers as to why Iran is not willing to end the war. Iraq had offered to end the war several times before. But this was not acceptable to Iran for several reasons. There is no doubt that Iran was surprised by an open war waged by Iraq at the start. Though relations between the two countries gradually deteriorated since the Iranian revolution—including border skirmishes and strong diplomatic language—Iran never bargained for a full war and hence the losses sustained at the early stage of the war. Therefore the offer of Iraq from the position of a victor to Iran, the vanquished is not acceptable.

Iran was too engaged in search of a real leadership since the revolution. The tussle between President Bani Sadr and the Mullahs commanding majority in the Majlis, and the time taken to appoint permanent Prime Minister and Ministers prevented any sense of direction in foreign affairs. This deadlock was at

its height when the war broke out and Iran was certainly suffering from the effects of the US and European economic sanctions. The war was a godsend opportunity for Iranian leaders to divert the people's attention to foreign threat—especially as a threat to the Islamic Revolution. As such the continuation of the war, till Iran gains a tangible victory is a must for Iranian leaders. Under the deposed Shah, irrespective of his pro-Western stand Iranians were given a physiological superiority over other states in the Gulf and Iranians would not like to get this image eroded by their traditional enemies.

Iran also wants time to recuperate her armed forces. So far only the Air cover had saved Iran. As more than 20,000 or so officers who served in the Shah's army were cashiered, besides those who fled the country and executed, Iran could not offer a strong resistance at the start. Iranian leaders would have realised that in the military field professionalism cannot be discounted in favour of religion. Iran, therefore wants a breather till her friends identified as Libya, Syria and North Korea, bring help to her and hence her anxiety to continue the war. And Iran is still in a revolutionary stage when conciliation and mediation do not work.

WHO WILL BENEFIT? The actual beneficiaries of this fratricidal war will certainly not be the combatants. It is unlikely that they will be able to solve their problems permanently. They will find everything going to ruin and that their indebtedness to great powers increasing by leaps and bounds, economically and otherwise. The policy of non-alignment which they zealously strove to maintain has already begun to erode and weaken and would possibly lead to new changes at home.

The outbreak of the war which created consternation among the non-belligerent states in the neighbourhood has led to new re-alignment of loyalties and bound to have its own effect on the unity of the Muslim states of the region. For the time being this war had pushed the fight against Iranians to the fore-front and had postponed the struggle for the establishment of Palestinian state by few more years.

The belligerent states and others will be called upon to spend vast resources to repair the damages caused by the war and strengthen their military power. This will by necessity push them into the greedy clutches of the great powers. Besides this, they will certainly suffer deficits of Himalayan magnitude, especially the non-oil producing developing countries.

But the real and immediate beneficiaries of the war and war situation will be giant oil companies of the West. While everybody is busy trying to find an acceptable solution to terminate the war the big oil companies have their own cunning and calculated plans. Though there is the talk of a guarantee of free passage for ships in the Persian Gulf, the regular flow of oil has been adversely affected. The big oil producing countries like Saudi Arabia, Nigeria, Kuwait, Mexico and others have a fixed quota of oil earmarked for different countries and if the buyers fail to collect them

within the specified period it is sold to others. It is here the big companies, like Shell Oil, Caltex, Esso and Mobil entered the market and have hurriedly bought these oil stocks. The developing countries of Asia and Africa, who exist on their meagre inventories which last from a fortnight to a month will find it extremely difficult. And even the Western countries who are comfortably sitting with their large stocks too will face shortage soon.

Even if the war ends sooner than expected it will take months before free flow would start—especially when one considers that major oil installations have been targets of attack. Until such time big Cartels have decided to freeze their sale of crude oil hoping to reap high profits on the spot market sale. The tankers that are now floating in the Indian Ocean and Mediterranean contain million tonnes of crude oil. These will be sold for spot market price when the demand for it rises in a few months' time. Thus either way Western countries stand to reap a rich harvest as a result of this Iran-Iraq war.

U.S. EXPERTS' DIALOGUE

Salt 2 or Salt 3

Whether the United States should ratify its Strategic Arms Limitation Treaty (SALT TWO) agreement with the Soviet Union on nuclear arms control or attempt to move directly to negotiations on a SALT THREE agreement has become an issue in the American election campaign. Two experts recently debated the subject on the "Macneil Lehrer Report" television program. One was Walter Slocombe, Deputy under Secretary of Defence in the Carter Administration and Director of the Pentagon Task Force on SALT. The other was William Van Cleave—a member of the SALT TWO negotiating team, Director of the University of Southern California's defense and strategic studies program, and a defense adviser to Republican Presidential candidate Ronald Reagan. Excerpts of their debate are carried by courtesy of the Macneil-Lehrer Report, co-produced by WNET-TV New York and WETA-TV Washington D.C. WKCC 1980 by Educational Broadcasting Corporation and WETA.

SLOCOMBE: The (SALT TWO) treaty is the process of seven years of negotiations under three presidents and three Secretaries of State. It represents less than the ideal treaty certainly but the treaty itself would make a significant contribution to our National Security and a significant contribution to arms control. By rejecting this accomplishment, rejecting the real limit that it would impose, that's not the way in our view to move on to further accomplishments in the future. I think it is clear that this kind of treaty which has been negotiated over this long period of time, going

back and reopening the issues which were resolved in that agreement, that's going to take time. It's going to call the process into question. Moreover, its going to require reworking the same ground which has been covered already instead of going into further reduction and further limitations.

VAN CLEAVE: There's no evidence whatever that good agreements follow bad agreements and this is clearly a bad agreement. We'd be happy to have a national referendum on SALT because we have already had a major debate with over a year of hearings before the Congress of the United States, and as both Carter and Muskie now acknowledge at no time—even before the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan—did the votes exist in the Senate of the United States to gain approval of this particular agreement. The issue is not arms control. The issue is this particular agreement. And this particular agreement and what it leads to and what it represents is in the conclusion of the Senate Armed Services Committee not in the National Security Interests of the United States.

There were many reasons why Senators were unenthusiastic about this particular agreement. First, of all, the hearings revealed that the strategic balance had shifted adversely to (against) the United States during the negotiation of this agreement. We had concluded that SALT ONE agreement in 1972 and the argument for it was not that it particularly accomplished a lot but that it was a necessary first step toward a better and more equitable follow on agreement. The agreement that has been concluded does not represent an agreement of that particular type. The strategic balance will continue to shift adversely to (against) the United States during the lifetime of this agreement and what is more further hearings revealed clearly that the agreement was inequitable in very important ways. The verifiability of it was certainly questionable. It was full of loopholes and ambiguities and the very basis of the limitations in the agreement itself was suspect.

SLOCOMBE: The treaty that was signed in Vienna in June of last year will do a number of very significant things. It will first of all be the first time that we have negotiated required reductions in the strategic forces, not very large—something like ten percent of the Soviet force—but still reductions. Second, it will impose limits on the two sides which will mean that the Soviet force under the treaty will be substantially less than they would be capable of having by 1985 and, of course the forces could be still larger in 1990 or any other date in the future. So scrapping the treaty scraps those limitations on Soviet power. Third, it begins the process of putting limits on the application of the most dangerous kinds of technology to the strategic nuclear competition. For example, it limits the number of warheads that can be put on ICBMs. It limits each side to the introduction of one new type of ICBM. Those are all significant substantive limitations. Dr. Van Cleave talks about verification. With or without treaty, we won't have any higher intelligence priority

than keeping track of Soviet strategic nuclear forces. What the agreement will do is to make that task somewhat easier. We won't be any less interested in the problem. It will simply be harder to keep track of it if we don't have the agreement.

As for whether the treaty is equitable, the principal provisions of the treaty provide for equal aggregates in the total force. In general, they provide for the same limitations on each side. There is one important respect in which the treaty does not provide for exact equality and that is with respect to heavy missiles. Under the agreement which President Ford and Dr. Kissinger negotiated at Vladivostok in 1974, which carries forward a provision from 1972, the Soviet Union is permitted to keep the heavy missiles which they now have. The United States is not permitted to match that force. But the fact is that the United States doesn't want to match that force. That presumably was the reason that President Ford and Dr. Kissinger agreed to it in 1975. I assume it is the reason that Dr. Kissinger and President Nixon agreed to it in 1972, and the Senate and the Congress of the United States approved the agreement.

It is not something we want to do (match the Soviets in heavy missiles); it is not something we would do if we had the right, but in terms of maintaining the strategic balance, the agreement will make the course of the Soviet force more predictable. It will make it easier to keep track of that force; it will permit us to do all the things that we need to do to match the Soviet force that will be permitted under the treaty. None of our national security problems will be easier if this treaty and the process that it supports collapse, and many of them would be a good deal harder. Neither Dr. Van Cleave nor I know for sure how the Senate would have voted (on SALT TWO) earlier this year. But the fact is that in the course of the hearings which took place in six months before the Senate, there was a good deal of support for the treaty. The Senate foreign relations committee did endorse the treaty. The joint chiefs of staff endorsed it for what it is, a modest but useful step in limiting strategic arms. Secretary (of State) Muskie who was in the Senate at the time said we had a fighting chance to ratify it.

VAN CLEAVE: I believe there are two things that we need to do before we go into SALT 3 or as we go into SALT 3. First of all, we must demonstrate that we are capable of providing the strategic programs necessary to reverse the adverse trends in the strategic balance, particularly those that are required to assure that we have a safe, confident deterrent. The Secretary of Defence has acknowledged that our land-based deterrent forces are vulnerable. They will become increasingly vulnerable during the time of SALT 2. So we must have the programme to deny the Soviet Union the capability of challenging those forces. Step number one is to design those programs, obtain Congressional approval and the funding for them to demonstrate that we are going to do this. I am not suggesting that we wait until these programs are con-

summated before we come back to the negotiating table and governor Reagan has certainly not suggested that.

It is not only a distortion, it is an insult to the United States and the American public to suggest that while we have been in a one-sided arms race all along: it is okay but when the United States takes those steps necessary to retrieve US from this deteriorating situation, it all of a sudden becomes an arms race. That's not what we are talking about. We are talking about erasing major vulnerabilities in our strategic forces. These vulnerabilities and deficiencies are the stuff that instability and danger are made of, and these are the things we must set about doing.

SLOCOMBE: stated at that level of generality, there is nothing wrong with it or the programs of this administration. When this administration came into office, there was no program for a long-range cruise missile that amounted to anything. That program is now well under way. When this administration came into office, there were severe delays in the Trident submarine and missile programs. Those programs are now back on schedule. When this administration came into office, there was no answer to the problem that had been anticipated for a long time of the impending vulnerability of land-based missiles (ICBMs). With the MX programme we now have a workable answer to that. The question is not between people who are in favour of strategic programs and people who are in favour of arms control. The question is whether or not this country will be safer with vigorous, adequate strategic arms programs and also the ratification of the SALT treaty and the continuation of the (SALT) process.

—USICA



OFFICIAL EXCHANGE RATES

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

CURRENCY	PER 100 UNITS	
	Buying Rate	Selling Rate
U.S. Dollar	Rs. 1770.50	Rs. 1773.50
Sterling Pound	Rs. 4320.00	Rs. 4326.00
Deutsche Mark	Rs. 940.00	Rs. 941.60
French Franc	Rs. 407.95	Rs. 408.65
Japanese Yen	Rs. 8.4485	Rs. 8.4635
Indian Rupees	Rs. 229.15	Rs. 229.55

Confidentially

Milky Mess

IS IT NOT SIGNIFICANT that a normally quiet paper, the *Dinamina* belonging to the government-owned Lake House group, burst its columns on Thursday, October 30, 1980 with a thundering exposure of the milky putrescence at the Narahenpitiya plant of the National Milk Board (NMB)? That this stunning expose with banner (screaming) headlines on the front page was illustrated by telling photographs? That the *Dinamina* on the next day had a follow up in which the Chairman NMB admitted that the shocking facts disclosed were true? That *Tribune* is however convinced that despite a little feverish excitement at the Milk Board and the Ministry office, the sordid facts revealed in the *Dinamina* scoop will end up in the same wastepaper basket into which all similar exposures were previously thrown? That *Tribune* has on several occasions even in recent times spotlighted the malpractices, inefficiency, and various acts of fraud in the NMB? That *Tribune* had hoped that with a change of Ministers matters would improve? That *Tribune* had therefore endeavoured through its columns to draw the attention of the new Minister to numerous shortcomings, acts of inefficiency and downright cases of cheating (of the consumer, the public and the government) in the hope that the Ministry would take action to remedy matters? That all these were of no avail: and, matters have gone from bad to worse?

That a few months ago when the strike fever was in the air, the Navy was called in to keep the NMB plant at Narahenpitiya going? That *Tribune* understands that the Navy Commander did not mince his words when he was thus compelled to move in to pull the chestnuts out of the fire for the NMB? That it is understood that his report made directly to the President had resulted in the Palace giving clear instructions to the Minister as to what should be done? That the Minister had therefore stolen the thunder and issued a much-publicised final warning to the Chairman and his Board in stentorian language? That the *Sun* front page headline on 29th July 1980, read: THONDA GIVES ULTIMATUM TO THE MILK BOARD—SEVEN DAYS TO PUT THINGS RIGHT? That many "seven days" have since gone by and the same Board has continued to play havoc? That *Tribune* however, has heard such thundering Ministerial outbursts with monotonous regularity? That *Tribune* has also seen the consumers and taxpayers (who pay for the follies of the Milk Board), the backbencher MPs (who have to face the music in towns and villages), and the dairy farmers (nearly all of whom are cheated and exploited—except those in the charmed circle who can sell water as milk) overwhelmed with promises galore?

That *Tribune* knows that disillusionment has spread over all sections of the community? That the October 30 exposure in the *Dinamina* cannot be brushed aside quietly? That it is a paper where management comes directly under the President? That, in brief, the *Dinamina* alleged that at NMB at Narahenpitiya (i) goods worth millions were thrown away because they had gone bad?; (ii) large stocks of milk foods and butter had gone rotten in the NMB's godowns simply because of the delay in bringing them before the public for sale; (iii) a big stock of Anchor milk received from New Zealand two years ago—gifted for distribution to hospitals—was now unfit for human consumption; (iv) that large stocks (5000 bags) of Lakspray and fat free Milk powder (for making condensed milk) which had been lying at Narahenpitiya for over 7 years had also gone bad; (v) 90 bags of Lakspray and fat-free milk powder stacked up at the NMB Polonnaruwa Condensed Milk factories have decayed; (vi) Parakum condensed milk tins worth lakhs of rupees have been dumped in dirty corners; (vii) hundreds of tons of butter have not only gone bad but have also damaged the refrigeration system with the result that the manufacture of Yogurt has been stopped; (viii) a machine to cut, slice and wrap butter worth over 8 lakhs some years ago has been discarded; (ix) that another butter making plant in good condition has been cast aside because butter production has been stopped; (x) that due to a break-down in the milk filling (or bottling) plant (bought for several million rupees) much of the milk goes down the drains?; (xi) that recently 34 bowser loads, from "outstations" contained mud and water—*Tribune* has exposed on several occasions the scandal of water being diluted with milk but no action was taken even against those caught red-handed? That *Tribune* will refer to some of the other matters raised by *Dinamina* in a further issue. That the question *Tribune* has often asked is what follow up action was taken by the Ministry even in respect of wrongdoers who were caught in the act of filling milk bowsters with water? That it is ironic to think that the President who had himself started the NMB to help the producer, consumer and the nation should let the NMB slide in this way? That the Chairman and the Board should be held accountable for the millions of public money that have gone down the drain? That unless the Minister sends the Chairman and the Board packing and puts them on trial, Dharmista will be subverted?

NEXT WEEK

- o FILM CORPORATION
—Reply To Anura
 - o GARMENTS SCANDAL
—Is FTZ Involved?
 - o AIR FORCE MYSTIQUE
—Developments
-

A TREE FOR EVERY CHILD

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

*We have more water than the land requires.

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

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

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

V. Kanagaretnam

Divisional Officer,
Agrarian Service,
Kiran.

Space Donated

IN SRI LANKA

1,138 Babies Born PER DAY

or

47 Babies Born PER HOUR

Sri Lanka Needs

A Strong Family Planning Programme

ISSUED BY THE MINISTRY OF PLAN IMPLEMENTATION.