

TRIBUNE



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Letter From The Editor

IT IS A RARE PICTURE of wild life we have on the cover this week. It is a law of the jungle that the fittest only survive. Some perish because they do not know how to obtain their food. Others disappear because they are the food of particular predators (who in turn are the food for other predators). A few die fighting for the leadership of the herd, and a few still for rights over a female (weaker males usually run away to make love another day). Originally, man had killed animals only for food, and this had further helped to maintain nature's balance. But, with gunpowder and firearms the situation had changed in such a rapid and dramatic manner that the global ecological balance has been destroyed beyond repair—animals were killed for sport, for trophies, skins, tusks horns and flesh. Man has not only destroyed the fauna of the world but also its flora—trees, jungles and whole forests. It is, however, not to digress on ecology, environment and wildlife that we have used the picture on the cover. It is really to draw attention to the fact that animals still continue to fight to resolve their sordid problems of love and hate whilst man is said to have "progressed" to the sublime heights where he does not resort to physical fighting—except as a "last resort". During many periods of peace and stability in the world, in the so-called golden ages of different countries and eras, peace has prevailed in a large measure. Influenced by humanistic ethics, by religion, by philosophy, men and nations have lived in peace with benevolence, kindness and charity to make the different forms of exploitation, (inevitable in human relations), less onerous than otherwise. There can be a great deal of argumentation as to whether such periods of tranquillity and happiness, based on contentment induced the opium of by religious, political and metaphysical beliefs like karma, really constitute true progress towards higher levels of human existence. Rationalists and materialists claim that there can be no true advancement towards a better life until exploitation of man by man is ended—but it is a moot point just what constitutes exploitation. Is it just the much-publicised exploitation where surplus value is appropriated by a private individual or private company which owns the means of production? Or does one include all kinds of exploitation which arise when state-owned corporations, rooted in state capitalism as in Sri Lanka today, appropriate the surplus value created by working people in order to indulge in wasteful expenditure to enable bureaucratic bosses to run about in the latest limousines and gad about in five-star hotels—not to mention state extravagance on non-fundamentals, gimmicks and tamashas? Is exploitation any different if it is perpetrated by a state-capitalist-owned corporation rather than a multinational or a privately-owned firm? It is not necessary to enter into a discussion as to what constitutes exploitation—this can be done on a different occasion—because we are mainly concerned here with the law of the jungle that seems to have overtaken the world. Some say that such fighting as we see today is inevitable in an age of transition. We do not know whether the present is merely an age of transition. Or whether it is really an era of upheaval which must usher in a totally different kind of world not envisaged by politician, philosopher or scientist. We do not know what the future holds for this planet, but at this moment mankind is in a permanent state of turmoil, strife and fighting at so many levels in practically every part of the world. The first world war shattered the status quo of *pax britannica* and brought in an embryonic world of socialism. Hitler had tried to reverse the process to establish a fascist hegemony, but this only led to the destruction of his dream called the 1000-year Reich. The world then moved into the era of the cold war where men like Dulles thought that *pax americana* could solve all the problems of the world, but Vietnam proved to be the Achilles Heel of the mightiest and richest materialist power the world has so far known. And today, the world is in shambles; but, in every country and every region one can detect a ray of hope on the dark horizon promising a new dawn however distant. After Vietnam, Watergate and Nixon, the USA is a different country. The mighty British Empire has become a memory of long ago, and the United Kingdom will soon become a dispirited federation. It is a new Europe, Asia and Africa that has emerged with no one being able to say just each will be. In the meantime, fighting—of every kind, physical, polemical and metaphorical—goes on. Everywhere. In-fighting has become the order of the day, even in tranquil Sri Lanka; in-fighting inside organisations ranging from supreme political parties to meager undertakings like the Wild Life and Nature Protection Society. Something good must emerge, however unpleasant the process may be.

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CONTENTS

EDITOR'S NOTE BOOK	
—Malaria, Timber Exports	p. 2
TOWARDS THE SUMMIT	
—Sri Lanka, Indian Ocean and Detente	p. 4
SRI LANKA CHRONICLE	
—June 3 - June 7	p. 7
INTERNATIONAL DIARY	
—June 4 - June 8	p. 9
MAHAWELI WATERS	
—Without Comment	p. 10
LIMA CONFERENCE	
—Political Declaration	p. 11
VILLAGE HOUSE—82	
—Milk and Paddy	p. 15
ECONOMIC CREDO?	
—Small is Beautiful	p. 18
POINT OF VIEW	
—Ayurveda	p. 20
SAFARI—March 29-April 3	
—On Being Depressed	p. 21
SOUTH VIETNAM	
—One Year After Liberation	p. 22
LETTER	
—Cadjan Roofs	p. 23
CONFIDENTIALLY	
—Water	p. 24

EDITOR'S NOTEBOOK

Malaria, Timber Exports

IT HAS BEEN AN ALTOGETHER DEPRESSING TIME. It continues to be equally depressing. Apart from an illness which had prevented the Editor from contributing his mite to the written word in the *Tribune* last week, the entire atmosphere in Sri Lanka—political, economic and everything else—has become sombre and bleak. The Editor has no wish to pick a quarrel either with the Health authorities or the State Pharmaceutical Corporation for the illness which had incapacitated him for nearly ten days, but it would be useful to record some of the relevant facts which would be of some interest to our readers many of whom may well be faced with a similar situation. The Editor has reason to pay visits regularly to a district which the health authorities regard as "malaria infected"—a very large number of Districts are in the same category. And, he has, therefore, taken all the precautions to safeguard himself from becoming a victim of malaria. A few early warning signals sometime during the last one year had made him go through the usual procedure of blood tests, prophylactic doses of anti-malaria drugs and what not, at the appropriate institutions of the Health Services. He was assured that he would be immune for at least six or ten months (one cannot be quite clear about these guarantee periods). He had swallowed three different kinds of pills, of three different colours, supplied by the authorities, to make sure that nothing went wrong. In addition, he had persuaded a friend to bring from abroad a small stock of an anti-malarial pill manufactured by a well-known pharmaceutical multinational to continue weekly prophylactic doses to keep the anopheles at bay. But, with so many neighbours and friends complaining about the ineffectiveness of the State Pharmaceutical Corporation's (SPC's) pills, this stock of the multinational company's pills was soon exhausted. Nevertheless the Editor swallowed the SPC's

chloroquin sulphate tablets, but (unfortunately) not with weekly regularity in view of the immunity the Health Department's "course" had guaranteed. (Of course it was wrong to place so much confidence in such immunity). Anyway, to cut a long story short, what was thought to be an attack of flu turned out to be a bad attack of malaria of the variety popularly known as "cerebral malaria" and which has now become endemic in several districts in the dry as well wet zones of Sri Lanka. The last time the Editor had an attack of this variety of malaria was in 1935 during the height of the historic malaria epidemic which had provided so many of our present-day politicians the opportunity to lay the foundation of their subsequent political careers—just as an earlier generation had sprung from the temperance movement and the race riots of 1915.

When it was discovered that it was not flu but malaria, only the SPC's chloroquin tablets were available and though they seem to have some effect on the fever they did not seem to make any impact on the disease. SPC bosses are likely to say that the resistance on the part of the Editor's malaria was psychological with inhibitions he had developed against SPC drugs from "unknown" sources. But our experience was not very dissimilar from the experience of hundreds, nay thousands, who have made similar complaints about many SPC drugs. All the anti-malaria pills produced by the well-known multinationals have been "banned" by the Formulary Committee and the people of this country are now at the mercy of an unbranded chloroquin tablet from an undisclosed source—in this case we have been told that they come from Pakistan. These pills are certainly cheaper than the branded products of the multinationals. There is also no doubt that the SPC has saved the country a few million rupees of foreign exchange in refusing to import branded products (but what of many more millions wasted in ministerial and corporation bossess jaunts into the stratosphere?) All this is very good, but experience has shown that the SPC's chloroquin tablets seem to be less than 50% effective than the branded products of the multinationals. It was so in the

Editor's case too. A friend was good enough to bring him some "imported" anti-malaria pills, and the same friend (a dear Sri Lankan) has promised to fly a stock out from Singapore for future use.

Most malaria patients now go hunting for the well-known brands like *Camoquin*, *Primoquin*, *Nivaquin*, *Daraprim*, etc, etc, and pay exorbitant prices for them on the blackmarket. The pills are brought in by enterprising persons on the CRA or on through the smugglers' network because of the high demand for them all over the island. Ask an ordinary villager and he will tell you about the SPC's pills and about the imported anti-malaria pills. It would have been far cheaper and better for the country for the SPC to have imported (because of its monopoly) not only its favourite chloroquin from Pakistan or Timbuctoo whilst allowing at the same time imports of the branded products of the multi-nationals (at least, until the effectiveness of the unbranded SPC stuff was established—be it in reality or even psychologically). It is the view of the Editor, after the recent bout of malaria, that if anything is "psychological" it is the psychopathic obsession on the part of some gentlemen that the much-hated multinationals can be wiped out in Sri Lanka by falling back on generic drugs many of which come from uncertain sources—which seem to have a capacity to provide "excellent samples" for tests and for the use of a few top VIPs. People are paying very much more for the small quantities of anti-malaria pills manufactured by the multinationals like ICI, M&B, Burroughs, Wellcome, Hoescht, etc., etc., than they would have if they had been imported in the usual way—especially if FEECs had not been levied on drugs either directly or indirectly (through the SPC). Malaria, of the variety popularly known as "cerebral", is now endemic, as we said earlier, in many districts. The malaria is spreading fast islandwide either because the mosquito has developed a resistance to DDT or because corrupt operators are spraying only water, having stolen the DDT.

The Health Department, on the one hand, and the SPC, on the other, will be held responsible by the people for the new malaria

epidemic which is already upon the country. The Department is now singing the praises of *malathion* as against the DDT, but even *malathion* seems to have no impact on checking the spread of the disease. And if the people are compelled to depend on the tender mercies of the import policies of the SPC, we can write off a certain percentage of our able-bodied manpower. Those surviving can sing the glories of having won the battle against the multi-nationals and write learned thesis on the sins of multi-nationals. It is true that multinationals have racketed, but the way to fight these evils is not by denying victims of disease tried and proven drugs—until effective substitutes from non-multinational sources are assured. All glory to the knights in armour in the SPC who are saving this country from the multinational drug firms, but for a long while more the victims of malaria will be compelled to buy the CRA or smuggler's "imported" anti-malaria pills. So much for that.

Many friends have told us that *Tribune* has been "unfair" in its criticisms about the great and noble work done by the SPC in Sri Lanka which has set the pace in the Third World, and that even India was now following in our footsteps. (But India has assured itself of adequate quantities of branded products manufactured inside the country before taking other steps to minimise, reduce and eliminate the wellknown sins of multinationals). We are prepared to unlearn the mistakes if any, we have made about the SPC, but the recent bout of malaria has been a traumatic experience. So far, we had witnessed malaria in other people and done medical charity with the imported anti-malarial pills earlier in our possession, but it has now become a personal experience as well. Even making allowances for the depressing impact of malaria on the human mind, what we have said in this column is not generated by any personal inhibitions or even prejudices. It is generated by the thought of the fate that has overtaken (and will overtake) thousands, nay millions, of malaria victims in Sri Lanka in the immediate future.

MALARIA IS ASSOCIATED WITH FORESTS, and at the moment, with the failure of the southwest

monsoons and the consequent near island-wide drought, forests have come into the picture in a big way. *Tribune*, like everybody else now echoing what we have said for a long time, has blamed those who cut down the forests for the denudation which has followed. An impression has been created that the small peasants who had been given small parcels of land were mainly responsible for the rape of our big forests. This is not so. The peasant and the smalltime coloniser and chena cultivator cut only small areas of marginal forest lands. The big forests have been denuded, legally and illegally, by the big operators who have minted millions of CRA-infused money by exporting timber.

Timber exports have been regarded as an export item for a long time, but in recent years it became big business as a non-traditional export. It became big business ever since the UNP started the Special Leases scheme in 1966 when hundreds of thousands of acres were handed over to big capitalists for agricultural development. These big-timers cut down the big forests, sold the timber for export, and forgot about agriculture—except a few. The UNP's scheme of Special Leases without adequate safeguards and controls (timber exports should have been banned then) started the massive denudation of our forests and jungles. The United Front Government rightly cancelled the Special Leases—except in the few instances where the land had indeed been developed agriculturally—but did nothing to conserve our remaining forest reserves.

On the other hand, the United Front government went into the craziest experimentation of diversifying our exports through non-traditional exports, and timber was one of them. In the last five years, our forests have been denuded largely by those who have exported timber. The timber exporters' tentacles spread far and wide at the highest level. We also have the paradoxical situation where the Conservator of Forests is also the Chairman of the Timber Corporation which is responsible for the commercial exploitation of our forests and the export of timber. Sri Lanka has many firsts and many unique features to its credit, but

it would be hard to beat this paradox. Theoretically, on paper, it would be ideal to have the Conservator control the Commercial Exploitation of forests, but in a country where non-traditional exporters have the biggest "pull" in the land, it creates a most delicate situation for any bureaucrat however highminded.

It has now become necessary for the Government to stop the export of timber and to compel exporters to cancel all outstanding contracts. Unless this is done there is no way of saving even the meagre forest reserves still left in the island. Together with this there must be a massive campaign to plant trees everywhere, in our forests, in our countryside and in our towns. (There are gentlemen in high places who have raised questions whether trees really bring rain. It is true that scientists have still not discovered what precipitates rain but it is admitted by all scientists that a large forest cover of tall trees on mountains does induce rain).

Apart from this, for political curiosity, it would be good if some MPs would ask questions which would elicit answers to the following questions: what were the exports of timber from 1965 to 1975, year by year? Who were the main exporters and how much timber have each of them exported in this period? Who have held the permits for exports and did they have real timber mills or merely mills on paper whilst getting supplies from the pirates in the timber industry? how much CRA has been made after 1970 and by whom? Where did all the timber exported come from and were these covered by the permits of the Forest Department?

From these will stem many more questions and they must be asked as they arise if this country is to get to the bottom of the rape of our forests. Postmortems are of little use. There is no use banning the cutting down of our forests. The first step is to ban the export of timber, of furniture and all timber products from the island.

* * *

TOWARDS THE SUMMIT

Sri Lanka, The Indian Ocean And Detente

by Thambapani

IN THE MIDDLE OF August this year, Sri Lanka will host a conference of 84 non-aligned nations at a conference which will include a summit meeting of the heads of states. Feverish preparations are going on in Colombo to make the necessary arrangements to hold the conference. But even more interesting developments are taking place in the capitals of important non-aligned as well as other countries in regard to the declarations, resolutions and strategies which will be adopted at the Colombo Conference.

A draft resolution prepared in Colombo in consultation with a few other non-aligned countries was discussed at Algiers recently. It is believed that the draft will undergo many changes before it is presented to the preparatory meetings of Bureau in Colombo before the final Conference where further changes will be incorporated into the drafts on the different questions on the agenda. Furthermore, with Sri Lanka being the venue, there is no doubt that the question of the Indian Ocean Peace Zone Plan, a matter which was first put forward by Mrs. Bandaranaike many years ago, will assume special importance.

The Indian Ocean Peace Zone plan is now a complex problem which cannot be reduced simplistically to one of rivalry between the big super-powers. Some have tried to circumscribe the Indian Ocean problem to the establishment of a base by the USA on Diego Garcia (with its attendant concomitants) and the increasing presence of Soviet naval vessels in the Ocean. The Indian Ocean problem goes much further than that. It is today, as it always has been in the modern era, a problem in which every major country with a navy (to protect its trade—there are no empires now to speak of) has a stake. Strategies may have changed, but the central problem of power still remains. In the past, it was a question of bases on the coast-

line of littoral countries: today bases are being set up in little islands in the middle of the ocean.

France, it will be noted, has attempted to tear away Mayotte Island away from the Comoro archipelago which has recently become independent (and which has been admitted into the non-aligned camp). France no longer has an empire, but its attempt to snatch Mayotte is a demonstration that spirit of imperialism is still inherent in the old colonial powers. They are conscious of the insecurity and vulnerability of military bases on the mainland of the continents of Asia and Africa in the face of the new political changes sweeping over these continents. Many military bases and installations on mainland countries have been dismantled and closed down and countries like the USA have now sought refuge in island enclaves like Diego Garcia. It seems to be question of "disappearing from the horizon" especially if the situation on the mainland becomes more unfavourable than today for the big powers which still have these bases.

There is no doubt that the big Western powers, especially the USA, are deeply concerned with the politics of the countries around the Indian Ocean. In Australia, where the Whitlam government had sought to break away from the traditional pro-western policies and adopt independent and even non-aligned policies, a situation was created where the Whitlam Government could not continue. The Frazer government is now singing tunes which will please the old brass hats in the West. The inhabitants of Diego Garcia were physically removed—1200 families—because they had protested when their islands were being turned into a military installation. Mariana islands in the Pacific were annexed by the USA. But it is not the USA alone which has indulged in this game in the contemporary era. France has decided to hold on Mayotte island in the Comoro as it wants to keep Djibouti under cover of a pseudo-referendum for alleged "self-determination."

Britain has a record which has no equal. As far back as 1966 Britain had established the so-called British Territory in the Indian Ocean by tearing away the Chagos Archipelago (including the Diego

Garcia island) from Mauritius and also a group of island (Aldabra, Fraquahar, Descrouches, etc) from the Seychelles. Today, Britain has sold these islands lock, stock and barrel—wholesale and retail. In fact, what is funny is that Britain seems to have pocketed the lion's share of the money paid by the USA as compensation to the inhabitants of Diego Garcia to help them re-settle in the Mauritius and other places.

Apart from Sri Lanka, India and certain other states which have in the past shown great interest in the Indian Ocean Peace Zone plan, it is now a matter of record that all the countries of the OAU (Organisation of African Unity, have realised the need to create a genuine state of peace in the Indian Ocean in the interests of African countries themselves.

Already the OAU has taken up many of the questions which relate to the Indian Ocean. The OAU is committed to render all assistance to all political parties in the Seychelles which have demanded the restoration of the islands taken away. The OAU has also demanded that the British should liquidate the so-called British Territory in the Indian Ocean and hand over the islands in the Mozambique Channel back to the Seychelles and the Chagos Archipelago to Mauritius. The OAU has further demanded that France should grant unconditional independence to the so-called French Somaliland and eliminate her military presence in the territory.

It is therefore likely that at the Fifth Non-aligned Summit Conference OAU countries will take up some of the questions mentioned earlier. The OAU is committed to the elimination of military bases and pockets of colonial power in the Indian Ocean area as it is realised that without this pre-requisite the independence of the new nations in Africa are in jeopardy.

THERE IS ALSO WIDESPREAD RECOGNITION among all non-aligned countries that peace whether in the Indian Ocean or anywhere else is largely dependent on the deepening and extending of international detente which has slowly overcome the imperatives

of the cold war which had attempted to divide the world into two conflicting camps, each struggling to liquidate the other. This was an unreal and impracticable attempt, and it was inevitable that attempts at co-existence began to come into prominence. Kissinger took over from the Dullesian tradition, and an era of detente dawned in the seven-ties, and inspite of limitations, setbacks and reverses the movement for greater detente has grown. Non-aligned countries have become deeply interested in detente and the peace it engendered as a precondition for economic development.

Many doubts have recently arisen whether the USA was back tracking on detente because President Ford during his election campaign—in the face of strong Reagan attacks on Kissinger and his policies—had decided to drop the word "detente" out of his political vocabulary. This is just a gimmick. But, political observers are agreed that whatever the political outcome of the forthcoming Presidential elections in November it would be difficult for the USA to go back to the cold war of the fifties and the sixties. The election campaign itself, as evidenced by the speeches, polemics and the outcome in the primaries, have generated new perspectives that are likely to strengthen the trend towards increased detente. Whatever the jargon, developments in the USA show that the bulk of the American people today view detente with greater understanding and comprehension.

It is also clear that the detente now going on in the USA has shown that many people did not rally have a clear understanding of the underlying motivation of the present international detente. But even the most conservative diehards in the USA are beginning to realise that it would be wrong to regard detente as a simple relaxation of tension in bi-lateral as well as multi-lateral relations only because acute confrontations are blunted—whilst fundamental conflicts (a la cold war) remained unchanged. The situation today is very different from what it was twenty years ago. One has only to recall the short-lived relaxation of international tensions, like the "spirit of Geneva" following the Big Four Summit Conference in

1955—in order to realise the intrinsic difference between the "mere relaxation of tension" of the earlier period and the detente of the current period.

It is also true that many tend to restrict the present detente exclusively to the relations between the USA and the USSR, and the camp of capitalism and that of socialism. This is no doubt an important part of contemporary detente. However, whatever its importance, it does not cover the entire spectrum of global politics affected by detente. In this connection, it is well to remember that many processes, new and vigorous, are at work in the world of today. Detente is one. The term has really come to mean the need for the remoulding of the entire structure of political and economic relations in the world especially in the critical times which have arisen. Whether the process of

remoulding has begun to affect all nations, all peoples and all countries is still problematic, but the sooner this remoulding process gains universality the better for the world as a whole.

THE SYSTEM OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS which existed up to the present time has developed in the atmosphere of the "cold war". This fact, naturally, determined its special characteristics. Its principal characteristic was the existence of two distinctly pronounced gravity poles of power centres with the rivalry between the two making the basic content of international relations. It was here that world politics was focussed, it was from here that ensued trends which influenced political horizons.

Such a bi-polar world inevitably had a rigid structure; it tolerated no semitones and squeezed international political and economic life

TO PRODUCE MORE FOOD ?

In the case of tractors imported by the Sri Lanka State Trading (Tractor) Corporation, the cost of a tractor to the ultimate user is supposed to be worked out on the following basis regarding "item of cost" and "basis of calculation": (1) Cost of freight *Actual* (2) FEECs *Actual*; (3) Duty *Actual*; (4) Dues *Actual*; (5) Bank Charges *Actual*; (6) (6) Landing Charges (7) Bank interest at 9½% on landed cost for 3 months; (8) Corporation mark up 3% on landed cost; (9) Clearing, forwarding and documentation and service charges. (10) 1% B.T.T.

The actual application of the method of pricing adopted by this Corporation results in the ultimate user having to pay almost 100% over the landed cost of a tractor. Assuring that the cost and freight price of a four wheel tractor is Rs. 34,500 the ultimate price to the user is worked out by the Corporation as follows:—

C & F Price 34,500.00; FEEC's at 65% of C & F 22,425.00; Import duties nil; Insurance—1½% of C & F 517.50; Bank charges—1½% of C & F 431.25; Landing, Clearing & Delivery—fixed 150.00; Duty Fees dues—fixed 20.00; Transport—fixed 50.00; Tractor Corporation LANDED COST 58,093.75; Bank interest 9½% for 6 months on landed 2,759.45 cost; Assembly charges—fixed; Tractor Corporation Commission on landed cost 2½% 1,452.34; Tractor Corporation mark up nil; Business Turnover Tax nil; Price to main dealer/distributor 65,210.23.

Main dealer/distributor fixed allowances: Commission 700.00; Installation 100.00; 1st Free service 100.00; 2nd Free service 100.00; 3rd Free service 100.00 total 1100.00; Business Turnover Tax (BTT) at 1%, 663.00; Price to User 66,973.23 Spares required for tractors are priced on the same basis.

The Tractor Corporation should be looked upon, and look upon itself, as a key element in the drive to-produce more food. Does it fulfil this expectation, when its main objective appears to be to show a book profit at the expense of the farmer, the ultimate user of the tractor?

This is an extract from the (UNP) Journal of June 4, 1976 Is it not understandable that the UNP should increase its majority at every by-election ?

into two partitioned compartments. Naturally, it took some camouflaging but the essence was exactly this. This was at the bottom of the foundation of such a system: statements which postulated the concept of "cold war" like the famous Churchill's speech in Fulton (Missouri) proceeded, first of all, from the geopolitical imperatives to divide the world into zones of influence.

A turn towards international detente began simultaneously with the crumbling of the bi-polar world. Was it a mere coincidence? of course, not. Because the old rigid system of international relations became obsolete and detente became a necessity in view of the fact that the policy which had brought about this rigid system was at a deadlock. In this sense one may say that international detente is an original expression of the breaking up of the bi-polar world, is a consequence of its disintegration and ushers a transition to a new and more complicated system as regards the number of active and weighty participants of international concert.

Events convincingly corroborate this conclusion. Let us take, for example, the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe at Helsinki. Irrespective of any political views one cannot but acknowledge that for the first time in the history of international relations all countries of Europe with no exceptions in this sense (Albania's self-isolation changed nothing) jointly, on the basis of equality, equal opportunities and equal rights of vote discussed fundamental problems of the continent. And which is also important — they came to a concerted "code of behaviour" for the future. Could such a thing be possible without detente?

This European Conference is a most vivid but not the only example of a transition to a democratic system of international relations. On closer examination one may find more of such examples, perhaps, in the sphere related to developing countries whose voice has begun to resound with an unprecedented force at various political and economic forums.

This should not be surprising because in the conditions of international detente the status of developing countries of all conti-

nents in the world is changing to a greater extent than that of any other group of states and is changing, naturally, to the better. Frankly speaking those countries more than any other countries are gaining from international detente and from the related remoulding of international relations on a democratic basis.

Indeed, in the past, in the conditions of an aggravated world rivalry between the two power centres, countries of the Third World were entirely deprived of a possibility to exert any significant influence on the evolution of international situation. They were unable to display their political independence and originality, they were deprived of their right to fight for a more fair pattern of economic exchanges. As a result, this constant belittling of the role played by the Third World countries in international affairs ended practically in the weakening of the possibilities to defend their elementary political, economic and social interests.

The process of international detente has begun to democratise world politics. Of particular importance is the fact that such democratization emerges as an objective and irreversible factor and is not something which may be granted to-day and taken away to-morrow. The further it develops the process of detente the more stable and profound will become the trend towards democratization on international life.

The cornerstone of the foundation of detente was historically laid down with the recognition of the inadmissibility of a nuclear conflict. This fact alone meant by itself a certain devaluation of the military power factor in the equation which regulates international relations.

Corresponding of the strengthening of other factors, such as political and moral ones in the first place, before long lead to a greater role of developing countries in international life. It is with a considerably greater attention that great powers began to treat Third World countries. Significant in this respect were statements by Soviet Communists at their 25th Congress about the growing role of developing countries: and the trip to Africa

by the US Secretary of State. After many years of disrespect for the African continent Washington deemed it necessary to pay attention to this continent from the viewpoint of "big politics."

Greater weight of developing countries due to detente resulted in the "softening" of positions of Western industrial countries on questions of establishing a new pattern of world economic relations. Without progress towards democratization of international political relations it would be naive to look forward to success in defending equally and reciprocity in the economic field. History taught many lessons to the effect that a vassal is not to fix the price but to be content with what is given by the powers that be.

However, in great error would be those leaders of the Third World who would believe that the remoulding of international relations connected with detente does not place any commitment upon them and that forthwith developing countries can be the gainers without exerting special efforts. Greater role of the Third World countries in international affairs due to democratization, on the contrary, requires greater vigilance and responsibility from African, Asian and Latin American leaders. They cannot afford in fact to be passive recipients; rather they should vigorously and purposefully support the progress of the process of international detente.

These are perspectives which are likely to loom large at the forthcoming Non-aligned Summit Conference in Colombo. One can no longer dismiss the term detente as a "dirty word" of fellow travelling in the same way that many valid concepts were dismissed by the western world some years ago. Many theorists, publicists and pundits in the West may still laugh at detente and ridicule it as part of the propaganda paraphernalia of the socialist world, but this will not any longer carry any weight in the Third World of non-aligned countries. For them detente has come to mean a many-faceted process to help poor, newly independent countries to develop politically, economically and culturally.

* * *

June 3 — June 7

A 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; TOCSL—Times of Ceylon Sunday Illustrated; DM—Dinamina; LD—Lankadipa JD—Janadina; VK—Virakesari; ATH—Athcha; SM—Silumina; SLD—Sri Lankadipa; JS—Janasathiya.

THURSDAY, JUNE 3: Borella Police commenced investigations into an incident where printing ink was alleged to have been thrown on the Government Printer of the Government Press: ink is also alleged to have been thrown at the Works Manager and the Superintendent of the confidential branch of the Government Press—CDM. The Parliament was adjourned yesterday owing to lack of quorum—CDN. Mr. Ratnasiri Wickremanayake, Minister of Plantation Industries, called for the resignation of the members of the Board of Directors of the Corporation except its Chairman, Mr. Clifford Ratwatte: according to the *Daily News*, Mr. Wickremanayake, has decided on this as he was dissatisfied with the Corporation's management of estates under it. The Government will soon obtain an interim report of the Salaries Anomalies Committee in an effort to change the salary structure of nurses and other categories of employees of the Department of Health—DM. Mr. William Gopallawa, President, took his oaths before the Chief Justice, Mr. Victor Tennekoon, yesterday: Mr. Gopallawa, by a letter handed to him by the Prime Minister on May 22, 1976, was nominated by the Prime Minister to be President for another four years: the entire Cabinet was present at the ceremony held in this connexion—LD. According to the Department of Price Control nearly 10,000 traders of provisions stores have to obtain their licences in keeping with the new Emergency Price Control Regulations gazetted recently—JD. According to a section of the SLFP the charge sheet served against Mr. Kumar Rupasinghe, Director, National Youth Council, by the Secretary of the SLFP, was an attempt to consolidate the position of Rightists and national capitalists in the SLFP—JD. The General Council of Trade Union Organisation in an appeal to the SLFP and the LSSP said the most important thing for these two parties are to be in the UF of SLFP-LSSP-CP: the JCTUO further said slinging mud at each would only strengthen the imperialist reactionary forces and the UNP—ATH. According to the *Daily News*, though the Central Bank announced last week that it had de-linked the Sri Lanka rupee from the Sterling still banks are conducting business at the same party rate which remained earlier in relation to the dollar and other currencies. 28 workers of Watakelle Estate, Panwila, died of an outbreak of diarrhoea and 75 have been hospitalised: the Ceylon Workers' Congress urged the Health Ministry to take immediate steps to arrest the spread of the disease—CDM.

FRIDAY, JUNE 4: MPs holding offices in Co-operatives have decided not to resign their posts: Mr. S. K. K. Suriarachchi, Minister of Co-operatives and Small

Industries, requested these MPs to resign: several MPs feel that if any MP had been found guilty of malpractices such person should be brought to book without penalising those who are doing an honest service—CDN. Mr. Neale de Alwis, Acting Minister of Finance, yesterday tabled in the NSA the new parity rates of Sri Lanka rupee after the Central Bank announced that the rupee-sterling link had been served from the 24th of May this year: according to the parity rates the £ sterling will be Rs. 15.60 and the dollar Rs. 8.64—CDN. The LSSP has written to the SLFP and the CP urging them to have a meeting of the JCTUO soon to press home the demand the JCTUO had submitted to the Government seeking relief from the high cost of living—CDM. Following a resolution moved by Mr. J. R. Jayewardene, President of the UNP and Leader of the Opposition, the party has decided to erect a statue of late Prime Minister, Mr. Dudley Senanayake, in the premises of the National State Assembly—CDM. In the first month of its functioning the Land Reform Commission Compensation Board has settled 224 applications for claims involving a sum of Rs. 2 million—CDM. A Committee of Parliamentarians appointed by the Government to advise on price control of essential consumer items recommended to the Government to cancel licences of traders found guilty of profiteering over the controlled price—CDM. Government announced that all CRA holders should utilise funds to their credit up to the end of 1975 to import essential consumer items approved by the Government before the end of this year: there are 1,878 CRA holders with Rs. 85 million lying to their credit in the banks—CDM. Mr. R. Premadasa, First MP for Colombo Central, told the NSA yesterday that the price of flour should be reduced to 40 cents a pound and that of sugar to Rs. 2.50 a pound: Mr. Premadasa said that the Government is definitely in a position to reduce the prices of these two essential commodities—VK. The UNP decided that Mr. J. R. Jayewardene, President of the party should contest the Colombo West seat and former Senator, Mr. Edmunda Samarawickrema, should contest Colombo East seat in the next general elections—DM. According to the *Janadina* action taken by the Mahaweli Development Board to supply Mahaweli waters to Kantalai has been a failure. Replying to a question by Dr. N. M. Perera, Mr. Neale de Alwis, Acting Minister of Finance, told the NSA yesterday that an appointment to the effect of Assistant General Manager (Agriculture) has not been made by the Bank of Ceylon but Mr. E. R. Krishnaratne's services to this post has been obtained on a contract basis for two years at a salary of Rs. 3,000 a month: Mr. de Alwis further said that Mr. Krishnaratne's services were obtained by the Bank on his recommending him by a letter to the Bank's Board: he also said the applicant was the best suited person among those who applied.

SATURDAY, JUNE 5: The Non-aligned Co-ordination Bureau which met in Algiers expressed conviction that the forthcoming Non-aligned Conference to be held in Colombo in August will constitute an important event in the consolidation of the non-aligned movement: in a final communique issued by the Bureau Algerian Foreign Minister, Mr. Abdelaziz Bouteflika, said the Colombo summit will constitute one more step forward in the efforts of the Non-aligned to construct a better world—CDN. Mr. T. B. Ilangaratne, Minister of Trade, Public Administration

and Home, Affairs, addressing a meeting of Political Authorities, Government Agents and Senior officials of ministries told that very soon many more consumer items would be brought under the price control: he also sought the co-operation of the general public, politicians and other government officials to make the price control imposed under the emergency laws a success—CDN. Mr. Clifford Ratwatte, Chairman of the State Plantations Corporation, resigned from his post: in a letter to the Minister of Plantations Industries, Mr. Ratnasiri Wickremanayake, Mr. Ratwatte said he is resigning his post, though his resignation was not called for, to enable the Minister to reconstitute the board—CDN. Mr. Anura Bandaranaike, Chief Organiser of the SLFP Youth Leagues, addressing a seminar said the youth of the country have no faith in Parliamentary system—CDM. Mrs. Siva Obeyesekere, Acting Minister of Health, said that a formulary Committee will shortly be appointed to ensure that all drugs in ported into the country conform to British Pharmaceutical standards: she further said this has been decided upon following complaints that many drugs imported to the country are of sub standard—CDM. According to the *Janadina*, Dr. N. M. Perera, leader of the LSSP, told the NSA that if a proper answer regarding the appointment of Mr. E. R. Krishnaratne, Assistant General Manager (Agriculture) Bank of Ceylon, was not given the Opposition could even go to the courts under a question of privilege—JD. A crash programme has been drawn up by the Ministry of Agriculture and Land to provide employment to village youths in Agricultural and Co-operative schemes at village levels—DM. Mr. Maithripala Senanayake, Minister of Irrigation, Power and Highways, after discussions with the Prime Minister has decided to go ahead with plans to divert the Kelani Ganga—DM. At a meeting of Nurses Trade Union held in Colombo yesterday the General Secretary of the union said that all nurses in Government hospitals throughout the island will be asked to take direct TU action if their demands are not met within the next fourteen days—VK. Prime Minister, Mrs. Sirima Bandaranaike, will visit America next month to participate in celebrations connected with the 200th anniversary of the founding of the United States of America: she has been invited by the USA for the celebrations to be held on July 6—ATH.

SUNDAY, JUNE 6: Police investigating the re-organisation of alleged insurgent activities made a startling discovery when they discovered a foreign made machine used for re-filling empty cartridges: four people including a girl who was earlier released after trial for her involvement in the April insurgency were arrested—CO. According to the *Times* security arrangements at the Bandaranaike International Air Port at Katunayake are very poor and it will be very easy for anybody to plant bombs or to hijack a plane. The UNP Special Committee appointed to probe into incidents near the Ward Place residence of Mr. J. R. Jayewardene on April 6 is of the view that a delegation from Dedigama was brought to coerce and intimidate Mr. Jayewardene in regard to the action that was to be taken by the Party against the MP for Dedigama, Mr. Rukman Senanayake—TOCSI. All Regional Directors of Education have been instructed that teaching of all religions in schools whether they be government or private denominational schools is compulsory: of the

60 periods allocated to teach religions at least three periods should be separated for teaching the fundamentals and principles of other religions to which the student does not belong—TOCSI. At a news conference held last week the Acting Minister of Health, Mrs. Siva Obeyesekere, and the Director of Health Services, Dr. L. B. T. Jayasundera, warned that serious epidemics are likely to break out in Colombo and its immediate suburbs in view of the present water-cut imposed in these areas—CO. *Lake House* has published a book in Sinhala entitled "Nobandi Mawatha" meaning Non-aligned Path which explains the non-aligned movement and the importance of the 5th Non-aligned conference to be held in Colombo in August—SM. Prime Minister, Mrs. Sirima Bandaranaike, will declare open a Fishing Development Scheme estimated to cost Rs. 10 million at Wennappuwa this evening—LD. Sri Lanka Muslim League has expressed dissatisfaction at the recommendations of the Delimitation Commission's Report: the League said that several proposals by Muslim organisations have been rejected by the Commission in its report—VK. Nursus Trade Union will meet the Prime Minister next week to discuss their demands and the proposed direct trade union action if their demand are not met within the next two weeks—VK. A delegation of Chilean Communist Party Youth League will arrive in the island tomorrow—ATH.

MONDAY, JUNE 7: Mr. T. B. Ilangaratne, Minister of Trade, Public Administration and Home Affairs, agreed upon a suggestion by political authorities and Government Agents that small traders should be exempted from licensing laws under the Emergency Price Control Regulations: the Conference presided by Mr. Ilangaratne, also agreed to launch a nation-wide operation in August with the assistance of the Police against hoarders and blackmarketeers—CDN. Prime Minister, Mrs. Sirima Bandaranaike, addressing a meeting at Wennappuwa yesterday said that she was not feared to hold elections in 1977 because she was sure that the people of the country will return this Government to power solely on the merits of its performance during the last six years: she further said that over four lakhs were found employment by this Government during the last six year-period—CDN. The Ministry of Health warned the residents of Colombo and its suburbs that drinking water should be boiled in view of the water cut which could cause the spread of several bowel diseases—CDN. The Government Medical Officers' Association unanimously decided to convey to the Government to restore channelled consultation practice to medical specialists in the administrative districts where it has been abolished—CDM. According to the *Daily Mirror* since 1971 there has been a marked increase in employment in the public sector but there has been a fall in employment in the private sector—CDM. According to the *Janadina* incidents of Police assault on innocent people and unnecessary arrests have increased considerably during the last few years and one of the reasons attributed for this is the interference by some politicians. Owing to the non-use of funds available for the development of fishing industries it is likely that fish may have to be imported from foreign countries for daily consumption—JD. The Communist Party of Sri Lanka will soon hold discussions with the SLFP on a one-year crash program the CP has suggested to the Government: the discussions will start soon after

the return of Mr. Pieter Keuneman, Minister of Housing and Construction and General Secretary of the Communist party, who has gone to Canada—VK. The CTB has made arrangements to import spare parts worth over Rs. 10 million from India—DM. Mr. Felix Dias Bandaranaike, Minister of Finance and Justice, returned to the island yesterday after participating in the Non-aligned Nations Foreign Ministers' Conference held in Algiers—DM.

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INTERNATIONAL DIARY

June 4 – June 8

FRIDAY, JUNE 4: Soviet Union denied charges by Mr. Malcom Fraser, Prime Minister of Australia, that the USSR had interfered in Angola and was engaged in a world-wide political offensive. British Foreign Ministry announced that it had re-established DPL ties with Iceland which was severed in February because of the Cold War. According to Reuters Syria's intervention in the affairs of Lebanon is likely to widen the rift between Syria and Egypt, the two major powers in the struggle with Israel. Observers believed, that if observer status was not given to the PLO at the major ILO meeting due to start in Geneva today, this could lead to a diplomatic crisis. Chinese Prime Minister, Hua Kuo-Feng, started at a state banquet to visiting Nepalese King Birendra that his Government wanted to develop better relations with countries on the Indian sub-continent. Israel said that the situation at Lebanon still did not warrant the sending of Israeli troops into the country but they are watching the situation: Israeli Prime Minister told a meeting of students that "there is no need for us to disturb the Syrian army while it is killing terrorists." A UN team reported to Secretary General Kurt Waldheim that Vietnam need at least 422 million dollars to restore the country's transport and agriculture system: the report further said lack of outside support would doom Vietnam to great distress for many years to come.

SATURDAY, JUNE 5: Zambia urged the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) to bring pressure on France to cancel a controversial 500 million sterling nuclear deal it has concluded with South Africa. United States House of Representatives' Appropriations Committee vote to slash by half the funds requested by President Ford's administration to provide capital to the Asian and Inter-American Development Banks for the next financial year. The *New York Times* reported that drums of radioactive waste dumped into the sea have leaked plutonium and caesium—both lethal substances—into the ocean floor of east and west coasts of the United States. China accused the USSR of intimidating West Germany and interfering in its internal affairs. Egypt accused Syria for interfering in the present military situation in Lebanon and called for an urgent meeting of Foreign Ministers of Arab countries. President Ford announced that he will meet the leaders of six major industrialised nations at an economic summit Conference later this month: Mr. Ford's aides said that the meeting is not aimed at political or election motives. Former Bolivian President,

Juan Jose Torres, kidnapped in Buenos Aires on Tuesday, has been found murdered.

SUNDAY, JUNE 6: A report from Hong Kong quoted the Chinese Foreign Minister, Mr. Chiao Kuang-hua, as saying that China did not rule out the possibility of normalising relations with the Soviet Union: leader of an Opposition Conservative delegation from Britain to China, Mr. Tony Kerpel, said that the Chinese Foreign Minister had told them this during a meeting in Peking. Former Israeli Defence Minister, Moshe Dayan, said that Israel should not interfere in Lebanon's affairs even if Syria occupied Beirut. Dr. Henry Kissinger, US Secretary of State will leave today for Chile to attend the General Assembly of the Organisation of American States (OAS). The French Foreign Ministry dismissed as "absolutely untrue" reports from Lebanon suggesting that French troops might be preparing to land at a small port north of Beirut. In a joint communique issued from Damascus Syria and the Soviet Union pledged to continue efforts to restore Lebanon's peace, security and territorial integrity, Cuba will soon get its nuclear reactor, supplied by the USSR.

MONDAY, JUNE 7: Ugandan President, Idi Amin, arrived in Damascus to hold a three-day discussion with Syrian leaders on the situation in Lebanon, Middle East crisis and Afro-Asian solidarity. Sabah State Chief Minister and three other state ministers were killed when a small passenger aircraft crashed. Egypt yesterday announced that it has broken diplomatic ties with Syria owing to disagreement in the Lebanon issue. US Secretary of State, Dr. Henry Kissinger, and United Nations Secretary General, Kurt Waldheim, conferred on the Middle East and Cyprus questions. Criticism is being voiced in India over a new code of press ethics which the Government plans to enforce by law: the pro-Moscow Communist Party papers criticised *Samachar*, India's sole domestic news agency, for distorting and suppressing news under Government instructions. Oil Magnate, Paul Getty, one of the richest men in the world, died.

TUESDAY, JUNE 8: Britain's Central Bank announced yesterday that country's major trading partners had agreed to make a standby credit of more than 5,000 million dollars available to the Bank of England. Following a murder of a Sikh teenager by a gang of Whites, outbreaks of race conflicts have been reported from London: some officials described the clashes as the most serious since an outbreak of race rioting in North London in 1958: meanwhile Asian immigrant leaders yesterday demanded an interview with Primes Minister, James Callaghan, to seek protection for their people. Pakistan Prime Minister, Bhutto, is expected to arrive in Kabul today for a four-day official visit for talks with Afghan leaders. A US Senate report yesterday blamed the Presidents and other senior US policy makers for abuses by the C.I.A. PLO leader Yassar Arafat said yesterday that Syrian forces have started an all out offensive in Lebanon. According to the German section of the Amnesty International nearly 130,000 people have been arrested in Chile since the overthrow of President Salvador Allende's Government in September, 1973. Bangladesh announced that China is willing to support Bangladesh in the dispute with India over the waters of Ganges by seeking international support for Bangladesh's cause and by helping to build a water conservancy project.

WITHOUT COMMENT

Minister On Mahaweli Waters

STATEMENT ISSUED ON JUNE 4, 1976 BY THE MINISTER OF IRRIGATION, POWER AND HIGHWAYS MR. MAITHRIPALA SENANAYAKE ON WATER ISSUES UNDER THE MAHAWELI DIVERSION PROJECT

NUMEROUS NEWS ITEMS and editorials based thereon have appeared in some newspapers in

regard to water issues to areas benefitted by the Mahaweli Diversion. Officials of the Ministry of Irrigation, Power and Highways and the Mahaweli Development Board have been criticised in this respect.

The period from 1973 onwards has been one of continuous drought, as is well known. The rainfall especially in the North Central sector of the island has been below average, necessitating restricted cultivation. The following table will indicate the extents actually cultivated in the Polonnaruwa and Anuradhapura districts since Yala 1973.

Scheme	Acreage Yala 73	Maha 73/74	Yala 74	Maha 74/75	Yala 75	Maha 75/76
Elahera	5257	3848	5257	3247	5257	3848
Attaragallawa	515	—	515	—	515	—
Giritale	6192	5398	6192	2439	6192	2481
Minneriya	13434	13434	13434	13434	13434	4091
Gal Amuna	3305	3305	3305	1652	3305	1652
Kaudulla	10500	—	6800	925	1955	2255
Kalawewa	13779	1000	13000	2000	—	1750
					(Using Mahaweli water)	
Nachchaduwa	5879	1850	5889	1000	—	—
Nuwarawewa	2400	1500	1718	—	—	—
Tissawewa	781	450	781	—	—	—
Basawakkulama	343	—	367	—	—	—
Halpan Ela	361	64	369	183	—	—
Huruluwewa	6447	—	3968	—	2000	—
						400

The period January to March is normally the driest period for the year throughout the island, and the flows in the Mahaweli are the lowest during this period in an average year. However the year 1976 has been one of critical drought and the flows in the Mahaweli during January to March has been one of the lowest in recorded history. In an average year the rain commences in April and the Mahaweli flows at over 2,000 cusecs. Unfortunately in 1976, the cycle of drought which commenced in January has continued through April and May and is still continuing. Consequently the flow of the Mahaweli at Polgolla in April and May has been about 400 cusecs in contrast to the normal 2,000 cusecs and over.

The Mahaweli Development Board in March 1976 carried out a study of likely flows in the Mahaweli for the Yala season of 1976 as well as of the likely local inflows in view of the anticipated shortage of water for the Yala cultivation

and placed its findings before the Ministry of Irrigation, Power and Highways for a decision in regard to extents of land to be provided with irrigation facilities with the limited quantities of water available.

I fixed a conference for March 30, 1976 to decide on water issues but as the Mahaweli flows still continued to be low postponed the conference to April 19, 1976. The Political Authorities for Matale, Polonnaruwa, Anuradhapura and Trincomalee Districts, as well as the Government Agents of these Districts together with District Directors of Works and Mahaweli Development Board officials were invited for this conference.

THIS CONFERENCE bore in mind broad national perspectives in deciding on extents to be provided with irrigation facilities from the Mahaweli Diversion. The Mahaweli development project is a national project, its benefits must be spread out over as large an area as possible. Social equity warrants and indeed, demands this. Accordingly in decid-

ing over the extents to be provided with irrigation water for Yala, special consideration was given to areas which had not had a successful cultivation for 4 to 5 seasons.

The Polonnaruwa District has had a very successful Maha cultivation in 1975/76, utilising partly the waters of the Mahaweli diversion. The fact that the Maha cultivation in that district would have been a partial failure, if not for the Mahaweli diversion and that the tank storages in Minneriya, Giritale would have almost been nil at the end of May 75/76, if not for the Mahaweli diversion was taken into consideration by the conference.

In terms of the decisions arrived at after this conference the following acreages were authorised for a Yala cultivation in 1976:—

Giritale	2,500
Elahera	3,900
Minneriya	13,434
Gal Amuna	3,305
Kaudulla	2,500
Nachchaduwa	5,889
Tissawewa	781
Basawakkulama	343
Halpan Ela	740
Kalawewa L.B. Sluice	800
acres under Purana tanks and	
Kandalama	4,000
acres	

In addition to extents authorised for cultivating at this conference, it was also decided to issue approximately 30,000 acre feet for the sugar cultivation at Kantalai to save the sugar crop from failure which would have led ultimately to a loss of some Rs. 35m in foreign exchange. It was further decided to review the position and if as a result of rains the situation improved, to provide water for additional extents. Unfortunately this has not still happened and the rainfall expected as in previous average years, has not materialised, as yet.

It was unfortunate that the Political Authority for the Polonnaruwa District who is the Member of the National State Assembly for Minneriya and Deputy Minister of Planning and Economic Affairs could not be present at this important conference. He arrived after the conference and was however briefed by me in regard to decisions.

Notwithstanding the severity of the prevailing drought, it will be clear from an examination of the

figures of the extents authorised for this Yala cultivation that the Polonnaruwa District has been authorised an additional extent of approximately 12,000 acres as compared with the Yala specifications in 1975. This has been possible due to the Mahaweli diversion. Under the Minneriya reservoir alone the full extent under the specification viz. 13,474 acres has been authorised for a Yala cultivation. Anyone familiar with this area would know that no appreciable cultivation would have been possible under this reservoir from the Amban Ganga flows, which was the main source of water for this reservoir prior to the Mahaweli diversion, has the flow of this river itself as been less than 150 cusecs throughout April and May 1976.

Clearly, but for the Mahaweli diversion, the Minneriya reservoir would have been almost dry during this yala. Additionally 7,000 acres have been authorised for cultivation in the Anuradhapura District, where in particular no cultivation has been done over very large extents for 4 to 5 seasons.

IN VIEW of the prevailing continued drought the Ministry of Irrigation, Power and Highways has now been compelled to reduce the extents authorised for the Anuradhapura District by not taking up cultivation under Halpan Ela part of Basawakkulama and part of Nuwarawewa.

From the foregoing it should be clear that the extents decided upon for cultivation were arrived at after sober appraisal of the effect of the prevailing drought and the consequent limited quantities of water available. Narrow sectarian considerations of this or that electorate did not govern the decisions arrived at. It was clearly pointed out to Government Agents that under no circumstances should they authorise, under any scheme, extents in excess of those decided on at the conference and if they did so it would be at the risk of water shortages even for the authorised extents. Such irresponsible action would jeopardise the Yala crop over the authorised extents and lead to crop failure and consequent loss of production. The deleterious effect of this on the farmers themselves and the country as a whole cannot under the circumstances be countenanced at a period of crisis. Government

Agents have accordingly been warned on this score and of the risks involved.

Under the circumstances, when wiser counsel should indeed prevail on the water issues, it is unpardonable to note the mock heroics of threats to blast dams and stage fasts, to say nothing of the cowardly public attacks spiced with perverse racial innuendo that have been made against defenceless officials.

Any transgressions of the law or attempts to incite unsuspecting peasant farmers and colonists on the question of the water issues will not be tolerated.



L I M A

Programme On Mutual Assistance And Solidarity

— political declaration —

Last week we published the full list of participants, observers and guests who attended the Lima Conference, August 25-30, 1975. The Lima Conference was the last big Non-Aligned Meeting before the forthcoming Colombo Summit. This week we publish the first instalment of the Political Declaration.

ATTENDANCE AT THE CONFERENCE

1. Pursuant to the recommendations of the IVth Summit Conference of Heads of State or Government of the Non-Aligned Countries held in Algiers and the decision taken by the Bureau at its meeting held in Havana from 17 to 19 March 1975, the Conference of Foreign Ministers of the Non-Aligned Countries took place in Lima (Peru), from 25 to 30 August 1975.

2. The following member countries and organizations were represented at the Lima Conference.

Afghanistan, Algeria, Argentina, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Bhutan, Botswana, Burma, Burundi, Cabo Verde, Cambodia, Central African Republic, Chad, Congo, Cuba, Cyprus, Dahomey, Democratic People's Republic of Korea, Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam, Democr-

atic Yemen, Egypt, Equatorial Guinea, Ethiopia, Gabon, Gambia, Ghana, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Guyana, India, Indonesia, Iraq, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Laos, Lebanon, Lesotho, Liberia, Libyan Arab Republic, Madagascar, Malaysia, Mali, Malta, Mauritania, Mauritius, Morocco, Mozambique, Nepal, Niger, Nigeria, OLP, Oman, Panama, Peru, Qatar, Republic of South Viet-Nam, Rwanda, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Somalia, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Swaziland, Syrian Arab Republic, Togo, Trinidad, and Tobago, Tunisia, Uganda, United Arab Emirates, United Republic of Cameroon, United Republic of Tanzania, Upper Volta, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zaire and Zambia.

3. The following countries and organizations attended the meeting as Observers:

Bolivia, Brazil, Colombia, Ecuador, El Salvador, Mexico, Uruguay, Venezuela, ANC, FLC, MPLA, FNLA, PAC, Partido, Socialista, Portorriqueno, United Nations, Organization of African Unity, Arab League, OSPAA.

4. The following countries were invited to attend as Guests:

Australia, Austria, Finland, Guatemala, Honduras, Philippines, Portugal, Rumania and Sweden.

POLITICAL DECLARATION AND STRATEGY TO STRENGTHEN INTERNATIONAL PEACE AND SECURITY AND TO INTENSIFY SOLIDARITY AND MUTUAL ASSISTANCE AMONG NON-ALIGNED COUNTRIES

5. THE MINISTERS noted with satisfaction that, the policy followed by the Non-Aligned Countries had achieved important successes during the period following the IVth Summit in Algiers. Non-Aligned Countries have become through their struggle against imperialism, colonialism, neocolonialism, racism, Zionism, apartheid and any other form of foreign domination one of the decisive elements in the significant changes that are taking place in international relations. With their action in favour of peace, freedom and independence, the liberation of peoples, a new world economic order and the democratisation of international relations, the Non-Aligned Countries have increased their influence and responsibility.

6. The movement of Non-Aligned Countries thus constitutes an effective instrument and an unavoidable option that exerts an ever growing attraction for those countries who struggle for independence, equality, peace, economic and social progress, and for the establishment of new political and economic relations in the world.

7. The Foreign Ministers examined the international situation and noted that the gap between the existence of affluent economies based on an unjust international economic order which is now in a state of crisis, and the social and economic deprivation of vast masses living in the developing world is becoming more acute. It generates a radicalisation of the revolutionary potential in developing areas which, in turn, manifests itself in the irreversible progression of an historical current leading to economic and political liberation, strengthening of national identity and cultures, preservation of spiritual values and national heritage, the attainment of an equitable economic and social order which allows the masses to participate in the development process and in its benefits.

8. The participants are aware that the international "detente" which is now taking place, offers favourable conditions for the solution of cold war problems, as well as of problems stemming from the danger of nuclear confrontation, with its catastrophic consequences. This "detente" process, however, will remain limited and precarious unless it is extended to all geographical areas and unless it favours effective democratisation of international relations, including all members of the international community in the solution of serious problems and the elimination of centers of tension affecting humanity, so as to ensure a lasting and stable peace conducive to full development.

9. The Ministers for Foreign Affairs consider further that the excellent results of the European Conference on Security and Cooperation will have a positive impact on the solution of problems deriving from the cold war and other international problems.

10. They also pointed to the close connection between European security and security in the Mediterranean region and the

Middle East, and requested participants in the above Conference to commit themselves to the solving of development questions and other international economic problems in a spirit of equality and respect for the interests of all countries.

11. The success of liberation movements in Africa and of the revolutionary forces in Kampuchea, Vietnam and Laos, the strengthening of nationalism and of structural changes in Latin America, and positive changes which have taken place in some European countries constitute a favourable feature of present international developments.

12. The Ministers for Foreign Affairs observed that, in this respect, the Lima Conference is taking place at a time when the world situation is basically characterised by the successes of historical movements for national liberation and of progressive forces within a process of detente which is still limited in its scope by the hardening of hegemonic and imperialistic pretensions in all their manifestations as a reaction against the political awakening of the people of the Non-Aligned and other developing countries and by the deterioration of the world economic situation as a consequence of the old and inequitable international order.

13. The Meeting of Foreign Ministers in Lima takes place at a time when the peoples in Asia and Africa commemorate the 20th anniversary of the historic Bandung Conference of Asian and African Nations that formulated the Ten Principles of Bandung, which have constituted a tremendous moral force for the colonial peoples in their struggle for national independence and are recognized as principles of peaceful coexistence and cooperation.

14. Moreover, the Lima Conference takes place under international circumstances where the positive repercussions of Non-Alignment policy and its paramount importance for the present development of international relations have been reaffirmed. The proof of this is the efficient and coordinated action of the Non-Aligned during the Vth Special Session and the XXIX Regular Session of the General Assembly of the United Nations, as well as during the Dakar Conference, the UNIDO Conference held in Lima, together

with the strategy adopted by the developing countries with respect to the Paris Conference on energy, raw materials and development, and during the meetings of the Coordinating Bureau in Algiers, New York and Havana.

15. Besides these positive elements in the evolution of international relations, there is a series of persisting conflicts and tensions in which imperialist policies and persistent unpunished aggression prevent the application of formulae for a true solution, as in the case of the Middle East and Palestine, Cyprus, South Africa and the situations of alien domination and dependence which still exist in Latin America, Asia and Africa.

16. The Conference pays vibrant homage to the heroism of the people of Kampuchea, their firm determination to struggle without compromise until they achieve complete victory, their high spirit of independence and sacrifice, their just position in relying on their own efforts that have led to a historic victory against the war of imperialist aggression, thus finally liberating their country, on April 17, from the domination of American imperialists and a treacherous puppet regime. This was hailed as the victory of all peoples who wish for peace and justice in the world.

17. The Conference reaffirms its complete solidarity with the struggle of the people of Kampuchea who, in this new stage of their history, must ensure the defense of their independence, their national sovereignty and territorial integrity, and, at the same time, rebuild the country on a basis of independence and self-confidence, in accordance with their aspirations.

18. It condemns American imperialism which, not accepting defeat, seeks by all means to sabotage Kampuchea's independence and peace, in order to prevent the reconstruction of the country ravaged by the war of imperialist aggression.

19. The Conference of Ministers for Foreign Affairs warmly hails the historic victory won by the heroic people of Vietnam, in their struggle for the independence of their country, in inflicting total defeat on the adversary in the war of aggression of United States imperialism. They consider this to be an important contribution to

Lima Declaration

the struggle of Non-Aligned Countries and peoples who love peace, national independence, democracy, and social progress. The Conference declares that the victory won by the Vietnamese people is also a triumph of the Non-Aligned Countries, of socialist countries and of other people in the world who have efficiently supported this just struggle.

20. The Conference recommends that the international community co-operate in the task of reconstructing the economy of Vietnam in accordance with the decision adopted by ECOSOC. The Conference resolves to establish a voluntary solidarity fund of Non-Aligned Countries for the reconstruction of Vietnam, primarily for the purpose of strengthening co-operation with a view to repairing the war damages.

21. Members attending the Conference recall that contribution to the reconstruction of Vietnam is a commitment that was solemnly undertaken by the United States under the Paris Agreement.

22. Although its aggression against Vietnam failed, the Government of the United States has followed a policy contrary to the aspirations of a large majority of members of the United Nations and to the United Nations Charter. This policy was recently reflected in the American veto in the Security Council to the application for admission to the United Nations of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Vietnam. The Non-Aligned Countries pledge to support their application for admission as members of the United Nations and propose that the Thirtieth General Assembly of the United Nations express its absolute and full approval and request the Security Council to reconsider their applications for membership. The Ministers for Foreign Affairs request the Coordination Bureau to seek the implementation of the above at the Thirtieth Session of the General Assembly of the United Nations.

23. The Ministers for Foreign Affairs warmly acclaim the historical victory won by the people of Laos in their long struggle against United States aggression, and their attainment of independence and national sovereignty, and note with

pleasure that their struggle plays an important role in the effort of peoples all over the world to attain independence and achieve social progress, and in safeguarding the security of Southeastern Asia. They hail the indefatigable efforts of the Provisional Government of the National Union of Laos to promote the policy of non-alignment and to work toward its unity.

24. In order to aid the people of Laos to restore their economy to its pre-war state, the Conference recommends that the Government of the United States, in accordance with its declaration, contribute to the repair of war damage in Laos, and requests the international community to co-operate actively in the economic reconstruction of Laos, in accordance with the decision adopted by ECOSOC.

25. The Lima Conference expresses its profound concern at the fact that imperialism persists in maintaining its military presence in Southern Asia, thus constituting a threat to the peace and security of the region.

26. Therefore, the Non-Aligned Countries reaffirm their unconditional support for the struggle of the South East Asian countries for genuine independence, peace, freedom and neutrality, for the liquidation of the military bases and military presence of imperialism in this region, for the dissolution of the SEATO, thus permitting the peoples of South East Asia to live in peace good neighbourliness and cooperation in conformity with the 10 Bandung Principles.

27. The Ministers for Foreign Affairs welcome with great satisfaction the independence of Guinea-Bissau, Mozambique, the Cape Verde Islands, Sao Tome and Principe, and Comoro and state that the victory won in the struggle carried out by their peoples constitutes a substantial contribution to the historical process of liberation of the Third World and to the progress of revolutionary, progressive and peace-minded forces.

28. The new countries that have just attained independence after a cruel struggle and with great sacrifice, now face the difficult tasks of national reconstruction and the serious economic and social problems it involves. Therefore, the Conference considers it a duty

of the international community to give them adequate assistance to enable them to succeed in their endeavours.

29. The Foreign Ministers decided to seek concrete formulae so as to make it possible for the Non-Aligned Countries to co-operate effectively in the reconstruction of the economy and consolidation of the independence of the former Portuguese colonies.

30. However, in spite of these positive achievements, the situation in Southern Africa still constitutes a serious threat to international peace and security. Attempts are being made to frustrate the independence of Angola by way of a new act of imperialist aggression designed to provoke fratricidal civil war in that territory.

31. The Conference expresses its concern in face of this situation and reiterates the inalienable right of the Angolan people to independence, unity and national sovereignty, to territorial integrity within the present borders, and to the right to settle their own problems. The Conference condemns all foreign interference whatsoever in the internal matters of Angola and demands the immediate withdrawal of the South African troops and foreign mercenaries from its territory.

32. On the other hand, the majority of the population in the territories of Zimbabwe and Namibia are still deprived of their right to self-determination and independence, while their people are still subjected to the discriminatory system of apartheid.

33. In underlining the need for concrete action against the forces of colonialism, racism and apartheid, the Ministers for Foreign Affairs endorse the Dar-es-Salaam Declaration on Southern Africa which was adopted in March 1975 by the Organization of African Unity. They decided to coordinate their efforts at the 30 Session of the United Nations General Assembly so that the Declaration could also be adopted by the United Nations.

34. They reiterate their demand that the South African racist white minority oppressive regime put into practice the resolutions and decisions of the United Nations with respect to Namibia. In this

connection, the Ministers demand that South Africa strictly respect the unity and territorial integrity of the territory and that it put an end forthwith to its policy of Bantustanization. They reaffirm their undertaking to support firmly the legitimate struggle of the Namibian people under the SWAPO leadership. Likewise, they demand that the United Nations Security Council fulfill its responsibility and take all necessary measures, including those contemplated in Chapter VII of the Charter, so that the decisions of the United Nations be abided by. They undertake to contribute to the United Nations Fund for Namibia and to give their support to the decree concerning the protection of its natural resources, and undertake to support action in favour of Namibia in the United Nations Council.

35. The Ministers for Foreign Affairs condemn all attempts made by the racist minority regime of Rhodesia to prevent an equitable solution of the Rhodesian problem according to the aspirations of African people of Zimbabwe and demand the immediate release of all prisoners as well as the total withdrawal of South Africa from this territory. They reaffirm their support of, and solidarity with, the African people of Zimbabwe and the leadership of the African National Council (ANC) in its legitimate struggle. They pledge themselves to give effective assistance to the ANC so that it can decisively defeat all the maneuvers of the Smith regime, in the struggle to achieve the complete liberation of Zimbabwe.

36. They strongly condemn the policy of *apartheid* and denounce the creation of the so-called "homelands" which are calculated to entrench the oppressive and repressive rule of the *apartheid* regime. The Ministers reiterate that the continuation of *apartheid* constitutes a serious threat to international peace and security.

37. The Conference took note with concern of the recent visit of the head of the racist regime of South Africa to Uruguay and Paraguay, as well as of the increasing relations of other governments of Latin America, particularly the Chilean government, with the South African regime.

38. The Conference is deeply concerned over the growing co-

operation between the racist regimes of South Africa and Israel, particularly in the military, political, diplomatic, economic, and cultural fields.

39. The participants deem it necessary to invite the attention of the international community to the fact that the United States, France and the United Kingdom have made simultaneous use of their veto power in favour of the racist regime of South Africa, twice in a period of six months, in order to thwart, the will of the majority of the members of the United Nations.

40. While condemning the abuse of the veto power by the three Western Permanent Members of the Council, the Ministers agreed to intensify the action of Non-Aligned Countries to obtain prompt compliance with the resolutions adopted by the Security Council, the General Assembly and the Dar-es-Salam Declaration.

41. The Ministers for Foreign Affairs warmly congratulate the people of the Comoro Islands on the progress of their struggle for national liberation. They applaud the proclamation of independence of the people of the Comoro Islands and call upon the French government to provide for the immediate withdrawal of its troops from that country. The Ministers condemn any attempt against the national unity and territorial integrity of the Comoro Islands and reaffirm their absolute support to its independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity.

42. The Non-Aligned Countries express their concern at the Spanish maneuvers to delay the legal proceedings already initiated before the International Court of Justice and introduced by the General Assembly of the United Nations at the joint demand of Morocco and Mauritania. They demand that the administering power abstain from taking any unilateral action within this territory until the United Nations General Assembly takes a stand on the policy to be followed in the so-called Spanish Sahara.

43. Furthermore, considering the repressive acts committed by the Spanish authorities in the towns of Ceuta and Melilla, on the Jaafarines islands and on the Rocks of Alhoceima and Velez under Moroccan

jurisdiction, the Non-Aligned Countries express their full support for the claims of the Kingdom of Morocco to recover its territorial jurisdiction over its towns, islands and enclaves and request Spain to enter into direct negotiations with Morocco to arrange for their immediate restitution.

44. The Conference of Ministers for Foreign Affairs likewise demands that the process of total decolonization of the Sahara under Spanish rule, of the so-called French Somaliland (Djibouti), and of the Seychelle Islands be accelerated.

45. In this context, they express their concern over the situation in the so-called French Somaliland (Djibouti) and reaffirm their full support for the immediate and unconditional independence of the people of the so-called French Somaliland (Djibouti).

46. The Ministers for Foreign Affairs welcome the overthrow of the colonialist regime in Portugal. They express their satisfaction at the Portuguese Government's positive attitude towards the decolonization of its former African territories.

47. While declaring its full solidarity with the Portuguese Revolution the Conference expresses its strong wish that the Revolution be allowed to take its own course, free from external interference or pressures.

48. The situation in Palestine and the Middle East continues to constitute a serious threat to international peace and security. Israel's obstinacy in pursuing its occupation of the Arab territories and its disregard of the national rights of the Palestinian people, constitutes a permanent aggression and a systematic violation of the principles which govern the International community, the Charter and the Resolutions of the United Nations, as well as the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

49. The maintenance of a "no war—no peace" situation does not allow for a just and equitable solution since this conflict is being dealt with by a small group of countries without the positive participation of the Non-Aligned Countries.

50. The Conference affirms that between the aggressor and its

victim there is no place for neutrality, for neutrality in such cases is tantamount to condoning aggression. The Conference of Ministers for Foreign Affairs strongly condemns all those powers and in particular the United States of America which continues to afford military economic, political and moral support to Israel, and calls for the immediate cessation of such aid. This massive support to the racist regime eliminates all doubts as to the deliberate intention of the United States and other imperialist powers to make Israel a base of colonialism and imperialism within the Third World, and to use it to break the liberation movements, consolidate racist regimes, threaten peace and security in the developing countries and plunder their natural resources.

51. In this regard, the Conference expresses its deep concern at these manoeuvres of Zionism and Colonialism, which tend to dilute the efforts exerted in the search for a just and lasting peace in the Middle East and whose objective is none other than to prolong Israel's occupation of Arab territories conquered by force and to deny the national rights of the Palestinian people.

52. The Conference states that any steps that may be taken by way of partial or interim solution should by no means prejudice the national and legitimate rights of the people of Palestine to return to its homeland and exercise self-determination, nor should such steps prejudice total and immediate withdrawal from all the occupied Arab territories.

53. The Ministers for Foreign Affairs reaffirm their conviction that the Non-Aligned Countries must contribute directly and positively to the efforts for the establishment of an equitable and durable peace in the Middle East.

54. The Conference considers that the interest of security and peace in the world rests on the immediate implementation of relevant United Nations resolutions and reiterates that a just and durable peace in the Middle East must be based on the two following principles:

1. The immediate and unconditional withdrawal of Israel from all the territories occupied since June 5, 1967;

2. The exercise by the Palestinian people of all their national rights, including their right to return to their country and to self-determination and political independence.

55. In the light of the analysis of the situation the Ministers for Foreign Affairs agreed on the necessity to continue and intensify efforts to implement resolutions 3236 (XXIX) of November 22, 1974, adopted by the United Nations General Assembly and request, in that context, the Security Council to adopt a resolution embodying the principles and provisions of the above mentioned General Assembly Resolution.

56. By its continuing aggression against Arab countries and by its persistent violations of the UN Charter and Resolutions, Israel has isolated itself from the international community. The time has come for the Non-Aligned Countries to consider other measures against Israel, in conformity with the provisions of Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter.

57. The Ministers for Foreign Affairs of the Non-Aligned Countries demand therefore, that the United Security Council, in compliance with its responsibilities take all necessary measures, including those contemplated in Chapter VII of the Charter in order to force Israel to cease its aggression and its violations and implement all UN Resolutions concerning the Palestinian and the Middle East question.

58. The Conference most severely condemns Zionism as a threat to world peace and security, and calls upon all countries to oppose this racist and imperialistic ideology

59. The Conference reaffirms its satisfaction at the recognition by the General Assembly of the United Nations of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) as the sole representative of the Palestinian people, and welcomes the resolutions which grant the PLO the status of Observer in the United Nations Organization and reaffirm the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people, which must be taken into account in any solution to the Middle East problem. It welcomes the admission of the PLO as a full member of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries which constitutes a new expression of the

firm solidarity of the Non-Aligned Countries with the heroic struggle of this people for its inalienable national rights.

60. The Korean problem continues to exist due to the maintenance of the artificial division of the country, a situation which threatens peace and security in Asia and in the world. The Conference warmly welcomes the admission of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea as a member of the group of Non-Aligned Countries and reaffirms its support of the policy of independent and peaceful reunification without any foreign interference in its internal affairs advocated by the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and demands that all foreign troops that remain stationed in South Korea under the United Nations flag be withdrawn and the present Korean Military Armistice Agreement be replaced with a peace agreement, in order to create favourable conditions for converting the armistice into a durable peace in Korea and accelerating the independent and peaceful reunification of Korea.

61. The Conference further expresses the hope that the North and South of Korea will observe the three principles of national reunification stipulation in the "North-South Joint Statement of July 4, 1972."

(To be Continued)



BUILDING A VILLAGE HOUSE—82

Village Scrapbook—vii

By Herbert Keuneman

Having neglected parochial gossip for quite some time I would now return to more narrow, Ehetuwewa affairs if there were, only, Ehetuwewa affairs of sufficient extra-Ehetuwewa significance—or even interest—to write about. But there are not. The drought goes on (takes up where it left off for a few deceitful showers in late April; true there is some water in the tank now, but only enough for a partial yala sowing) the people go on being duped by the co-operatives, the paddy-purchase scheme, one agency or another, and by the promises and propaganda

put out concerning each; prices go on standing immovably still, if they don't actually climb higher, and the availability of goods goes on falling away from a relative and, even so, unprecedentedly ungenerous high during the annual New Year thimberigerry; the life, in fact, seems to have gone out of the villager to the extent that he does not even complain; but only a politician would take it that this means he has no complaints!

So this time, again, I must indulge in generalities, for the most part, though with perhaps at least a more topical application. But first another unmitigated irrelevancy.

A MISSING LINK. I must add, I think, a Post Script to my story of the Kantalai Resthouse ghost, for I fear I left out of the original account the trifle of 'evidence' as to the truth of the story that I promised you as surviving, to the best of my current knowledge, to this day. It isn't much, as evidence goes; but if it can add to your creeps—or create them—the next time you spend a night at the resthouse I shall have made a small contribution, so be it, to its tourist attractiveness.

I trust the basic architecture of the place is still the same. If so: as you enter from the 'tunnel' into the loggia-like verandah overlooking the lake, look up and to your left. You will note that the last of the line of stone corbels which support, or used to support, the upper wallplate of the verandah roof is still missing. This end of the verandah was the mosquito screened section. And you will remember (I hope) how that putative planter whose grim death apparently started the whole strange business died.

They say the ghost walks—or, rather, lies—no longer. But what of that? Many of the best attested ghosts seem to wear out (if that is the word) in time. But a few peculiarly gifted souls—and maybe, even unknown to yourself, you are one—possess as it were antennae sensitive enough to tune into signals from the occult beyond the reach of coarser systems. Good luck to you!

LIEBFRAU-MILK. That isn't wrong spellin. I am referring not to the wine of the Rhinhesse but to what an over literary Indian friend of mine fancifully described as 'The Wine of the Cow'! the too-

often soured milk-substitute (it must be) on which Mother Lanka too often offers to suckle us.

If you thought the Condensed Milk hoo-hah which excited Colombo some weeks ago when public outcry had for once actually brought a government corporation to the point of acknowledging (but also seeming to be little: I shall return to that) an error was over now, with the Corporation's 'explanation' and its offer to replace spoilt tins—how many consumers? even in Colombo could possibly do that—you would be woefully wrong. And if you took at face value the statement that the bad stocks had been withdrawn, at all events from the co-operatives, you would also be woefully wrong; they may have been withdrawn from the co-operatives of articulate Colombo, but they were certainly not withdrawn from—and may, indeed, even have been cynically added to—the stocks of co-operatives in the inarticulate rural areas; Ehetuwewa, for instance, had the offending—in fact the offensive—tins on sale until the end of June! In the co-operatives, and not only in private kades; just as the bad flour persisted in the rural areas long after it had disappeared in Colombo.

Tribune has earlier pointed out the strange anomaly that 12,000 tins acknowledged—or repudiated—by the Corporation had kept the Island supplied with bad milk for over a year. But this is carping. It was, I am quite ready to believe, no more than 12,000 tins whose milk refused to dissolve (as a result of irregular meter readings). It is manifestly unfair to harrass a busy Government Undertaking with silly enquiries as to the precise interpretation of this double-edged excuse: did the meter read falsely? or was it falsely read? and I will not ask. Instead, I will patriotically point out to *Tribune* that the earlier bad milk could be dissolved (with a little trouble) and was only rancid: obviously, quite a different meter was involved and how many bally meters does *Tribune* expect a corporation to be able to keep its eyes on?

About a week ago (today is the 3rd of June) I bought two tins of condensed milk at the Ehetuwewa co-operative. I opened the

first. It was like coagulated latex. I opened the second. Ditto. Now, I am a patient man: I wanted my eye-opener of coffee; but with coffee at Rs. 20-something a pound I have some time since had to settle for tea; with condensed milk at the quality I have had to grow inured to I was even prepared for the tea to taste somewhat like badish cottage cheese; but now it seemed as though I should have to go without any eye-opener (and persistaltagogue) at all; I became desperate and opened the tin of Lakspray, dried milk powder, I keep by me for culinary emergencies. Thank God I did! for it would not have been seen me through an emergency of the most exigent kind! The thing refused to work. It faintly clouded the tea—faintly—but at the bottom of the cup lay a half inch of a kind of insoluble precipitate or mystery or something, a kind of clotted slime like globigerina ooze, which turned my stomach. I chucked the dregs—and the whole tin that yielded them—out of the window.

This, I later came to see, was very foolish. I should have carefully shut the tin, taken it to the co-operative where I had bought it, and then after the local manager had laughed me out of the place saying he knew nothing about such things, (and, probably, cared less) I should have brought it back, carefully parcelled it up and posted it to the Chairman of the Milk Board, doubtless only to be told that I was under a misapprehension, it was only Condensed milk the Board or Corporation or whatever was committed about. One possible explanation of the phenomenon also dawned on me later: I had heard rumours that soya flour was being added to our dried milk (excellent thing, soya flour; chock-a-block with proteins and as good as milk any day) and the 15% soya flour was an acceptable proportion in milk powder. Now, it was easily understandable—and to understand all is to forgive all—that by the faulty reading of a meter, or something else, the proportions might be reversed. True, 85 parts of soya flour to 15 of milk might make a shambles of a recipe calling for something more Conservatively lacteous; but the nutriment would be as good as milk or better: Soya Is Good For You!

But oh! loving Mother Lanka, when will you feed us real milk again?

THE CUSTOMER IS ALWAYS RIGHT. Especially when the customer is any government agency! If the customer is the public, and a government agency the seller... well, circumstances alter cases.

All the same, it was a rather better than usual radio feature I listened to last night. It concerned the new Paddy Purchase System and raised the question why the farmer (the *goviya*, as the government representatives in the discussion kept forgetfully calling him and then having to add the honorific panacea for any undueness and correct themselves: *govi-mahatmaya*) still seemed to prefer to sell to the *mudalali* than to the paddy store. It was better than usual in that, at least, two *govi-mahatturu* were allowed to speak for themselves. Of course, with the usual heavy-handedness inseparable from official propagandization the discussion was clearly rigged: the *govi-mahatturu* spoke first and were then dismissed after their objections had been cavalierly 'met' by a couple of officials obviously arguing not from what is the case but from what *ought* to be the case or from what—naively, surely—they may have hoped would be (eventually) the case; and the first speakers were followed by (a) a highly pro-New System *govi-mahatmaya*—you can always arrange this sort of thing in a pre-arranged programme—and (b) two representatives of the government purchasing side—one of whom, honest man, had not so much as heard of malpractices within it—and the first speakers were given no opportunity to argue the arguments of their, as it were, opponents. Nevertheless the broadcast was a step in the right direction.

Apparently, the old objections to selling to the government instead of to the *mudalali* still apply, New Scheme or not; and, to match the new scheme, there is a new objection as well, the use of the new Moisture Meter to determine the dryness (and therefore the acceptability) of the paddy offered. Another meter! Maybe all this fiddling around with meters—which we have seen may be misread—springs from another misreading:

'meters' for 'meters' in this periods of whipped-up enthusiasm for change to the metric system! But seriously, even if a precise moisture measurement is essential to the storage of paddy in the new and hitherto largely empty silos of today, it is most unfair by the grower that his paddy be evaluated by (amongst other tests) an instrument only available after he has carted it at considerable cost to the paddy store. It may seem perfectly dry to him, by the old rules of thumb; but what guarantee has the poor man that it will be *dry enough*? It would seem elementarily just that a moisture meter be provided at least to each Govi Mandalaya, with a responsible operator trained to use it, so that the *goviya* may be sure the expense and time involved in cartage will be worth it *before* he takes his paddy to the store.

In the broadcast, the laughable basis of the official attempts at sweet persuasion was that the *mudalali* was in business for profit and was therefore all kind of cheat (doubtless generally true) whereas government was all on the common man's side, the *goviya's*—sorry: *govi-mahatmaya's*—side and cheating him simply did not make sense (which it doesn't, if only the first premise be true). But the fact seems to be that government—not as professed, but as *practised*—is first of all on its employees' side: protecting him, pampering him, almost inviting him to make a little money; and hell—or anyway to limbo—with the general public, *govi-mahatmaya* or not. Accordingly, government, though not intentionally so, is in its representatives as much profit-motivated and dishonest as any *mudalali*! For one example: much play was made *mudalalis'* short measures; while, it was stressed, the paddy Purchase officials were issued with authenticated weights and measures. Very good. But how often is it *surprise-checked* that those are the weights and measures regularly used?

The preference many growers still show for dealing with the *mudalali*, hard businessman though he may be, is due, it seems, to the old reasons; is due, it seems, to precisely that: that he is a businessman: (1) he pays on the dot: Paddy Purchase payments take perhaps a month, may take longer if the

local co-op. manager even after the money due to a grower is released hangs on to it to let it 'roll'. (2) The *mudalali* always accepts the paddy: there is no being turned back because 'the store is full' and the appropriate bribe is not forthcoming, now on 'moisture metering'; no *bol balli*—yet another metering to estimate empty huskage—no unfamiliar calculation by the pound or, worse, the kilo, no queuing about while the reams of official paper-work is done at government speed. All this is worth the dropping of two or three rupees a bushel, and the *mudalali* does not always drop that. Moreover, there are imponderables: if a farmer is in debt to the co-operative, say for seed paddy, he will go to the *mudalali* rather than have the debt automatically deducted, whereas the *mudalali* (though he is almost certainly a creditor too) can usually be persuaded to keep the two transactions apart; and in any event it is more the done thing to bilk the more the vague concept called The Government than a person, such as the *mudalali*. Agr'n, the *mudalali* is a village person: it is nearly as important for him to keep in the villagers' good books as it is for the villager (since the *mudalali* is the village banker, he will give you a Rs. 10 loan to take a sick child to hospital) to keep in his. The co-op. manager is a maverick. Needless to say, the latter arguments were not aired in the 'discussion'; but they should be considered just the same.

And they should be considered. Not just brushed off as irrelevancies from reactionary or just plain ignorant sources, as the objections were in last night's 'debate'. It was no debate: merely the setting right of the misconceptions, prejudices and excuses of a pair of visionless and foolish *goviyo*. Sorry: *govi-mahatturu*.

Still, as I say: a step, a small step, in the right direction.



NEXT WEEK

* MORE ABOUT THE

NONALIGNED

ECONOMIC CREDO?

Small is Beautiful

— Reverse —

By R. Kahawita

Some weeks ago, *Tribune* published a comment by Kumar entitled **SMALL IS BEAUTIFUL** commending a thesis put forward by Sri Lanka's Centre For Radical Studies as a blue-print to resolve all the island's ills. The theme *Small is Beautiful* is one of the current fads of neo-evangelists preaching economic panaceas. This slogan, *Small is Beautiful*, has recently been glorified, on the one hand, by some American theorists (vide reviews in *Time*, *Newsweek*, etc) as suitable small-scale economic credo for developing countries, and on the other by some Maoists who place total faith in the Small-Scale self-reliant economic activity to achieve the Great Leap Forward.

THERE IS AMBIGUITY in "Small is beautiful". Ambiguity is a mark of uncertainty. Sri Lanka is small and is beautiful. Also it is insular in geography and thought. She was small and beautiful like a growing child but may not be as innocent. Without innocence it is ugly and so Bishop Heber said—"Beautiful—only man is vile".

Like the growing child, as years pass by she gets corrupted, and with the capitalist or the pauper forces in charge of mass media, corruption is quick and intensive. With the mass media as an effective tool for indoctrination, and a Sri Lankan on the Starvation line, the rich Industrial and capitalist countries now vie with the poor communist and socialist countries to sow the seeds of hope in one case, and the seeds of discontentment and class struggle in the other case. So the opposing forces are destroying "Small is beautiful" socially and industrially at the expense of what the typical Sri Lankian is used to:— the village smithy, the buffalo and his plough,

cart and bullock etc. Revival means lagging behind the industrial power of the Capitalist. So high speed industrialisation to catch up the centuries of lost time and reverse the market process.

I do not want to say that Sri Lanka is poor. She was rich and prosperous, had the highest standard of living and the highest income per capita amongst the South Asian countries around 1936-1956. Then she was not shamed, and her dignity outraged by begging around the world for food. She had the money to buy whatever she wanted at her price. This much the Sri Lankian's conscience must admit whatever the religious beliefs of her people are.

The typical Sri Lankian never wanted to industrialize. This was far from the political concept after "Independence". The targets were to produce the basic needs, food and clothing, shelter if it could be afforded, using her own resources and man power. For this the stage was set till it was upset in recent years. If not for this early concept of what Sri Lanka needed most and got about in implementing it, we would be roasting each other for a meal.

The impact of a new concept of a social change in the later years, where a wage earning worker is more important than an independent peasant, to effect the change, production of basic needs were sup-planted by industrialisation. This resulted in a class division and a conflict of ideologies, and the brunt of the so-called change was borne by the Agricultural industry in all its activities. The begging bowl for food followed.

Why every thinking man all over the world wants to save democracy, in spite of all its shortcomings is, in a democracy, every one has a chance. What Sri Lanka wants is, not the extremes, a middle way as defined by our first Progressive Prime Minister, S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike. For enunciating his remedy for our social and economic ills he paid the extreme penalty and his road was blasted, and today, in his name, we have secretive small lanes like tentacles insidiously encircling the "the key people" as well as the "receptive youth" by ideologies of academic interest to Sri Lanka or a developing world. Exuberance is a way of expressing

adolescence and there is no better way of doing this than be a rabid extremist—we all have passed through this stage there are many who never grow out of it—and others with mature years and responsibilities came back to sanity.

THE TWO PROBLEMS, defined by the Radical Studies Centre—inability to produce our basic requirements in food, clothing and shelter, second, unemployment, certainly is an obvious contradiction. The solution to the former is to put the latter to work, but without "cash" for subsistence while working, the two cannot be married. Such cash is normally called "working capital" since the socialist thinkers hate the word "Capital". I call it cash; but without this subsistence cash the unemployed cannot and will not work, even though "They are today fed, clothed and lodged in villages" according to the Studys' points. The unemployed do not believe in the story of Moses and his people in the Old Testament. They cannot wait till it rains mana. This study group shows a lack of understanding or appreciation of the conditions in the so-called typical Village in this small is beautiful Isle of ours. The typical village is percent agricultural and that at subsistence level.

To suffer together in, the typical Village, there was understanding and mutual help to solve their problems. They cared for each other's woes and a sincere concern for each other, in this small is beautiful community. This spirit of "hard core camaraderie" is better gleaned from the Ehetuwewa narrative of the *Tribune* than from any other study or comments on the typical Village. This kind of Idylic society is being replaced by academic "socialism" today.

What the typical Village produces is eaten by the producers and shared with others. They are poor as they do not have the cash to buy clothing and repair their shelter. To enable them to buy what they need, their labour must be towards an "exchange economy" which the Radical Centre is suggesting to do away with, and supplant with a use value economy. There is no need to do this; it is already there in the typical village. This is their economy today and that is why they are poor and why the non-agricultural population has

to depend so much on foreign exchange earnings to buy their food.

However, one may describe the conditions in the typical Village in simple jargon, it is *Subsistence Agriculture*—one eats what one produces and if any surplus distribute among the needy in the village. The argument may be—why does a cartwright construct a cart?—goodness knows for what—may be for a joy ride—if not for sale. This is developing an exchange economy, while the cart is being put together the family must be sustained. So without subsistence cash (*Working Capital*) the cart may never materialise. This is exactly the problem in peasant agriculture in Sri Lanka.

The typical Village has the means of production—land, water, implements seed and agro-chemicals—if he hasn't at least theoretically they are available to him in the Government Shops. But the village do not have the cash to see them through the period of land preparation to crop gathering. We repeat, without offending our "socialist thinkers", we call it *working capital*, and without it the typical Village cannot survive in spite of the education and the tools of production—so the village migrates into urban or semi-urban areas to become wage earners.

What then happens to their small holdings and the production drive? That is Sri Lanka's problem today.

This pattern and the agricultural life is something we have inherited not from Colonial times but from the beginning of Aryan civilisation. It is traditional and it will be traditional with added weightage given to it under the guise of currently running Land Reforms. To change it, there must be a process of consolidation into economic units and weave into it, without shock treatment, the present day concept of production, distribution, etc. and thereby increase productivity which will change the subsistence economy into an exchange economy to secure for them a better standard of living.

ILLS ARE DUE to half baked theorists depending on the printed word for their experience, with the result, they have not made a success

of their own life, leave alone the life in the typical Village. Because they are half baked, they cannot think of any one expressing a viewpoint that is not in their book of words. If they do they are categorised as biased by this Political Party or that Political Party and so on.

Thinking in this strain Mr. R. Kahawita has been labelled as a strong U.N.P. supporter. This is really adding insult to injury. Kahawita may have commended the development policies and activities of a particular Political Party, but that does not follow that he is an adherent of that party. This is bad logic. If he pinpoints any work done by the U.N.P., it is because, in his view, such a work is of a national interest and the whole country will benefit. Likewise if another Political party destroys and abandons such an undertaking because it was started by the U.N.P., he cannot and will not endorse such vandalism at the expense of the "people's money." To him it is not the party that matters, what matters is the good or bad they do when in power. He has an open mind and the charges he makes are by conviction and not by persuasion.

It is unfortunate our theorists cannot think independently or be able to express an impartial view. This bogey of a capitalist ridden U.N.P. is only a mental aberration of the biased. The masses—so-called proletariat of the communist—by the same logic are capitalist: 30,000 of them voted U.N.P. at the by-election of Ja-ela on 23.4.76. The proletariat drove the Marxist candidate out of existence. These are realities of life to which the wool gathering theorists are blind to. The truth of the matter is the United Front forming the Government today is no longer popular with the proletariat. They can demonstrate this because they still have a free vote. Thank goodness for that. For recording this, do not brand Mr. Kahawita as a U.N.P. He still has a free mind.

Sri Lankians have earned a reputation as being generous and sociable; they also have a reputation for living beyond their means. Anyway this should not be pushed to the seams to bust the economy and to maintain this reputation entertain the foreign tourists to the ex-

tent of giving your plate of rice to them and go hungry. A Francis of Assisi may have done it. But today there are no Francis to make such sacrifices—God is being modernized today to suit the priests so there may not be another Francis like the one of Assisi.

The building of Tourist complexes may be the brain child of capitalism and Mr. Kahawita may be a strong supporter of the U.N.P. This is the stupidity of the argument. Capitalists and U.N.P. are synonymous and *ipso facto* the 30,000 who voted U.N.P. are capitalist. The voters are not trained in this kind of logic but our theorists seem to be. Tourism may be the brain child of capitalism. Mr. Kahawita is not interested in that. His concern is, in the present context of our economic well being tourism has no place as a Foreign Exchange earner. The point emphasised by him has been missed, may be because of the mental pre-occupation to brand him as a U.N.P. supporter.

The tax payers spend 60 per cent of every Rs. 100,000 invested in tourism—to import luxury fittings etc. for the use of the tourist, hoping to earn a pittance in foreign exchange from them. It was the capitalist U.N.P. which started it and the S.L.F.P. gave it body and life by setting up a Ministry to boost it up during the last six and a half years. They could have done otherwise as in many other cases, where our people would have benefitted if the schemes started by the previous Government were pushed ahead like the Maligakande Housing satellite for the workers, or the new road to the Kelaniya bridge where there is now only a ruin of Pompeian scale. This is where Mr. Kahawita is screaming whether U.N.P., S.L.F.P. or U.F. their record of action is political rivalry while the people of the country are crying for food.

Socialism has nothing to do with the Rs. 100,000/- bedrooms for the tourists; but socialism-a-la-Sri Lanka lends support to it to earn foreign exchange, while the avenues of traditional exchange earners are being destroyed to set up a "socialist" state and a new "socialist" order. This started with Land Reforms, Liberation Tea, etc. It does not matter two hoots to the hungry masses how the

foreign exchange is earned so long as he gets his plate of rice. This is what was promised him at the elections to get his vote.

To keep this promise there was no need to adopt tourism, the brain child conceived illegitimately by the capitalists and nurtured into adolescence by the present Government. It could have made use of the "Potential already available" to increase the foreign exchange earnings. Export of tea, rubber and coconut brings to the country almost two thousand million rupees a year—almost 95% of our Foreign exchange earnings. If a Government had the interests of the masses, it could have used the available potential to increase production by 10% and concentrate on the expansion of the markets by 3%, the country would have earned an additional three hundred million rupees in foreign exchange, which no new enterprise to replace the legacy left behind the "Imperialist Capitalists", can ever hope to earn in a hundred years.

Such constructive thinking is not in the book of words on the Sri Lanka Road to "socialism". Their book says the *status quo* must be destroyed before the "road to socialism" is constructed. This is the guide line given by our theoretical charlatans to the United Front Government and this is what broke her back.

Liberation Tea is a *fait accompli*, so is the widening of the Starvation line. Soon we will see the results in mounting unemployment, mass starvation, dwindling Foreign exchange earnings. This is where socialism at least a-la-Sri Lanka variety comes into the picture, not building Rs. 100,000 for bedrooms nor the "atom bomb", but to hide the facts from the masses; Mr. Kahawita likes to bring the follies of our politicians and charlatans to light. This is the difference.

POINT OF VIEW

The Ayurvedic System Of Medicine

By Dr. R. E. W. Jehoratnam
Ex-Medical Officer and Physician
to the President of the Republic
of Maldives

THE PRINCIPLES OF AYURVEDIC MEDICINE are so fundamental and natural that everything is in its proper place and any new thing that may be discovered would only confirm or supplement its knowledge, but not alter the basic concepts. The system has a simple and perfect clinical method of diagnosis and treatment, that can be learnt by any educated person either to keep himself healthy or help others.

The fullest advantage is taken to mobilise local material and labour in the preparation of the medicines, so that the system is absolutely economical to the country though it may appear in cost or even costlier than that of scientific or western medicine.

The medicine employed must be suitable to the climate, conditions of our country and customs of the people. The unqualified practitioners and their patent medicines should not be taken as the criterion to judge the science: for everywhere weeds grow, the very "patent" methods are of western origin. Ayurvedic medicine should only be taken for the investigation or its merit. There is nothing to prevent Ayurvedic practitioners from using modern methods for diagnosis and treatment. The gratitude we owe to our forefathers who have borne this torch of wisdom from time immemorial which can be shown only by our studying the science carefully and putting it in practice, adding new knowledge and our own wisdom (if any) to it, and there after handing it over to posterity.

Under the term Ayurvedic Medicine, the three systems viz:- *Ayurveda*, *Siddha*, and *Unani* are included. *Ayurveda* is old as the Vedas themselves having Sanskrit as language of expression. *Siddha* medicine is special to South India, Tamil being the language in which it is written. As for *Unani* it is of Greek origin

introduced to India by the Mohamedan conquerors of the mediaeval age through the medium of Arabic literature.

The fundamental principles of *Ayurveda* and *Siddha* are almost identical, but the *Siddha* system has specialised in the method of diagnosis by the pulse and the use of mineral preparations. The *Unani* system, though akin to these two, differs in certain principles having a leaning towards the system of "scientific" medicine. *Know thyself* is the scope of *Ayurveda*. The realisation of the individual self (*Jiva*) with the universal spirit (*Purusha*) is the goal of every being in the Universe. Every thing else including our body and mind (*Prakriti*) are only means to achieve this end.

Ayurveda consists of two words '*Ayur*' meaning life and '*Veda*' meaning knowledge or science. And so the 'Science of Life' tells us of the way of keeping the human mind and body in a state of health so as to be able to follow the dictates of religion, the goal of existence, hence it is a *Veda*. *Veda of Ayus* (Life). Save humanity has been the watch-word of Hindu Medicine, Not for self, nor for the fulfilment of any earthly desire of gain, but solely for the good of suffering humanity should a physician treat his patients.

Every science is based on some particular theory or theories. The fundamental principle underlying the Ayurvedic system of medicine is the Theory of *Tridosha*. It is not the purpose of this article to compare the Western and the Ayurvedic systems of medicine. But to explain the *Tridosha* Theory as described in the standard works on *Ayurveda*. The three *Doshas*, viz; *Vayu*, *Piita*, and *Kapha*, which when in normal equilibrium keep the body sound; but when vitiated, either singly or in combination, bring about disease. The method of treatment would therefore be to bring the vitiated *Dosha* back to its normal state, so that the *Doshas* are again in equilibrium. The theory of *Vayu*, *Piita*, and *Kapha* was also a great discovery which unfortunately, has been misunderstood by Western Medical scholars judging by the wrong translations of terms "Wind, Bile, and Phlegm."

The proper explanation of this theory will need a full treatise,



but let me try to be brief:— the word *Vayu* does not imply "Wind" in Ayurveda but comprehends all the phenomena of motion which comes under the functions of life, functions of the Central and Sympathetic Nervous System. That the 'Pitta' does not essentially mean Bile but signifies the function of metabolism and thermogenesis or heat production in its scope the process of digestion, colouration of blood and formation of the various secretions and excretions which are the means or ends of tissue combustion; and the word "Kapha" does not mean Phlegm but is primarily to imply the functions of cooling and preservation (thermo-taxis) or heat regulation, and secondarily the various preservative fluids, e.g. Mucus, Synovia, and etc; which are the manifest forms of that functions.

The therapeutic effect of drugs on the human body are in relation to the *Tridosha* bodily characteristics (*Sareera Prakurthi*), effect of the drugs, (*Rasa, Guna, Veerya, Vipaka, Prabka*), and the treatment requires not only a knowledge of the drugs but also a detailed study of the patient. Microbes are not so much the cause of diseases if the resistance were normal, they could not cause infection. Ayurveda realises that the therapeutic effect of a particular drug depend not only on the properties of the drug itself but on the characteristics of the patient as well. A true Ayurvedic physician will avoid using Western drugs as much as possible and indeed will not find the need for them expect perhaps certain modern anti-bacterial drugs and analgesics which are believed to be superior to any known Ayurvedic drugs as bactericides and pain killers. Before Ayurvedic Physicians are allowed to use these drugs it is best that they be, given training in the effect of these drugs. Ayurvedic Institutions now teach Clinical Methods as a subject in their training, and intergrations are slowly taking place, and which will create a National System of Medicine, in Sri Lanka.

The use of Antibiotics is not against the principles of Ayurvedic Medicine, but as Ayurveda concentrates more on the constitution of the patient than on the disease, their use is justified only

in those rare cases where the infection has so overpowered the constitution, that it is incapable of developing the resistance to counteract it. Analgesics being pain relieving drugs and not cures, their use does not conflict with any of the principles of Ayurvedic treatment.

There are two methods of treatment. One aims at curing the disease, the other at curing the patient, Ayurveda cures the disease protecting the patient. As we find in daily practice, even a half-educated Ayurvedic physician who remembers the laws of Etiology and Therapeutics and Dietary hinging upon this theory fares pretty well by the bedside of the patient.

And finally, there can only be one system of medicine. In Sri Lanka, as in China. Western medical science and Ayurveda should be integrated. By integration of the two systems of medicine is meant not the incorporation of drugs of one system in the pharmacopeia of the other but the building up of a single system of medical science based on the principles, theories and doctrines of the two systems as can be combined to form this synthesis. The scientific characteristics and methods adopted for the development of Western Medical Science should be applied to the examination of the doctrines of Ayurveda for without such an examination no progress can be made towards the object of ascertaining the truth. The question of integration must be left to scientific research.



SAFARI — March 29 - April 3

On Being Depressed

By Alkardi Mugana

March 29,

Three nights where I am. When I got to the third word of that sentence, I began to think I was writing on wax paper, and it can take a little time trying to get through a wax patch on paper. The pen had run dry. It had served me very well indeed, a phenomenally long time, many times longer I would say than any other ball point had. Then this second pen began to run dry, one

I have had some time, and which I have used from time to time as a second pen, for one reason or another, or for no reason at all. This paper is on my knee, and it was the angle at which I was writing that was the trouble, and the ink would not flow. To come back to the pen that served me well, my current razor blade has served me many times longer than that. If I said six months, I could well be six months out of the mark. I was called away to dinner, and I switched direction but still on the same theme. When one comes to think, of it, inspite of the population explosion, it is a *sine qua non* that no manufactured item should be made so as to last. One tends to blame manufacture per se for poor quality. There is no reason I know of why this should be so. I do know that if manufactured goods lasted, the whole manufacturing system would collapse for lack of buyers.

March 30,

John Kennedy said on a return from a trip which included a visit to distant consins in Ireland, it is good to back home, and a few weeks later he was dead. I feel the same about my return here. It was raining in Colombo and I felt that I would never get away. It stopped in time. I was lucky with a bus and caught the main bus, all with not much time to spare. I got a seat too. I slept all the way and I had a friend with me the last a part of the journey. I do not at this hour want to go into details of the domestic and estate problems I ran into on my return. That is all settled, and all have settled down for the night, except some crickets and the frogs. Frogs can keep it up for hours, and crickets do not seem to tire either. Frogs may let up, but only for a moment, and they all do so together, Then if their are no crickets or any other unwanted foreign noises, complete silence prevails. Then they all start up together. So there is a rich music going on around me, rich in the quantity of voice. I have come armed, whatever did I write that for? Three books did I buy today. They were about *Foch* by Liddle Hart: some notes on Latin Grammer and an *Autobiography* by a Duke.

Quite dead with sleep was I when I wrote those last few lines,

last night as the Editor might have guessed. It is pouring with rain now, and it is midnight. We have had a long dry spell, and with the labour we had, we did not let up. Yet we had too few hands to do all the dry weather jobs. Now the rain is upon us, and we are not ready for it. Much has been cleared for subsidiary cultivation, but there is the ploughing to do. Some one had to go to Colombo to ask for a few rupees to buy petrol. Yet we have a few hundred rupees here, earmarked for a different purpose, paying the pickers, for we are in the middle of a pick. The cattle suffered most from the drought. The cart bulls are in a bad way because if it. The rains will make the grass grow. The estate looks green already, but there is surely enough of a bite for the cattle yet. When it was time to tie the cattle up at five it was raining, and the two cattlemen were running about in shorts tying the seventy-odd head up. Some of them, of course, are calves in *Kotuwas*. The lads are young, and they did not seem to mind going about barebodied in the rain. They did not seem to feel the cold drops of rain. They looked fit. They must be fit to have done what they did as cheerfully as they did it.

April 1.

A task, a daily chore, becomes work, I suppose, when you have not your heart in it, when you have lost interest in it, when it seems no longer a part of your life, when it has become a stranger to you, when, for all real purposes, you are just marking time. It must be here that true detachment becomes a real help. A sense of community in a crisis like this must be a really great help. You retire, you attend to your own affairs, your little hobbies, your own way of passing your leisure time, and you will be surprised how life will go on, how people will attend to their duties. You conserve energy, and you arrive on the scene at a critical point, to help sit an animal up, give it a bucket of water, make it take an interest in life, all of which will have been neglected if you had not gone along just at the right time. If you had been too busy, you would have missed the critical moment. Quite possible it is, that being busy may be the fault of a

very few, but how important it is to take things a little easy. To acquire wisdom, they said, you need leisure, and one may be quite sure it was not leisure to read books. Field Marshal Montgomery used to retire to bed phenomenally early, and one may be sure it was not just to sleep, but as much to reflect, and what better place to reflect than in bed? All this thought was provoked because I was feeling miserable today, disgruntled, much out of sorts, but long before the end of it, I was able to contribute my little mite.

April 2.

My feelings would best be described by the word, shattered: so shattered that I do not do half the things I used to do, or so I thought. It was my feelings and my interest that were shattered, but not surprisingly, my sense of what must be done, what must not be neglected. For the rest, it was only a matter of keeping up appearances, and this is something that can be dispensed with, and I dispensed with it. Now all the others were doing their duty, too and doing it well, so that my presence would have been superfluous. This was what was really wonderful. Some of the jobs done may have been imperfect, but this imperfection in the part of the growth of an individual, a part of the historical unfolding of their lives, that which makes a man develop. We should all experience it. I was up at 5.30 a.m., and when I got back, I fell asleep and slept fitfully but deeply until eleven. Then I saw to the water-tanks, the water troughs for the cattle to see if they were full, and that they were filled to the brim if they were not. The dropped or fallen nuts are five thousand over what they were last year, but the picked nuts have fallen in numbers, quite considerably in cases for we count them by blocks. Our sick animal had to be hoisted on to its feet, some animals had new sores, and others' sores were worse. So life goes on.

April 3.

A fine young ayrshire bull was found dead in a narrow ditch, its feet up though lying on its side. It could not right itself up and had lain there some time. All the rest is guesswork. Our herdwoman's sister had been bitten by a cobra,

and she is fifteen miles away. I sent her the estate snake-stone through her brother-in-law, who has been working here. What worries me is something different, and I would be hard put to it to explain it here, even if I did not try to draw a veil over it. Trouble looming ahead there is, and it seems more that a struggle of personalities. It might be better to say that it was an outright clash for power, yours truly always the innocent, aggrieved party, of course. It seems to be a clash, or crash between a person who by the unfolding of events has inherited some duties, as he thinks, and another who will brook no opposition, but exactly on what moral grounds I am hard put to it to explain. I can only guess but it is not something I would be inclined to air, just as I have refused to air that sort of thing even in private in a totally different, more pleasing, circumstances, even though no less bitter to me. One can only wait and see, knowing always that there is not just a third party as in this case, but a fourth, who is the arbiter of our fares.

SOUTH VIETNAM

ONE YEAR AFTER LIBERATION

Revolutionary Administration Consolidated

—Statement on the occasion of the 7th anniversary of the founding of the provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Vietnam, June 6, 1976

Over the past year since liberation, the revolutionary administration at all levels in South Vietnam has been consolidated and has increased its effect in managing the political, and economic and social life of the people. All the mass organizations within the National Front for Liberation have been deeply rooted among the masses. The people have been motivated to strengthen the new administration and revolutionary forces, and to exercise their collective mastership of society. The

people from all walks of life have shown an ever higher political consciousness by taking an active part in building the new regime and a new life.

Some of the most outstanding achievements in South Vietnam over the past year the maintenance of public order and security and the restoration of production with new steps of development in some economic branches. Fully observing the policy of leniency towards those who had been led astray but have repented over their past, the revolutionary administration has organized re-education classes for hundreds of thousands of non-commissioned officers and soldiers of the puppet army, helping them become good citizens of the independent and reunified Vietnam. Many of them were restored their citizenship as stipulated in the policy of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Vietnam, made public on January 28, 1976. The revolutionary administration has also held reformation classes for officials of the old regime and officers of the puppet army ranking from company officers to generals, who had been well trained by the U.S. in Vietnam or abroad for many years at military schools or in actual operations. So far, thousands of them, who had made progress in their study and had well reformed themselves, have returned to their families and living normally among the people.

On the other hand, the revolutionary administration has duly punished those who are still engaged in stealthy actions aimed at opposing the revolution and disturbing the people's peaceful life. It has also mopped up remnants of the puppet army, who refused to report themselves, or reactionaries still in operation, as well as gang leaders of bandits who have violated the people's life and property. In the past, at least 200 cases of robbery occurred daily in Saigon, now the figure has dropped to about ten a day. Likewise, traffic accidents have been reduced from about 200-300 a day in the past to about 20 at present.

Right after liberation, the revolutionary administration concentrated its efforts on stamping out the famine which was then threatening the lives of tens of thousands of families. In Ho Chi Minh city

alone, within eight months, more than 135 tons of relief rice were distributed to needy people, thousands of homeless people in the city were given a decent place to live in. The revolutionary authorities have paid due attention to solving the question of unemployment left behind by the old regime. So far, more than 210,000 people in the Mekong delta provinces have been given work at construction sites, State farms, afforestation centres, public offices and State enterprises.

The people's administration has persuaded and assisted more than 230,000 people to return to their native places, and hundreds of thousands of others to go and build new economic zones. In the southern provinces of central Vietnam, over the past year the revolutionary administration has provided jobs for at least 600,000 people 440,000 of whom returned to their native villages. The revolutionary administration has also motivated the popular masses to struggle against the comprador capitalists—who had hoarded goods and raised prices, causing economic disorder on the markets.

Another great achievements recorded by the revolutionary administration over the past year was the replacement of the old, inflated currency of the puppet regime by a stronger currency issued by the Bank of Vietnam, which helped restore and develop the national economy. To heal the wounds of war and rebuild the country along socialist lines, the revolutionary administration has over the past year conducted a census and has merged former provinces into larger administrative units provided with necessary conditions to develop economy and strengthen national defence.

* * *

LETTER

• Cadjan Roofs

ir,

The latest move in preparation for the Non-aligned conference makes incredible reading. Folks along the much improved Airport Colombo road have been told that all those living under cadjan must within the month replace

this with tiled roof. Presumably those who fail to do so will have the home ruthlessly destroyed. All this apparently to impress the leaders of the Third World that in this land all are affluent.

One would have imagined that in order to woo the petro-dollars we would seek to introduce Arab leaders and the rest to the real Sri Lanka, the true natives of the land who dwell in slums and for whom life is difficult. But it would appear that the natives are to be removed by law from the near precincts of road which will be used during the conference. And the idea is to sell the concept of economic well-being.

Truly our values are upside down. We have spent colossal sums of money and energy for the conference mainly to improve travel conditions for the conference swells who will travel these roads perhaps twice or three times in the two weeks they are to be in Sri Lanka. No one cared about the daily torture to which ordinary folks are subjected.

Suppose instead of this road programme we had resolved to give improved housing facilities for dwellers in the slums and village areas through which the leaders must travel. Suppose instead of pulling down the homes of people living at Tothalunga, we had asked some Lion group to colour wash the dwellings, and organised improved toilet facilities for the permanent residents.

But this is to suppose near-miracle. When Jesus healed a man plagued with many devils, and released them to taken possession of pigs, people first told of the loss of the swine, later and quite incidentally that a man had been cured. We still prefer swine to humans, appearance to reality.

Bryan de Kretser

Prithipura,
Hendala,
Wattala.
20.5.76

* * *

Confidentially

• Water

IS IT NOT TRUE that the main (and only) topic of conversation everywhere in Colombo is about water? That this is understandable? That from June 16 it was ordained (on the evening of June 14) by the Ministry of Local Administration that that there will be a 20-hour water cut every day? That water would be available only from 7 am to 11 am? That there is already an outcry (at the time of writing) against the choice of the hours during which water would be available to the residents of Colombo? That it is difficult to understand the mentality of the bureaucrats who were responsible for fixing the water cut to last until 7 am in the morning? That most teachers, students and working people who come to work from the city's suburbs have to be at the busstands or railways stations before 7 am if they are to get to their places of work (or school) "in time"? That if water will flow out of the taps only after 7 am, how do these people get to work? That most working people prepare their lunch before they leave their homes? That it is difficult to imagine how they can get their meals ready—breakfast and lunch—without water? That when they get home after work in the evenings there will be no water to wash or prepare their meals? That not everybody has the facilities to get someone "at home" to collect water before 11 am for their use in the evenings? That unless a more rational system of water distribution is found immediately (it is to be hoped that it will be found before this column appears in print), the city of Colombo will become the city of the Great (Many) Unwashed? That schools will have to close down? That many work-places will also have to be shut down? That those who can be evacuated from the city must be sent out? That those who have places where they can find accommodation in rural areas where water is available (and there are not many such places) should be moved to these places? That if the rains do not come—and unless

some miracle happens there cannot be any major rains until the so-called intermonsoonal rains in October—Colombo is in for a bleak period? That even in October the rains may not come with the massive denudation of forests in the catchment areas as well as the central watershed? That even if cyclonic thunderstorms descend upon Sri Lanka, the run-off to the sea, without the forest and foliage cover, would be so great that there will be only major floods for short duration to be followed by semi-permanent conditions of drought? That this is the price Sri Lanka has to pay for denuding its hill country and other catchment areas of vegetation even below the barest minimum requirements? That official (as well as unofficial) vandalism in destroying forests had reached unprecedented heights especially in the years after 1970 that words of caution and restraint were regarded as anti-government (united front socialism) activity?

That readers of *Tribune* who dip into old files will see that that this paper had raised the question of forest cover in the catchment areas where rivers have their origin as early as the year 1955/56? That we had then pointed out that a leading British adviser on agriculture in the 1870s had opposed the opening of tea estates on the entire Adam's Peak—Horton Plains—Nuwara Eliya central mountain region? That, in spite of this advice (the agronomist had been sent back post haste to Britain), these areas were cleared and tea was planted? That though 20,000 to 30,000 acres of land had been cleared (which should never have been cleared of its forest cover), the colonial government had sought to maintain what it thought was adequate vegetational cover? That in spite of this forest cover in the montane catchment areas, all the sins of the quick run-off had begun to plague this island? That massive erosion of the mountain areas took place? That rivers became silted? That the Kelaniya which was navigable up to Avissawella was silted to the point where navigation even for short distances at the lower end had become impossible? That *Tribune* had stressed at that time that a sensible and rational government would put back even these 20,000 to 30,000 acres of tea back into forest in the interests of water

conservation, soil conservation and agriculture? That *Tribune* had been plugging this line over the years—all to no purpose? That after Independence, the denudation of forest lands became worse and worse? That there was a demand to create new electorates? That MPs were anxious to satisfy land hunger? That for a myriad of reasons good forests were cut down indiscriminately and wantonly? That the timber was sold and no agriculture was started? That this is the state of Sri Lanka today? That the warnings of agronomists, scientists and papers like *Tribune* went unheeded? That *Tribune* had one time felt that on this matter—it was voice crying in the wilderness? That today it has the satisfaction that there is no wilderness left in which anyone can cry? That today Sri Lanka (let us get back to Ceylon!) is fast slipping into a desert? That the Conservator of Forests now bemoans that the "forests round Mahaweli which should be covering 1,314,000 acres have been reduced to only 114,000 acres of land"? That the worthy Conservator seems to think that this denudation constitutes a very serious blow to the entire Mahaweli scheme? That the lack of rain has reduced the flow of the Mahaweli from the normal 10,000 cusecs to 300 cusecs according to a spokesman of the Mahaweli Development Board? That the Conservator of Forests has also gone on record that the water shortage in Colombo was due to the clearing of forests in the Labugama and Kalatuwowa reservoir areas? That it is of little help at this moment? That it is known that the southwest monsoon has broken out in full force with the usual torrential rains on the west coast of India? That usually the monsoons break in Sri Lanka before moving on to the Indian coast? That it is clear that the southwest monsoon has by-passed Sri Lanka? That the monsoons have been only partial for the last seven years? That without the "condensation" stemming from a forest and vegetational cover, the rain clouds which normally bring rain to Sri Lanka have gone over to places where forests have still been left on the high mountains as on the Kerala coast? That it will be a long long time before forests can be regrown in the catchment areas of Ceylon?



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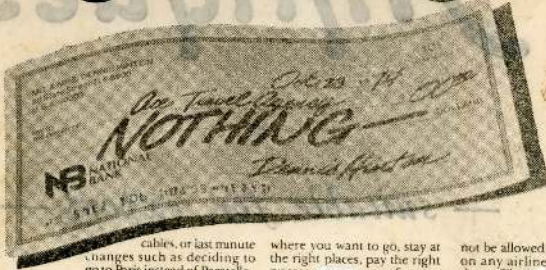
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cables, or last minute changes such as deciding to go to Paris instead of Pocatello.

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Who pays?

Travel agents are paid a commission by the air, land or sea carriers they book you with, by most hotels, car rental companies and sightseeing tour operators.

Who? Economics. Convenience. There are more than 9,000 travel agencies in the U.S. Most airlines, for example, couldn't afford to have 9,000 convenient sales offices around the country. This way, the airlines pay the travel agent when he delivers passengers, and don't pay him when he doesn't. Fair enough.

So a naturally figures that the travel agent is going to try to sell you the most expensive travel package he can, right?

Wrong. The travel agent is not to make you happy, not the airline or cruise ship.

Because he wants your buck. So be honest with your travel agent. He can't arrange a champagne vacation on a beer budget. But he can get you a lot more for your buck than you yourself can arrange. Because that's his business.

And the travel agent is not a mind reader. If you say you want a secluded two weeks away from it all in Tahiti, and you're bored after a day and would rather have the two weeks in Vegas, don't blame him.

Who should use a travel agent?

Business travelers. Vacation travelers. Kids being sent to grandmothers. Grandmothers. Anyone who travels.

A travel agent is the simplest, most efficient way to get

where you want to go, stay at the right places, pay the right prices and get it most for your money—and not be furious with the relative who gave you a bum steer.

Why it's better to plan with a travel agent than your Uncle Harold.

Unless your Uncle Harold is a travel agent.

Chances are, your travel agent has been where you want to go. Maybe your uncle has too.

But the travel agent has the latest facts. He can tell you that the new Paris Plaza is now under new management and is nothing like the Paris Plaza Uncle Harold stayed in a month ago. Because it's his business to know.

If he doesn't know from firsthand experience, he knows the right people to ask. So he's been around.

And how do Uncle Harold's qualifications stack up?

Before a travel agency manager can hang his shingle on the door, or write tickets, he must have received an appointment from the Air Traffic Conference (ATC) or International Air Transport Association (IATA), the International Passenger Ship Association, and others. This appointment requires at least two years of full-time experience in creating, generating and promoting passenger transportation sales and services and at least one year's experience in airline ticketing and reservations.

About financial responsibility? Glad you asked. A travel agent is bonded for at least \$10,000. That's a lot of travel insurance. He must pay his bill to the airline in full every ten days or his appointment may be cancelled by the ATC or IATA. That means he would

not be allowed to issue tickets on any airline. It's not a threat. That's a promise.

In addition, travel agents take many of those glamorous familiar—on trips every year. The difference between your plane—on trip and his is that on trip, he may check out five or six tickets a day. He looks at singles, doubles, twins, suites, restaurants, bars, convention centers, kitchens, chefs, management—all in a single city. That may not be fun for him, but it's not the purpose. It's to make a better trip for you. Would your Uncle Harold do that for you?

One more thing. If you do have a travel agent and you do have problems on your trip, you also have a built-in problem solver. Because, believe us, we listen to travel agents. When they have a problem, we have a problem and those problems get solved. In a hurry.

How do you choose a travel agent?

You would ask that question. Choosing the right travel agent is like choosing the right doctor, lawyer, architect or CPA—except your travel agent doesn't cost you anything.

Your best bet is to shop around. Ask friends. Look in the Yellow Pages. Look for agents who specialize in the destinations you choose. There are mom and pop agents. Giant corporation agents. Specialists in business and particular countries. Package tour specialists.

Choose one that you're comfortable with. But whichever you choose, you'll be further ahead if you do go with a travel agent.

And what have you got to lose? Nothing.

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