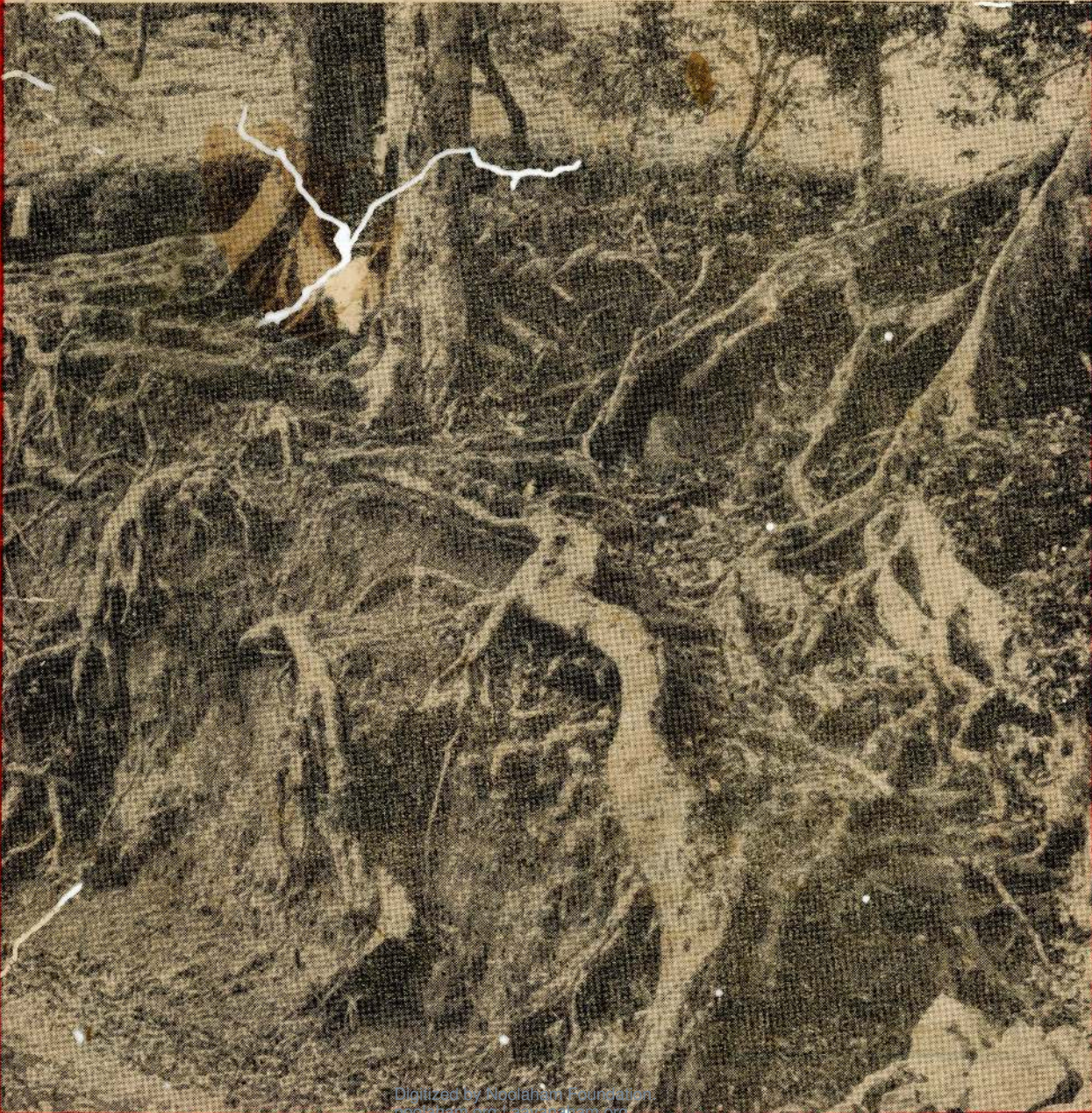


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Letter From The Editor

THE PICTURE ON THE COVER this week is typical of the hill country in Sri Lanka today. One can see such scenes nearly everywhere at elevations ranging from 500 feet to 6000 feet. Most people in this country, however, do not realise the true significance of what the picture depicts. That is because they have not been told what soil erosion of the kind shown means to the country, its ecology, its rainfall, its environment and agriculture. Even if this Government has been guilty (all Governments after Independence have been) of negligence and worse in the matter of conserving our soil and water resources, organisations like the Soil Conservation Society and the Wildlife and Nature Protection Society should have alerted the people about the dangers that stemmed from the indiscriminate and wanton destruction of trees and forests especially in the catchment areas of rivers and tanks. More recently, the newly formed Tree Protection Society (*Ruk Rakaganno*) has endeavoured to arouse public interest in this matter. If the efforts of the Tree Protection Society and the pleadings of patriotic persons, who are alive to the ecological disaster that has already overtaken this island, have failed to generate appropriate action on the part of Government, it is because of the ignorance in high places, the lethargic apathy in bureaucratic circles and the political pull exercised by timber merchants and exporters. It is little realised that timber merchants, timber exporters and furniture makers have been a major power group behind-the-scenes in the political life of this country from the beginning of the century. (Researchers will one day investigate the fortunes and political role of a number of successful timber and furniture tycoons. It would be invidious and unfair to point to a few names that one can readily recall off-hand of timber and furniture nabobs—whose offspring, representatives and satellites have dominated the political scene from the time of the first world war to the present day—because one may miss or overlook the most vicious, the most greedy and the most dangerous of the brood? What true researchers will unravel about the rape of our forests, the family fortunes made therefrom both here and in nest-eggs abroad and the octopus-like hold these timber plutocrats have had on contemporary politics in this island will amaze and astound even the most apathetic). Whilst history and research on how it all happened and who made the money can await awhile, the situation in the island has become desperate. The picture on the cover was taken on forest fringe of a tea estate at about an elevation of 6000 ft. in the high montane catchment area of the Adam's Peak—Horton Plains—Nuwara Eliya region. It would be wrong to name the estate because the same sight can be seen everywhere in the region. The picture shows that the top soil has been very nearly washed away *in toto* and that very soon only rocks and stones will be left behind. This area should have never been opened up for tea—nearly 30,000 acres—but British tea planters were a greedy lot. However, even in their greed, self-interest had made them maintain a minimum forest cover to ensure rainfall. The opening of these tea estates had, nevertheless, brought quick run-off and erosion causing irreparable damage to agriculture in the lowlands. With the departure of the white planters, brown sahibs (and now the more dangerous janawasama breed) took over—all of them in the invisible grip of timber contractors and exporters—and they have recklessly cut down the forests in the regions where they should have been preserved. There has been big talk about growing more trees, but most of the re-forestation plans are still on paper. The climate of the world may be changing, rainfall belts may be moving northwards and the present may be one of the periodic cycles of drought that recur once in 30 years; the fact is that both monsoons in have been partial (when they did not fail completely) ever since 1969-70. And, it is only now that officials have been willing to say publicly that the persistent drought was "probably" due to the denudation of forests in the catchment areas. It is only now that the Government has announced that it will launch a programme of re-forestation. It is not good enough to shut the stable doors after the horses have bolted. Many drastic measures have to be taken, to prevent this emerald isle from becoming a desert owing to alternation of devastating floods and yet more devastating droughts. The first step in any salvage operation is to ban the export of timber (even cancelling all pending foreign orders). All current operative Forest Department contracts to exploit reserves must be suspended. Re-forestation takes time, and and it is best to save what little can still be saved.

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EDITOR'S NOTEBOOK

Colombo's Water Supply

THE WEATHER GODS, or Mother Nature, seem determined to bring home to the people and especially the Government of Sri Lanka that it is suicidal to wantonly destroy trees, forests and flora which serve a definite ecological purpose. The Monsoons, the plentiful and regular southwest, seems to have failed this year. The best one can hope for is a delayed and partial monsoon. On the west of coast of India, too, after a preliminary spell of torrential rain in May and June (meteorologists say that it was more cyclonic than monsoonal), the usual rains have not so far not come. Kerala has already begun to adopt measures which would become imperative if the monsoon failed altogether. But Sri Lanka did not have even cyclonic rains during May and June. We only had a few light showers not even to wet the parched earth—after the partial drought from the beginning of the year. Climatologists may propound theories that the drought was due to the failure of the Monsoon on a subcontinental basis—and this will give comfort to those responsible for the rape of the forests in the catchment areas: that no blame could attach to them for the the present situation.

Whilst we can go into these matters later, the present water crisis in the city of Colombo calls for some immediate action of a realistic kind if a great national tragedy is to be averted. As at present, there is only one solution to ease the water crisis—even a delayed monsoon now will not help beyond helping the city to tide over the difficulty temporarily—and that is to pump in more water from the Kelani river. We publish, a letter which appeared in the *Daily News* on June 21 on the question of the water crisis. It was written by Siri Dissanayake, Retired Chief Engineer, CMC Workshop Department. This letter reveals authoritatively that the Municipality had cut down water intake from the Kelani river for Colombo and confined the reduced water intake for distribu-

tion to the suburbs of Colombo. By this action, says Mr. Dissanayake, "the Municipality placed itself entirely at the mercy of the weather gods and the Board authorities." At this stage it is pointless investigating why the Municipality had disconnected the suction inlet pipes to reduce the water intake to half the capacity of Ambatale. It is urgent that something should be done to save the situation. Mr. Dissanayake states that if the inlet suction pipes that were earlier removed were re-connected, the water supply to the city could be immediately augmented. He has offered his services to the Municipality for the duration of the crisis in order to do what had been done earlier.

Those who know will recall that the city's water problems had started when the intake of Kelani river water had been cut down some years ago on the advice of Water Resources "experts." The first thing to be done is to restore the Ambatale pumping to its full capacity—now it is evidently only working at half capacity. Petty jealousies, internal bureaucratic conflicts and the desire to hide mistakes made by "experts" should not stand

in the way of increasing the intake of the Ambatale Pumping Station to full capacity immediately. The sooner this is done the better.

It would be wrong however not to do this because of the newspaper headlines and reports that additional pumps and other equipment would be airlifted to increase the capacity at Ambatale. For the record it would be useful to cite the report in the *Observer*, on Friday June 18, under the heading PM GIVES TOP PRIORITY TO AMBATALE PROJECT. This is what it said: "The Prime Minister Mrs. Sirima Bandaranaike has ordered that necessary foreign exchange be released for the import of pumps and other equipment required for the expansion of the Ambatale Treatment works and Pumping Station. The Prime Minister's directive follows the serious situation that residents in Colombo and the suburbs face with regard to their water supplies. The Mayor of Colombo, Mr. A. H. M. Fowzie, said yesterday that unless immediate steps were taken to expand the Ambatale Pumping Station and the Ambatale Treatment Works frequent water cuts would have to be imposed on residents in Colombo and the suburbs whenever rains were delayed. The only way

Letter To The Editor

From The Ceylon Daily News Of 21st June, 1976

On The Water Crisis

Sir,

The Water Board's pumping station is working at half its capacity from its very inception and out of this they supply the Colombo suburbs and release about 5,000,000 gallons a day only to Colombo. For the purpose of taking this water Colombo Municipality modified its pumping station at Ambatale by disconnecting the suction pipes meant, for taking water from the river and provided inlet pipes from the Board station. By doing this the Municipality placed itself entirely at the mercy of weather gods and Board authorities.

I request the supply authorities to put back the suction pipes that were earlier removed and arrange to supply river water as was done in the past. People prefer river water to no water, and further, if the water be treated with chlorine which is abundantly available at the Paranthan Chemical Works there will certainly no problem. I shall be pleased to place my services at the disposal of the Municipality for the duration if they so desire.

The immediate solution would be to re-connect suction pipes to CMC pumps and start pumping water from the river immediately.

SIRI DISSANAYAKE.

Retired Chief Engineer,
CMC—Workshop Department.

out is to expand the Ambatale Pumping Station to pump out an additional 20 million gallons of water daily from the Kelani River. The Director of Water Supply and Drainage, under whose charge the Ambatale plant is now is, making arrangements to get down the additional plant and equipment necessary. The Prime Minister has directed that if it was necessary the required pumps should be airfreighted, in order to ease the present situation faced by ratepayers in Colombo and its suburbs.

The Daily Mirror, the next day, Saturday June 19, had a stirring headline SPECIAL PLANT TO BE AIRLIFTED — 16-HOUR WATER SUPPLY BY MONTH-END ASSURES KALUGALLE. This is what the report stated: "The Government has ordered special equipment to be airlifted to supplement the water supply from the Kelani River. At least two-thirds of the city's supply would be met by this plant. With the airlifting of this plant a 16-hour supply of water will be assured by the end of the month. This was stated by Mr. P. B. G. Kalugalle, Minister of Shipping, Aviation and Tourism and acting Minister of Local Government, answering a question raised by Mr. J. R. Jayewardene (First Member Colombo South). Mr. Jayewardene said that some residents in Colombo South had no water for 24 hours and grave hardship was being caused. Mr. R. Premadasa, speaking earlier said that people would now die of thirst and disease in the Colombo North and Central areas because children were seen collecting water from various dirty drains and other outlets of waste water. He blamed the Municipal authorities for not taking adequate measures to meet the situation earlier. He said it was apparent the present water-cut was to conserve water for use during the Non-Aligned Summit Conference in August. He asked the Government to stop its "mad spending spree on luxuries" and to use that money to import some machinery to augment the water supply to the city from the Kelani River which never runs dry, however severe the drought may be. Mr. Kalugalle answering the question on behalf of the Minister of Local Government said the Government would airlift the special equipment to pump a 16-hour supply from the Kelani. This would meet two-thirds of the city requirements.

The Daily News, not to be cut done, published banner headlines MORE KELANI WATER FOR CITY SOON: SUPPLY WILL BE DOUBLED: PUMPS FOR AMBATALE TO BE AIRLIFTED: POSITION 'NOT SO GRIM'. The report read: "The water situation in the city is bad but it is not as grim as it is made out to be, said the chairman of the National Water Supply and Drainage Board, Mr. M. Randeniya yesterday. He said the Ambatale treatment works and pumping station supplied about 50 per cent of the total supply of water to the city. That supply would remain unaffected even if the Labugama and Kalatuwawa reservoirs ran dry. Mr. Randeniya added that the government had released foreign exchange for the air freighting, if necessary, of pumps and other equipment for the plant at Ambatale. The pumps had already been ordered and once all the equipment arrived, Ambatale would be able to increase its present supply to the Colombo Municipality from seven million gallons a day to 15 million gallons a day. This quantity of water should ease to an extent the woes of city residents. The Ambatale plant once fully completed at the end of the year will also enable the board to obtain another 20 million gallons of water a day from the Kelani river. An engineer told me that he was studying the feasibility of tapping the resources of the Kelani ganga from a point reasonably close to the Elie House and Maligakande reservoirs from where the water will be channeled to Labugama and Kalatuwawa. The total length of pipelines involved will be five miles but a detailed study of the contour plan may lead to a further abbreviation, the engineer said. The pumps could be imported from India and local firms had competency to construct a crude filter and sterilisation plant at low cost. He said the whole plan could be completed within three weeks as an emergency measure to ensure a more regular supply of water to Colombo and the suburbs. Municipal sources, commenting on this, said that a point close to the Elie House and Maligakande reservoirs would be too close to the sea for obtaining fresh water and the construction of treatment plant was too costly and a long drawn out process.

At present the Kelani Ganga is tapped only at Kotikawatta and Ambatale.

The Daily News, also highlighted a Ministerial assurance: "The citizens of Colombo will be assured of 16 hours water supply a day before the end of next month," said Mr. P. B. G. Kalugalla, acting Minister of Local Government, in the National State Assembly yesterday. He said that had been made possible with the importation of equipment necessary to tap and process Kelani water to be distributed to consumers in the city.

With these comforting headlines and reports; the city's problems have gone off the newspaper frontpages—and public attention diverted to the euphoria being stirred up by the death of Mr. George Rajapakse, no doubt in a bid to give a boost to the political prestige of the UF in the Ruhuna.

And now, people in Colombo are expected to forget the water problem until the end of July before which the Government expects airlifted pumps to be working at Ambatale. If the weather gods relent and little rain falls in the reservoir catchment areas (enough to tide over the Non-aligned Conference), the problem will be further shelved. Residents are also assured that a bowser load of water would be at one's doorstep on a phone call.

But questions have arisen in knowledgeable circle that whilst it may be good newspaper propaganda to assure the public that pumps would be airlifted without delay, it is not so easy to get the kind of pumps required for Ambatale. They cannot be bought over the counter to be airlifted. Pumps for such purposes have to be specially manufactured on particular specifications.

The people of Sri Lanka have been promised many things, and the latest one is airlifted water pumps for the Ambatale station. Memories tend to be short and that is why we have recorded governmental promises in these pages. The water supply to the city is not a small matter which can be ignored indefinitely. Apart from the water shortage, the sewage system is on the verge of collapse. The treatment works at Mattakuliya have been out of commission for years and untreated sewage is now pushed out into the Kelani to pollute its waters. We shall revert to these matters in the coming weeks.

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

BY THAMBAPANNI

* Lebanon * Southern
Africa * Pacific * China
* India * Ford Doctrine

LEBANON AND SOUTHERN AFRICA are very much in the news at the moment. They have been for sometime. Lebanon is such a mix-up that it is not yet clear when or how peace and tranquility can come to that country again. It was a post-second-world-war experiment by western politicians to have a state where Christian minorities would be able to play an important, if not dominant, role in a new state in the Arab region. Israel was carved out adjoining it to create a pocket for another non-Arab (non Muslim) minority in the region. The boundaries of Iraq, Syria, Jordan, Palestine and Lebanon were drawn up after the first world war when the Ottoman Empire had collapsed and its territories were so divided were placed under a Mandate in the name of the League of Nations. By the end of the second world war, the League of Nations and the mandatory power system of the British and the French had disappeared, but the boundaries had remained except for the creation of Israel and Palestine. Israel has expanded its territories since 1948 (in spite of the United Nations). And the 25-year "constitutional" experiment in Lebanon has now broken down completely. After 14 months of civil war in which all the warring factions had been financed and armed by a motley collection of rival powers, Syria had stepped in to establish some semblance of peace. An Arab peace-keeping force has now entered the scene. What the outcome of all this will be is hard to envisage, and not much hope can be placed on the French efforts to bring peace to an area where it had enjoyed mandatory powers after the first world war. But one thing is clear: that it will be a long time before Lebanon can regain its position as the market place of the eastern Mediterranean—Beirut had been a kind of Hong-kong and Singapore combined in

that area. But the Lebanon area, which was once the home of the Phoenicians, the traders of the ancient world from pre-Roman days, has had a way of surviving in spite of wars, conquests, and upheavals. What next in Lebanon is one of the most difficult and complex questions of the day.

But in Africa, in the whole of central and southern Africa, racial troubles and conflicts will continue until the apartheid regime in South Africa and the Ian Smith set up in Rhodesia disappear for all time. Secretary of State Kissinger in his recent Lusaka speech, had outlined an American Charter for Black (or majority) Rule in Africa and had sought a ten years' moratorium for the Vorsters and Ian Smiths to wind up peacefully and depart from the scene. Time and tide waits for nobody, not even Kissinger and the Americans. The new US policy on black rule in Africa had come, as mentioned in this column recently, too late (and to little). Racial riots have broken out in many towns in South Africa. Guerilla and insurrectionary activities against the White Government in Rhodesia have begun to escalate with even moderate African leaders, like Kaunda, being drawn in on the side of the freedom fighters. Vorster has sought to enlarge his base and stabilise white rule by compelling the Blacks to make Afrikaner their "mother tongue" on the footing that the Boers of South Africa were Whites who had been long enough in the area to be treated as "indigenous natives." This Afrikaner-language policy (to give a kind of equality to some blacks) will fail as surely as Ian Smith's attempt to intimidate Kunda by sending in Rhodesian (white) commandos to blow up building in Lusaka. Kissinger is expected to meet Vorster in West Germany this week, but nothing is likely to come of it. Vorster is not likely to change, and Kissinger cannot go far enough (to please the Africans) lest it stirs a backlash from the white-minded voters in the USA in the current presidential election campaign.

IN ASIA, Japan's PM is having his hands full with the Lockheed Scandal: and pressures for his removal from the vested interests in ruling LDP party have increased because the Mr. Clean in Miki was

said to be going too far to unravel the ramifications of the Lockheed handouts to leading political figures. He has bought time by arranging a meeting with Mr. Ford in Washington on June 30 but whether he will get much consolation in Washington (rocked by a new series of scandals over sex on senatorial expense accounts) is doubtful. But Miki goes with a feather in his cap to please President Ford. He has signed an agreement of Friendship and Co-operation with the ultra-right Prime Minister of Australia, Mr. Frazer, in terms of the Ford Doctrine which the US President had spelled out in Honolulu on his return from China last year. Frazer is pursuing an anti-soviet line with vigour and he has now gone to Peking in order to woo and win the new administration in China on this open anti-soviet line. The Peking government is no doubt very anti-Soviet (revisionist), but whether Hua Kua-feng and his colleagues will want to go as far as Frazer wants them is not clear.

Robert Muldoon, the new Prime Minister of New Zealand, had gone to China early in May. He too had plugged the Ford Doctrine line and he seems to have set the pace for the Australian Prime Minister who is now on a tour very similar to that of his New Zealand counterpart. *The Far Eastern Economic Review*, 21/5/76, in an incisive piece from its Wellington correspondent, Denis Wederell, had stated "...Muldoon is not a Maoist, but if a Labour Prime Minister had returned from Peking muttering 'dig deep, store rice, fight hegemony' with as much evident approval as did the National Party leader—the most reactionary Prime Minister in two generations—it would have been supposed that he had sold his political soul for something like a long-term paper pulp contract. When the National Party was in power previously (up to 1972) it resisted pressure to recognise the People's Republic diplomatically and was highly critical of the haste with which the late Norman Kirk made it the third Labour Government's first foreign policy move..." The National Party had also scorned Labour's enthusiasm to increased trade with China. But now, the same National Party, said Denis Wederell, had changed its tune. "When Muldoon included

China in his tour plans, it was presumed he would be talking trade, not politics. However, the week before he left for Britain, France, Japan, South Korea and China, Muldoon had warned about Russian naval expansion in the Indian Ocean and its aggressive potential in the Pacific. It was an unexpected warning from a Prime Minister who has taken little interest in foreign diplomacy except where it touched on economics, and was seen simply as a sweetener for the Peking visit, which came towards the end of the tour. Indeed, when he reached Peking, Muldoon was more anti-Soviet than he was pro-Chinese—a point the Chinese were no doubt well aware of, but one which suited them. The New Zealand Prime Minister was granted a long session of talks with Premier Hua and other ministers, a meeting with Mao Tse-tung, and was feted in banquets. "Whilst in Peking, Muldoon had made strong anti-Soviet statements, and Wederell had commented "...While mutual antipathy towards the Soviet Union might seem an uncertain foundation on which to build a new alliance with China, it will serve a short-term purpose, and out of it may grow something of greater durability..."

In the same issue of *The Far Eastern Economic Review*, 21/5/76, David Bonavia, one of the most perceptive among present-day commentators on China, had a piece on Hua's *New Order*. "Whether China is on the threshold of a Hua Kuo-feng era, or whether his premiership will be only an interregnum followed by a fresh power struggle, the basic issues facing the country remain the same. So where is the low-key, soft-spoken man going to take China in its tortuous journey towards stability and prosperity? Will his personal contribution register itself, as Teng's Hsiao-ping's was beginning to do when he was dismissed? Does Hua have strong views on Chinese foreign policy and possible changes in it? The evidence so far is that he does not, and that he will follow the course already chartered by Mao, the late Chou En-lai and Teng. If granted anything like a reasonable term of office, Hua will probably preside over the normalisation of China's relations with Singapore and Indonesia. After that, the

only states still needing to establish links with Peking will be Libya, a dozen or so of the Latin American dictatorships. Israel, South Africa and South Korea will remain in outer darkness."

Writing on Sino-Soviet relations, Bonavia had stated "...the state of Soviet readiness in Siberia and Mongolia does not suggest an imminent threat to China, and it has been official policy in Peking for the past two or three years to play down the dangers of the Soviet' feint in the East, while urging the Europeans and Americans to pay more heed to the threat in the West... Whether or not China eventually buys arms from the United States, the policy of a thaw in relation with Washington remains beyond radical attack. Not even Teng was accused of selling out to the Americans. But Hua may be able to pursue the rapprochement more flexibly than the somewhat arrogant Teng who incidentally alienated Western, European and Third World leaders as well as Dr. Kissinger, by his constant harping on the anti-Soviet theme. Nor was Teng adept at choosing sides in doubtful new situations, as China's diplomatic performance over East Timor and Angola showed. The Americans continue to be jumpy about the prospect of a reconciliation between China and the Soviet Union which would establish China as a genuine third side in the global 'triangular' diplomacy' instead of the narrow corner which it represents now. The most pessimistic in Washington and the most optimistic in Moscow, even see China returning to the fold of the 'world socialist camp' whose very existence China had repudiated. The closeness of the Sino-Soviet relationship in the 1950's, and the insights which the Chinese were given into the Soviet ways of working, probably rule out a reconciliation while any members of the present Politburo hold national power. As a loyal follower of Mao, Hua is hardly likely to press for one. But the next generation of leaders (invisible at present) may react against Chinese Western friendship as an anomaly in Marxist revolutionary terms. The men and women who come after Hua, Chiang Ching and the others now ruling China may see good relations with Moscow as an attractive novelty..."

Bonavia, however, thinks that Hua will "balance" his way on foreign affairs and even through the sharp differences policy in domestic matters (and they are legion). "However, the wide span of Hua's administrative experience and his solid political credentials, suggest that he may prove the most adept balancer since Chou En-lai..."

IT IS IN THIS SETTING that one must examine the new thaw that seems to have developed in China's attitude towards India. It is now clear that Peking is in a mood to "improve its relations" with India—in spite of the Indo-Soviet Treaty of Friendship and in spite of the close and intimate ties between the India and Russia. When Mrs. Gandhi had sensed this new sentiment in Peking, she had taken the initiative to offer to restore ambassadorial level relations, which had been ruptured after the Sino-Indian border dispute of 1962. China had responded suitably. It must be recalled that right up to 1958/59, India was much closer to China than to Russia, but Chinese attempts to restore what she believed were the boundaries before the imperialists had come into the Asian scene had led to a major confrontation with India culminating in the mini-war of 1962. China in a short-sighted attempt to denigrate the growing influence of India had backed Pakistan and its claim to Kashmir. The Soviet Union, no doubt for reasons of its own in the context of its relations with China, had tilted in favour of India. From this had grown the increasing ties between the Soviet Union and India. Apart from the rather unrealistic policies followed by China in regard to Sino-Indian relations (in the belief that if the Nehru Government was pressed hard enough the pro-Maoist Marxist Leninist Party of India would come to power), the American policies (Dullesian) in Asia drove India to get closer to the USSR. American attempts to establish US hegemony in Asia through CENTO, SEATO and the ANZUS, and by raising a hue and cry against "communism", failed completely and this had also compelled India to seek Soviet co-operation in spite of massive doses of "aid".

The secret diplomacy by Kissinger to establish a detente with China partly through Pakistan's

assistance in the 1970s and thereafter had made the Indo-Soviet Treaty of August 1971 inevitable. This led to further entanglement between India and the USA on the one hand and with China on the other. The USA, very unrealistically, encouraged Oppositional forces inside India to challenge and overthrow the government of Indira Gandhi on the specious plea that she was rushing into "dictatorship" (but the US record for supporting dictatorships made this plea hypocritical). China too launched an anti-Indian campaign denouncing the Indo-Soviet Agreement and encouraged all the border states around India to give the Indira Gandhi government "trouble". The Nixon Doctrine of co-operation with China was also intended to pressurise India (this may sound an over-simplification), but it is a fact that it helped to increase Indo-Soviet co-operation in a big way.

And then came the Ford Doctrine. Teng was in power in Peking with Chou Enlai permanently hospitalised. Teng's over-enthusiastic anti-sovietism (probably overdone in order to contain the attack on him from the radicals) had probably persuaded President Ford that a new Doctrine would help the USA in Asia. It must be remembered that after the Nixon Doctrine and his detente with China, the USA had suffered a humiliating defeat in Vietnam, and the situation had changed in the most dramatic fashion. With all Southeast Asian countries (except for the moment Singapore and Indonesia), tumbling one over another to establish diplomatic links with all communist countries, especially Vietnam, China and the USSR, American anti-communism has lost its sting for ever.

BUT THE FORD DOCTRINE, which seems to have activated only the newly elected conservative governments in New Zealand and Australia (and Japan), seems to have the new Hua Kuo-feng regime "worried". Although Peking is going along with the Ford Doctrine (piously but cautiously worded), China has also taken meaningful steps to mend its fences with India and establish a new face in South Asia and Southeast Asia (not envisaged in the Ford Doctrine). Even with the Soviet Union there are hints of a new Chinese

thaw in spite of the barrage of propaganda against revisionism and super power hegemony. Nobody takes this verbosity from Peking seriously—in the same way the world had become accustomed to the Chinese barrages against US imperialism and the "paper tiger" slogans in the fifties and early sixties).

There seem to be indications that China is getting a little wary about the implications of the Ford Doctrine. Observers in Hongkong have commented that the recent visit by the Indian Prime Minister (and which has laid the foundation for further deepening and extending Indo-Soviet co-operation) was accelerated by the apprehensions created by the Ford Doctrine and the cold war the Prime Ministers of New Zealand and Australia have been beating in recent months.

Just what is the Ford Doctrine. Whatever its merits and demerits (in a sense it was also a presidential campaign gimmick), President Ford added one more to the chain of Doctrines that successive US Presidents have been in the habit of propounding. According to one commentator on Asian affairs: "Gerald Ford's six-point doctrine, however, has a contemporary significance. The traumatic US experience in Indochina had left Washington without a policy framework to justify, at least before the US public, its continued presence in South-east Asia. Ford's doctrine once again restores the old US policy framework of military presence with specific missions to advance it through 'partnership' with Japan, using South Korea as a military staging area for which huge US armed forces will continue to be stationed there, and to further strengthen its compact with China. Propounding a "doctrine" of this sort dispenses with the formality of securing Peking's public endorsement. Yet, most people regarded it as an authoritative Ford-Mao policy conception for the current period. Each one of the six points, from the manner of its formulation presented what would have normally figured in an agreed joint Sino-US communique. In their totality, these are the known and stated foreign policy positions of both Peking and Washington. To begin with, Ford has repeated that the American strength was 'basic' to any stable balance of power in the

Pacific. One must also remember that Peking has insisted on a prolonged presence of the US Seventh Fleet in the Pacific and Asian region.

"Secondly, Ford has emphasised that partnership with Japan was a pillar of US strategy in Asia. It is not difficult to understand the reason for the revival of this 'partnership'. Of late Japan has been giving quite obvious indications that it had developed some stakes in the Siberian natural gas exploration in collaboration with the USSR. There also appeared the possibility of Japanese efforts to resolve its outstanding problems with the Soviet Union. Such a development would spell disaster for the strategies of both US and China.

"It follows that US would have a 'continuing stake' in what it considers stability and security in South-east Asia. Some of the US stakes in this region have been totally extinguished by the heroic peoples of Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos. The infamy of its defeat in Indochina has still to be wiped out. Hence the reiteration of its determination to hold on to the bases in the Philippines. Ford revealed that despite 'expected differences' he could discover 'common grounds with Peking' and the Sino-US relationship 'is becoming a permanent feature of the international landscape...."

The implications of the Ford Doctrine, following on the heels of the US defeat in Vietnam, were not lost on countries like India. Coupled with this came the news from Japan that there was active consideration in the US about supplying sophisticated military equipment—although this might upset the radicals who are determined to be "self-reliant" about the arms used by the Chinese Army.

The following agency despatch from Tokyo dated April 26, 1976 however had made political circles in India feel that a new shadow was emanating from the Ford Doctrine and that it was about to cast its shadow over India. (If the US is unhappy about India going deeper into "the camp of socialism" it must realise that the inept Ford Doctrine has had much to do with this). The Tokyo report had read:

"The recent remark by the former United States Defence Secretary, Mr. James Schlesinger, in

a television interview that there was some talk about the feasibility of Washington providing military aid to China does not appear to have been a case of sheer indulgence in academic loud thinking by a private American citizen and the US in fact seems to be preparing the ground for launching a full scale military technology assistance programme to Peking. This prospect was indicated here to-day by the widely circulated Japanese newspaper Mainichi Shimbun which quoting Government sources said that the US had put out a feeler to this effect to high ranking Japanese Government officials who recently visited the US to sound out Japan's reaction to such a move. The Japanese officials are reported to have reacted negatively on the grounds that China's acquisition of modern American weapons could generate anxiety if not tension in Asia but it is stated the US is not likely to cease considering furnishing military aid to China even if Japan disagreed.

"The report said the US was considering whether it was pos-

sible to provide China with not only airborne early warning planes or anti-submarine patrol devices but also advanced electronic computers which can be used for both civilian and military development projects. Other items reportedly under consideration for sale to China include sea bottom oil deposit detection devices, audiometers, sonobuoys and phonometers. A number of big American business interests are already known to have asked for permission to export an assortment of technical items to China which could have military potential. Further China has already been inducing technology from Britain, France and other European countries to build up its military potential. One instance was the agreement with Britain for the manufacture of Rolls-Royce aircraft engines.

"The main American objective would seem to be to lessen China's military vulnerability to the enormous Soviet military strength. The US also reportedly believes that from the political point as well it would be beneficial for both

the US and Japan to help develop China's military power against the Soviet Union. The report also suggested that the US was providing China with information about Soviet military strength on the basis of intelligence obtained by American spy-in-the-sky satellite."

A critical examination of the Ford Doctrine will show that it is not a re-hash of the old cold war policies of Dulles but a new orientation of US policies, in many matters directly the opposite of US policies before the Vietnam debacle.

Ten years ago, the US had regarded Communist China as the principal adversary in Asia, while regarding industrial Japan and developing India as America's principal friends —this was at a time the Dullesian military alliances had already begun to weaken and crumble.

Today, the situation is very different. Japan continues to be Washington's main and trusted ally, but in all other aspects US policies in this region have undergone vast changes.

(To be Continued)

SRI LANKA CHRONICLE

June 8 — June 15

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—Aththa; SM—Silumina; SLD—Sri Lankadipa; JS—Janasathiya.

TUESDAY, JUNE 8: The Opposition in the National State Assembly consisting of the UNP, LSSP, FP and the Janata Vimukthi Balavegaya, decided to write to the Prime Minister seeking a categorical statement in the NSA that general elections will be held in 1977: the Opposition decided on this following speeches by responsible government party politicians who uttered from public platforms that polls will be held in 1977 only if people ask for it and most of them have expressed that there is no necessity to hold elections as the masses did not want it—CDM. Price Control officers will soon be empowered to confiscate goods from shops which sell them above the controlled price: under the present rules the officers have to obtain court's permission to confiscate such goods—VK. Pundit K. P. Ratnam, MP for Kayts, speaking at the Sivakumaran commemorative ceremonies held in Urumpirai, last Saturday, said that if the Government claimed that most of the Tamils did not like a separate state for Tamils, an election should be held to decide on this—VK. According to the Aththa English is once again be-

coming the language to transact business in various departments, ministries and state corporations. All price control officers throughout the island have been instructed to check complaints from the public regarding short measures and weights used in co-operatives and take necessary action—DM. A rousing welcome was accorded to a youth delegation that arrived from Chile yesterday—ATH. *Janadina* in an editorial said the people of Sri Lanka should learn a lesson from what happened in Chile—JD. The Director of National Planning has reported to the Ministry of Public Administration and Home Affairs that several districts have still not submitted annual implementation programs and quarterly progress reports under the decentralised budget program of development—CDN. Mr. George Rajapakse, Minister of Fisheries and Health, who went to Geneva to participate in a World Health Organisation's Conference, fell sick and was admitted to a hospital in London—JD. According to the *Janadina* a Deputy Minister has told the Prime Minister that he would shoot himself to death at the next Government Parliamentary Group meeting: the Deputy Minister has told that if certain allegations made by him against a big official in the co-operative sector are proved incorrect he would commit suicide and if proved correct that official should be sacked.

WEDNESDAY, JUNE 9: Mr. Felix Dias Bandaranaike, Minister of Justice, yesterday decided to give legal effect to a provision so that persons under Police custody could contact their kith and kin, relatives or friends: this decision has been taken following public complaints against the absence of a legally recognised process by which the relatives or friends would be informed when a person is arrested or taken into custody on suspicion by the Police—CDN. Mr. Lakshman

Jayakody, Deputy Minister of Defence and External Affairs, told a press conference yesterday that definite instructions had been sent to all Police stations throughout the island that persons taken into custody for any offence should be produced before a Magistrate within 24 hours: at the same press conference, Mr. Ana Seneviratne, DIG Northern Range, said that Jaffna is now quiet: he also said that there is a strong suspicion that monies stolen from banks and other institutions in the north were not being used for personal purposes of those involved in the robberies but to fund a cause: he further said Police suspected that gold which was stolen here was being sent across to South India and sold and this money is being collected in India for use by an organisation—CDN. Angola, Comoros Islands and Seychelles have been recommended by the Co-ordinating Committee of the Non-aligned Nations held in Algiers for admission as members during the Non-aligned Conference to be held in Colombo in August: Switzerland's application to be admitted as a guest-nation was also accepted—CDN. New political parties or non-Government organisations would not be allowed to come as guest members or observers at the Non-aligned Conference to be held in Colombo according to the Ministry of Defence and External Affairs—CDM. An advisory committee will soon be appointed by the Minister of Finance, Mr. Felix Dias Bandaranaike, to expedite the compensation appeals by 22 business undertakings vested in the Government since 1972—CDM. Government decided to liberalise imports under the CRA by allowing more items to be imported—CDM. Mr. Ranjith de Livera has been appointed General Manager of the Peoples Bank—LD. Payment of compensation for lands taken over under the Land Ceiling Act will commence from the 15th of this month—DM.

THURSDAY, JUNE 10: Mr. Felix Dias Bandaranaike, Minister of Finance, will move in the National State Assembly for the appointment of a Select Committee to ascertain whether the laws relating to parliamentary elections needs revision and recommend necessary amendments: the Speaker of the NSA will appoint the committee—CDN. Chief Justice, Mr. Victor Tennekoon, nominated three High Court judges Messrs J. F. A. Soysa, H. Ananda F. de Silva and Mr. Siva Selliah for the Trial-at-Bar against four members of the Federal Party who are being charged under the Emergency (prevention of subversion) Regulations with distributing seditious literature—CDN. Mr. Felix Dias Bandaranaike, Minister of Finance, has drawn up a plan by which able men, but who are not qualified as lawyers can, appear for litigants in courts: this scheme has been forwarded by the Minister to the Government for approval—VK. Legislation for the payment of pensions for MPs has been submitted by the Minister of Finance and Justice: according to the draft Parliamentary Pensions Law members who have served for a minimum period of five years will receive one-third of the current substantive monthly salary while those who have served an aggregate period of 15 years will be entitled to a pension of two-thirds of the salary—CDM. Mr. T. B. Ilangaratne, Minister of Trade, Home Affairs and Public Administration, requested State corporations to subsidise their products with the profits they earn and sell their products at a cheaper price to the public—DM. According to the *Aththa* the CWE has run into such huge losses that attempts are

being made to sell the massive new building that is now being put up at Vauxhall Street for CWE's head office. The Sri Lanka Press Council dismissed an action filed by the Central Committee of the Anuradhapura UNP branch against the Editor of *Aththa* for a certain news report that appeared in the paper: in dismissing the action with costs Mr. William de Silva, Chairman of the Press Council, said one of the aims of the Press Council is to safeguard the freedom of the Press—ATH. Mr. Anura Bandaranaike, Chief Organiser of the SLFP Youth League, addressing a meeting in support of the struggle of the progressive movement in Chile at the Navarangahala yesterday said the people of Sri Lanka will always give their whole-hearted support to the anti-fascist, progressive people of Chile—LD.

FRIDAY, JUNE 11: Technical units under the disciplinary control of Government Agents in all kachcheries will be set up soon to minimise delays in implementing programs under the decentralised budget: according to official sources although the budget for development has been decentralised there has been no decentralisation of the administration at the district level to carry out the program—CDN. Sri Lanka will contribute 5 million dollars (Rs. 60 million) to the Common Fund under the integrated commodity program of UNCTAD: the Fund's initial capital will be 6000 million dollars—CDN. Several MPs have complained to the National State Assembly authorities that various gazette notifications have been not made available to them for several weeks: the report by the Delimitation Commission too has not been made available to MPs yet—CDM. Prime Minister, Mrs. Sirima Bandaranaike, requested all concerned to co-operate actively to make the Non-aligned Conference a success: in her request, the Premier said, that everybody should bear in mind that it is the national duty of every individual to make the Non-aligned Conference a complete success—VK. According to the *Virakesari* the quantity of water available in the Kalatuwawa and Labugama reservoirs which supply water to the city of Colombo will be hardly enough for the next 28 days and as such there is a possibility of the Colombo Municipal Council imposing a 18-hour water cut from the beginning of next week. LSSP MPs have given notice of a motion in the National State Assembly to request the Government to give non-conditional pardon to all involved in the April '71 insurgency as this incident is now over 5 years—VK. At a special conference to be held in Trincomalee on July 9th and 10th the TULF will decide on its next move—VK. Mr. W. P. G. Ariyadasa, Minister of Local Government, has instructed the Commissioner of Local Government to see that in future no liquor bars or social clubs are allowed to function in close proximity to places of religious interest—LD. Government as decided to allow exchange to pilgrims visiting places of Buddhist worship in India and Nepal: the amount to be allowed will be announced soon—DM. Special trains and buses have been engaged for service today to Anuradhapura for the benefit of a large number of Poson pilgrims who are expected to flock in Anuradhapura and Mihintale—DM. The USSR Government presented the People's Friendship Order to Dr. S. A. Wickremasinghe, Chairman of the Sri Lanka Communist Party, in the Kremlin, on the occasion of his 75th birthday, in recognition of Dr. Wickremasinghe's active participation in the struggle for peace, democracy and social progress—ATH. *Aththa* referring

to a request by Mr. T. B. Ilangaratne, Minister of Trade, Public Administration and Home Affairs to state corporations to reduce the prices of consumer articles, editorially commented that the Government should calculate the profits made by corporations and price to each consumer item by subsidising the reduction with the profits: the paper further said though Mr. Ilangaratne's proposal was a welcome one yet it will not be carried out by state corporations and private sector manufacturers unless the Government makes firm instructions on the selling price. According to the *Janadina* the present Minister of Finance has made arrangements through a prominent Muslim national to obtain a loan of 100 million dollars from a bank in France: the paper said the Central Bank has given its approval for obtaining this loan, and the Muslim national is still in France engaged in negotiations.

SATURDAY, JUNE 12: The Government decided to airlift fittings for tea chests following reports that thousands of pounds of tea have accumulated in estates and stores in gunny bags and on the floor for want of tea chests: manufacture of tea chests was interrupted owing to lack of fittings—*CDN*. During the Non-aligned summit period in August hundreds of retail shops will be established in the city by the Government to help the public to purchase consumer items at fair prices—*CDN*. All tourist hotels will be allowed to import items free of import duty during the non-aligned conference period provided the Tourist Board approves the importation of items requested by the hotels—*CDN*. The Government decided to establish DPL ties with the Government of the State of Qatar—*CDM*. The four members of the Tamil United Liberation Front, including three MPs, have been ordered to appear on June 18 before the trial-at-bar on charges of distributing literature of a subversive nature—*VK*. The Nurses Trade Union informed the Health authorities that if the Government fails to give them a satisfactory reply by the 18th of this month regarding their demands the union will instruct all their members throughout the island to work to rule from the 19th onwards—*VK*. The Ceylon Workers' Congress and the Tamil United Liberation Front refused to comment on the 20-point demands submitted by prominent Tamils to the Government on problems facing the Tamil speaking community of Sri Lanka—*VK*. Government has taken steps to provide security for foreign diplomats and high officials of the embassies during the Non-Aligned Summit Conference in August—*LD*. The Navy will import five more gun boats with all modern facilities to be used for guard duty in the shores of Sri Lanka: the Navy will hold talks with France, Britain, West Germany and Holland regarding these purchases which is expected to cost Rs. 100 million—*JD*. The decision to establish a glucose factory in Colombo North electorate had now been changed and the factory will be shifted elsewhere: initial work on this factory has already cost the District Development Council Rs. 50,000; according to the *Aththa* the decision to change the place has been taken by officials of the Ministry of Planning and Economic Affairs. A team of Ministry officials led by Mr. Ananda Sirisena, Deputy Minister of Co-operatives and Small Industries, took into custody nearly 10 million yards of cloth from a private factory which has been sent there by the Ministry for finishing and later to be handed over to Salusala: the stock of cloth has been kept back in the factory after it has been finished

though it should have been handed over to the Salusala—*DM*.

SUNDAY, JUNE 13: Mr. Felix Dias Bandaranaike, Minister of Finance and Justice, sought Government approval to introduce legislation to regulate the fees chargeable by lawyers: the proposed legislation—the Regulation of Legal Fees Law—will stipulate the fees that an Attorney-at-law could charge for consultations, pleadings, appearances in court, interviews in prisons etc in respect of civil, criminal and appeal cases—*TOCSI*. On an invitation by Dr. (Mrs.) Dora Fonseka, Dr. N. M. Perera, leader of the LSSP and MP for Yatiyanteta, left for UK on Friday—*TOCSI*. The Department of Prisons has put into operation far reaching changes in the country's penal system: according to one of the changes, with effect from June 1 all persons sentenced to terms of imprisonment less than six months will not be kept in prison cells but will be sent to work in open prison camps—*CO*. A Committee headed by the Deputy Director of Health Services, Dr. H. A. Jesudasan, has circulated draft plans for the overhauling of the country's health services to all Superintendents of Health Services in order to obtain their views: the proposed overhauling envisage the integration of the preventive and curative aspects of medicine and the scrapping of a number of campaigns—*CO*. During the last two-month period seven people died while they were in Police custody nearly: a hundred people have been harassed while in Police custody during this period—*ATH*. Two big oil tankers have been taken into custody by the Customs from the Trincomalee harbour on the orders of the Supreme Court for the non-payment of port charges: these two tankers were berthed in the Trincomalee harbour since July, 1975—*ATH*. A mass rally of workers will be held in Colombo on July 1 to press for the demands submitted by the working class population: the decision to hold this mass workers' rally was taken at a meeting held at the Lanka Workers' Federation headquarters: Representatives of Ceylon Workers' Federation, Government Workers' Trade Union Federation and the Government Clerical Service Union participated at this meeting—*JD*. According to the *Janadina* Dr. N. M. Perera, leader of the LSSP, will declare open a photographic exhibition, of the "struggles of the LSSP", in London today. The Ceylon Workers' Congress informed Indian passport holders under the Sirima-Shastri pact that they could remain only for 14 months in the country though the passport is valid for four years: the General Secretary of the CWC further said that all Indian Passport holders should realise this and take appropriate action to leave the country before the end of 14 months from the date of the issue of the passport—*VK*. According to the *Silumina* information regarding hoarding and selling over the controlled price have been received from the public and the price control unit will take swift action against each complaint from the public. The Department of Credit Councils will soon set up a "Government Servants Rehabilitation Fund" to help needy public servants with financial aid, interest free—*LD*.

MONDAY, JUNE 14: The Colombo Observatory yesterday predicted that the south-west monsoon which failed to appear in mid-May should break during this week: meanwhile the Kalatuwawa and Labugama reservoirs which supply water to the city of Colombo had only five and eight feet of water: according to the

Colombo Municipality if the prevailing drought continued the prospects of both reservoirs drying up completely before the end of the month could not be ruled out—CDN. According to the Virakesari residents of Colombo will be faced with a 20-hour water cut from this week. According to the Competent Authority on Price Control all milk foods and milk will be brought under price control and a gazette notification to this effect will be published this week—CDN. 185 people died in the year 1975 in accidents involving CTB buses—CDN. Four persons including a young woman and a Police Constable have been arrested by the Police, investigating the Puttur and Puloly People's Bank robberies in the Jaffna district: several others arrested by the Police during the past few weeks have been released after inquiries—VK. The Public Service Technical Officers Trade Union Federation urged the Government to grant them the concessions given to members of the administrative services—CDM. *Aththa* editorially commended the proposal by Mr. Felix Dias Bandaranaike, Minister of Finance, to regularise fees paid by litigants to lawyers appearing for them in courts and various other measures proposed by the Minister to ease the burden on a litigant regarding expenditure involved in contesting a court case. According to the *Aththa*, the Police have not paid any attention to a Government order to stop harassing the members of the public: the paper reported a recent case where certain officers of the Narahenpita Police had assaulted a mother and a daughter. Leaders of the SLFP trade unions have pledged to the Prime Minister that they will not have any connexion with the JCTUO: this pledge has been made at a meeting held recently in the Temple Trees, official residence of the Prime Minister—JD. The *Aththa* in an editorial comment on the pledge given by SLFP TU leaders to the Premier, said, that this will be a temporary victory for the Prime Minister and a temporary loss for the working class in the SLFP trade unions: the paper further said this attitude by certain SLFP trade union leaders will give new life to the JCTUO and make it more militant in the struggles of the future. The Ministry of Irrigation, Power and Highways is engaged in preparing a scheme to divert the Kelani Ganga to cultivation areas: the scheme is expected to cost Rs. 2,500 million—LD. Government decided to completely ban deforesting in areas where seasonal rains are experienced: according to Government officials deforestation has caused prolonged drought in areas where normally rains are expected in particular seasons and this has resulted in rivers and tanks running dry—DM.

TUESDAY, JUNE 15: Sri Lanka will get \$ 30 million loan from the World Bank, USA, Britain and the Netherlands for the stage II of the Mahaweli diversion scheme: the loan would be interest free, repayable in 50 years with a grace period of 10 years—CDN. Four new stamps depicting the gems of Sri Lanka will be issued by the Ministry of Posts and Telecommunications tomorrow—CDN. From tomorrow the city of Colombo will receive water supplies only from 7 am to 11 am until further notice: the Colombo Municipality has decided on this following the low levels of water in the Kalatuwawa and Labugama reservoirs which supplies water to the city of Colombo—CDM. According to *Virakesari* over 3,500 students of the University's Colombo Campus will boycott lecture: from the 17th of this month pressing for the three demands they have submitted to the University authorities. LSSP

Trade Unions of the JCTUO will meet tomorrow to decide whether to quit the JCTUO or remain in it: this action follows requests by these trade unions to the SLFP an CP controlled trade unions to summon the JCTUO regarding which the latter trade unions did not pay any attention—VK. The number of cholera cases have recorded an increase in Colombo and its suburbs during the past few weeks according to reports from hospitals: meanwhile, several died of cholera in Trincomalee, Soranatora, Beruwala and Hiriyala areas—LD. The Ministry of Finance conveyed a decision of the Sri Lanka Central Bank approving the establishment of a branch of the First National City Bank, an American Bank, in Sri Lanka: a team of the Bank's representatives will soon arrive in the island to discuss the terms and conditions: according to Political observers the establishment of this bank will be a step forward in the Finance Minister's proposal to invite foreign capital to the country—ATH. Employees of the Government Press have phased the question as to what happened to the report by the Commissioner of Labour regarding the interdiction of an employee or whose behalf the entire Government Press went on strike for over one and a half months: there had also been a day's token strike on February 20 this year throughout the island by public as well as private sector employees in sympathy with the strike at Government Press: the report of the Commissioner of Labour has been handed over to the Prime Minister three weeks ago—JD. The number of arrests regarding the People's Bank robberies in Puttur and Puloly increased to seven yesterday—DM.

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INTERNATIONAL DIARY

June 9 – June 16

WEDNESDAY, JUNE 9: Syria will not attend the Arab Nations Foreign Ministers' Conference scheduled to be held in Cairo yesterday unless Lebanon is also represented: the meeting is aimed at finding ways to stop the bloody battles in Lebanon. The Indian High Commission in London asked for a meeting with the British Foreign Office to discuss the racial tension in Britain. Dr. Henry Kissinger, US Secretary of State, announced that the United States will put forward proposals for the enforcement of human rights at the Organisation of American States (OAS) Conference in Santiago, Chile: Dr. Kissinger made this announcement at a press conference after a 15-hour visit to Bolivia on his way to OAS general assembly in Chile. Mrs. Indira Gandhi, Prime Minister of India, arrived in Moscow yesterday on a five-day official tour to the USSR. Kuwaiti newspapers announced that Kuwaiti Ambassador in Beirut and members of his staff are being detained at the Kuwaiti Embassy by members of the Syrian backed Palestinian Commando movement. Chinese Prime Minister, Mr. Hua Kuo-Feng, told Mr. Aiichoro Fujiyama, Chairman of the Japanese Association for Promotion of International Trade, currently on a visit to Peking, that China did not expect any change with its relations towards USA until the November Presidential elections.

THURSDAY, JUNE 10: Libya announced that it has decided to increase the price of its crude oil this

month in spite of an oil exporters decision to keep prices unaltered. Speaking at a dinner given in honour of the visiting Indian Prime Minister, Mrs. Indira Gandhi, Mr. Leonid Brezhnev, Soviet Communist Party's General Secretary, told that a slow-down in east-west detente is owing to enemies of international co-operation and hardening of attitudes by the United States: Mrs. Indira Gandhi was given a rousing welcome on arrival at Moscow: she praised the Soviet Union for its "principled support" for the nations of the third world. The Leftist-controlled Beirut Radio announced that Syria agreed to a ceasefire in Lebanon. A Government Minister of France defended the sale of a nuclear plant to South Africa by saying that South Africa could already manufacture atomic weapons. The US Agricultural Department announced that the USSR's grain production could fall 20 million tonnes below target because of adverse weather conditions and put the Russians in the markets for more foreign supplies than anticipated.

FRIDAY, JUNE 11: Soviet Communist Party leader Leonid Brezhnev led the Soviet team at talks in Moscow with the visiting Indian Prime Minister, Mrs. Indira Gandhi: earlier in a dinner speech Mrs. Gandhi said that India had worked consistently to improve relations with all neighbouring countries: reporting on the talks between the Soviet and Indian team, *Tass* said the two sides confirmed their resolve to promote detente, co-operation and mutual understanding between states including those in the Asian continent. British Labour Government urged the House of Lords to halt the immigration from developing Commonwealth countries in the interests of good race relations in UK. Under a new Immigration Bill British forces are empowered to arrest people entering Hong Kong without permits. Observers in Vienna said that Saudi Arabia will use its strong position to halt any oil price hike by OPEC nations. Alabama Governor, George Wallace, told a press conference that US Democratic Presidential nomination would go to Jimmy Carter: Senator Henry Jackson and Chicago's Mayor, Richard Daley, too supported the nomination of Mr. Carter. Diplomats from Egypt, Kuwait, Southern Yemen and guests of the Palestinian Liberation Organisation (PLO) staged a walk-out at a banquet in Peking when the Syrian Ambassador made a speech defending his country's military intervention in Lebanon. Libya and Iraq too sent their troops to Lebanon while Israel declared that the crisis in Lebanon had grown into a major international war. Israel boycotted a UN Security Council meeting on the Palestine question protesting that Palestine Liberation Organisation was seated on the same terms as a UN member-state. Foreign Minister of Thailand, Mr. Pichai Rattakul, announced that Thailand was interested in the forthcoming Non-Aligned Conference to be held in Colombo and would follow the Summit closely. Japanese national tax administration agency named Yoshio Kodama as the biggest tax evader for the year 1975: Mr. Kodama is already charged with illegally receiving money from the Lockheed Aircraft Corporation. The British Labour Government survived a no-confidence motion by the Conservative Opposition by 309 votes to 290.

SATURDAY, JUNE 12: Iran, Kuwait and Saudi Arabia reduced the prices of their crude oil by 5 to 7 cents, 7 cents and 5 cents respectively per barrel: Libya announced that it hoped to increase the prices

in spite of a decision by OPEC countries to maintain current prices. Chairman of the Bangladesh Red Cross Society, G. G. Mustafa, has been sentenced to jail for misappropriating the funds of the society. NATO Intelligence Service warned that the Soviet Union, despite the climate of East-West detente, was maintaining an all-out drive to improve its military might: French naval intelligence sources indicated that the Soviet fleet of war ships in the Mediterranean was recently increased to 70 probably due to latest events in Lebanon. Twelve NATO and seven Warsaw states conferring in Vienna for East-West force reduction talks could not make any progress towards their goal of a force reduction agreement: however, NATO diplomats were surprised when Soviet Ambassador Oleg Khlestov, initiated a move to disclose communist force strengths in return for more specific commitments by Western European countries to reduce forces. Commenting on the Soviet military presence in the Mediterranean, China warned that the USSR was trying to meddle in the Lebanese affairs. Japan offered to give agricultural assistance to North Vietnam to help improve its economy. Trial began yesterday in Luanda against 13 white mercenaries captured in the Angolan civil war last February. Dr. Gamani Corea, Secretary General of the UNDP, told a World Employment Conference in Geneva that unless employment is found for youths countries will face serious political troubles. President Idi Amin of Uganda escaped an assassination attempt when three hand grenades were thrown to the car he was travelling in Kampala: the grenades were of American and Israeli types according to Radio Uganda: one died and three others were seriously injured during the incident.

SUNDAY, JUNE 13: Indian Opposition Socialist Party leader, George Fernandes, described as India's "most wanted man" has been arrested: Chief Secretary of the West Bengal Government, Mr. B. R. Gupta, said 46 year old Fernandes had been hiding in Nepal before his arrest. Indian and Pakistani officials will be engaged in two to three days of talks in New Delhi commencing tomorrow before arrangements are made to resume air and rail traffic between the two countries: tomorrow's meeting is the culmination of talks between officials of both countries held in Islamabad to normalise full relations between the two countries. Pope Paul appointed Monsignor Patrick Chakaipa as new Archbishop of Salisbury, Rhodesia, in place of Monsignor Francis Markall, a London born white, who retired on health reasons. A new ceasefire has been agreed in Lebanon that stipulated the withdrawal of Syrian forces within ten days. Speaking in Mexico City US Secretary of State, Dr. Henry Kissinger, said that America will not think of normalising relations with Cuba until the last Cuban soldier is pulled out of Angola. According to a senior Egyptian source the Prime Ministers of Egypt and Syria will meet in Riyadh, Saudi Arabia, on June 23 in a new bid to resolve differences over their Middle East policies: the meeting will be attended by Saudi Arabia and Kuwait, too. The *Washington Post* reported that the Central Intelligence Agency bugged the Presidential office of South Vietnamese President, Nguyen Van Thieu, for most of his eight years in power. In US Presidential Primary elections President Ford and Ronald Reagan has yet to win over 230 delegates remain to be picked at eleven State Conventions: Democratic candidate Jimmy Carter has had sweeping victories

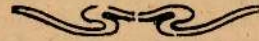
and is waiting to be nominated by the Party's convention next month as its nominee for the November elections. China accused the Soviet Union for preparing public opinion for its intervention in Lebanon: China further said the Tass News Agency has twisted the Lebanon crisis from an internal strife to an international crisis.

MONDAY, JUNE 14: Seven thousand Asian immigrants supported by groups of whites marched through the streets of London protesting against recent attacks on Asians living in the UK: the demonstrations were peaceful and the marchers handed over petitions at various Police Stations asking for more protection. Mrs. Indira Gandhi, Prime Minister of India, ended her visit to the Soviet Union yesterday and left for home. Mr. Gerald Ford who wound up his campaign for the Republican Presidential nomination said that he would win over a Democratic candidate: he further said that nomination of Mr. Reagan would lead the party to isolation. Mr. Mahamoud Riad, Secretary General of the Arab League, said that the Arab peace keeping mission in Lebanon would begin soon as possible and added that the Lebanese sovereignty would be respected: Egyptian President Anwar Sadat warned that if Syria failed to stop its intervention in Lebanon it could face the same fate America faced in Vietnam: official Syrian sources said that Syria has not signed any ceasefire agreement in Lebanon: the PLO received a one million dollar gift from Sheik Zaid Bin Sultan, President of United Arab Emirates (UAE) and ruler of Abu Dhabi, to victims of war in Lebanon. President Juan Maria Bordaberry of Uruguay, who has been under strong military-pressure to resign will be replaced shortly by Vice President Alberto Demichelli, according to informed sources. It was disclosed in Salisbury that exiles from Angola and Mozambique are offering to form a special Portuguese unit of 300 to 400 men within the Rhodesian Army.

TUESDAY, JUNE 15: In a joint declaration issued after the departure of Mrs. Indira Gandhi, Prime Minister of India, who was on a five-day official tour in the USSR both countries called for common efforts by all Asian states to strengthen peace and stability on the continent. Mr. Ronald Reagan, Republican candidate against President Ford for the November elections took all but one of the 19 delegate votes at the Republican National Convention at Missouri on Saturday and this set an embarrassing setback to Mr. Ford: the Missouri Convention was the first of a series of Republican Conventions to be held. Delegates at a conference of immigrant and trade union organisations in London voted that the leader of Britain's right-wing National Party, Kingly Read, should be arrested over alleged racial incitement: Pakistani Prime Minister, Mr. Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, said that he would soon send a senior Pakistani Minister for discussions with British authorities over the racial tensions with immigrants. Rhodesian Prime Minister, Ian Smith, flew to Pretoria over the weekend for talks with South African Prime Minister, John Vorster: the Rhodesian Government announced that it was puzzled by Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda's charge that "Rhodesian rebels" were responsible for two explosions in the Zambian capital of Lusaka. Beirut Radio announced that Prime Minister Abdel Salam Jalloud, who returned to Beirut from Damascus, had new plans for a gradual Syrian withdrawal from Lebanon. An Egypt's news agency reported

yesterday that Syria and Iraq planned a joint military force to confront Israeli troops in the Golan Heights but the plan fell through when Syria grew suspicious of Iraqi troop movements on its border which it considered were premature measures against Israel.

WEDNESDAY, JUNE 16: Chairman Mao Tse-tung is indisposed and will no longer be in a position to meet foreign statesmen, according to an official spokesman: visiting Malagasy President left Peking without being granted an audience with Mao Tse-tung. Dr. Donald Coggan, the Archbishop of Canterbury and the leader of the Church of England, condemned racialist action in Britain against immigrants and described recent killings in London as shameful. US President Ford called for legislation to stop American companies bribing foreign officials to promote sales: Mr. Ford made this statement after studying the preliminary report of a committee appointed to investigate bribery. Communist Mongolia declared that it was making efforts to normalise relations with China. It was announced in Dacca that Bangladesh will soon set up a special martial law court to try people charged with treason and major military offences. Arab League Secretary General announced that a joint Arab peace-keeping force could be sent to Lebanon within the next ten days: he also said Libyan, Saudi Arabian and Sudanese troops were willing to move in at once. Egyptian President, Anwar Sadat, left for Iran yesterday to hold talks with the Shah of Iran on the Lebanon issue. A 15 member American Democratic Party's sub-committee drafted the party's policy for the November Presidential elections: the draft steers a careful middle course on all major issues and is clearly designed to appeal to all sections of the party, underlining the party's desire for unity in contrast to the divisiveness that marked Senator George McGovern's nomination four years ago



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COLOMBO SUMMIT

Lima Declaration—Contd.

Political Perspectives

This week we publish the second instalment of the Declaration adopted at the Ministerial Conference of the Non-Aligned Movement held in Lima from August 25-30, 1975. The first instalment appeared in our issue last week.

62. The Ministers for Foreign Affairs have followed with great interest and concern the development of events in Cyprus and, keeping in mind the welfare of the people of Cyprus, they reiterate their support of the independence, territorial integrity, sovereignty and Non-Alignment of the Republic of Cyprus, reaffirming at the same time the solidarity of the Group of Non-Aligned Countries with one of their founding members.

63. The Conference takes pleasure in noting the effectiveness of the actions carried out by the Non-Aligned through their Co-ordinating Committee and their Contact Group of the Five which permitted the General Assembly, at its XXIX Session, to adopt unanimously Resolution 3212, endorsed by the Security Council in its resolution 365, which established the framework and principles for the solution of the Cyprus problem, in accordance with the position adopted by the Non-Aligned Countries.

64. The Foreign Ministers, stressing the importance of Resolutions 3212 (XXIX) of the General Assembly and 367 of the Security Council which recognized the Non-Aligned status of one of the members of the United Nations and reiterating the Agreements adopted by the Co-ordinating Bureau during its meeting in Havana, with respect to the solution of the Cypriot problem:

Express their solidarity with and total support for the Government and all of the people of the Republic of Cyprus, and consider that any aggression against Cyprus constitutes a threat to its independence territorial integrity and its policy of Non-Alignment, as well as an aggression against all the Non-Aligned Countries.

Demand the urgent implementation of Resolution 3212, 365 and 367 of the General Assembly and of the Security Council of the United Nations, respectively; call upon all countries to respect the sovereignty, territorial integrity and Non-Alignment of the Republic of Cyprus and insist on the necessity of the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of all foreign troops from the Island, of the continuation in a meaningful and constructive manner of the negotiations between the two communities under the personal auspices of the Secretary General in the shortest time possible and of the immediate return of all refugees to their homes in safety.

65. The Foreign Ministers consider that the negotiations between the representatives of the two communities, conducted on an equal footing, must lead to a mutually satisfactory agreement freely arrived at; any unilateral action such as the one undertaken by the Turkish community in February 1975 should be condemned and should not prejudice the final political solution of the conflict.

66. The Conference takes note of the three rounds of talks which took place in Vienna between the representatives of the Greek and Turkish Cypriot communities and expresses the hope and encouragement that the continuation of these talks will prove fruitful, for the benefit of the people of Cyprus as a whole.

67. The Conference of Ministers for Foreign Affairs expresses its satisfaction at having the opportunity to meet in Latin America, a region where peoples have waged historical struggles against foreign domination. They recall with great pleasure the advance of the cause of Non-Alignment in this region following their meeting in Georgetown, Guyana, in August, 1972. It declares that, as recognized at the IVth Conference of Heads of State or Government, held in Algiers in September 1973, the struggle for the liberation of this continent is an integral and vital part of the general efforts carried out by developing countries and other progressive forces to completely eliminate international relations based on oppression and

economic exploitation, and to replace them by mutual respect and sovereign equality founded on their inalienable right to reclaim their natural resources, their autonomy and the free will to attain development within the socio-economic system best suited to their reality.

68. The Conference stresses the importance of the Third Ministerial Meeting of the Co-ordinating Bureau of Non-Aligned Countries recently held in Havana, confirms the accuracy of its analysis of the situation in Latin America, and supports its conclusions in that respect.

69. Latin America is one of the areas which has suffered the most from the aggression of colonialism and imperialism. The United States policy towards Latin American countries has been characterized by the prevalence of the interests of this great power over the interests of the Latin American peoples. To this end, organisations and treaties were created to submit Latin American countries to the policies of imperialism. However, Latin America has always been ready to fight against any colonialist or neo-colonialist action. Its peoples have written, and are writing today glorious pages in their tenacious quest for a genuinely free destiny. The symbolic significance of this historical meeting is thus obvious.

70. Peru is a Non-Aligned Country which actively participates in the movement and contributes to the cause of the Liberation of Latin America and of the Third World, and to the strengthening of the policy of non-alignment through a revolutionary process that does away with the old structure of domination and dependence designed to perpetuate America's under-development and dependence.

71. The Ministers for Foreign Affairs reaffirm their solidarity with the Peruvian people and with the Armed Forces of the Revolutionary Government of Peru, in their valiant and just endeavour to consolidate and strengthen the victories of the Peruvian revolution, to affirm their sovereignty and to bring about economic, political, and social changes for the benefit of the people.

72. The Ministers for Foreign Affairs denounce and condemn the campaign of aggression carried on in Latin America by the agents

of imperialism and by transnational enterprises engaged in the weapons trade, and strongly support the initiative taken by the Peruvian President, General Juan Velasco Alvarado, which envisaged an agreement within the Andean Group on limitation of armaments in order to allocate the maximum possible resources to the full development of their countries.

73. The Conference condemns any act of threat against the Peruvian Revolution instigated by imperialistic interests and decides to remain alert and ready to obtain the necessary support in the event of any aggression against the development and strengthening of the revolution, the free use of its natural resources, and its national sovereignty.

74. The Conference points to the fact that Latin America is making a considerable contribution to the struggle for the establishment of a new international economic order, and to the actions of developing countries which have led to the adoption of the Plan of Action of the Sixth Session of the General Assembly of the United Nations and the Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of Nations proposed by President Echeverria of Mexico.

75. The Conference views with satisfaction the growing participation of Latin America in the Non-Aligned Movement and, in this respect, notes that countries in this hemisphere have an ever-growing awareness of belonging to the Third World and of their common destiny with the people who, in Africa, Asia and other parts of the world, struggle against imperialism, colonialism, and neo-colonialism, alien domination, fascism, racial discrimination, *apartheid* and Zionism and endeavour to attain full political and economic independence.

76. The Ministers for Foreign Affairs express their strong repudiation of all coercive measures that affect the security of Latin American countries and constitute an obstacle to their development. They express their solidarity with the Latin American peoples and governments facing imperialist pressures in the defence of their legitimate national interests. They feel equally solidarity with Latin American people who are striving to free themselves

from the economic and political yoke of imperialism, and to put an end to colonialism in this region.

77. They note that the efforts made to achieve integration and co-operation constitute a valuable experience for Non-Aligned Countries in general, and particularly so in the case of the regime for treatment of foreign capital agreed on by the countries of the sub-regional Andean Pact, which is a reply to the negative effects of indiscriminate investment by transnational enterprises. They express their support to the creation of the Latin American Economic System (SELA), which represents the realization of the aspiration of the Latin American countries to set up in this region an exclusively Latin American organization for co-operation, for the purpose of contributing to the solidarity, independent development and strengthening of the sovereignty of the Latin American countries.

78. The Ministers for Foreign Affairs reiterate their support to the Cuban Revolutionary Government and their demand that the military base of Guantanamo occupied by the United States of America against the will of the people and the government of Cuba, be returned to that country as an inalienable part of its territory.

79. They declare that the agreement reached whereby the countries of the Hemisphere are free to reestablish relations with Cuba is a victory of the Latin American peoples and of the progressive forces in the region, and they reiterate, at the same time, their repudiation of the blockade by means of which imperialism has tried to isolate and destroy the Cuban revolution, and demand that it be lifted immediately and unconditionally.

80. They recognize that as a consequence of that blockade the Cuban people has suffered substantial losses for which it is entitled to compensation.

81. They reiterate, further, their demand for the elimination of the United States military bases existing in Panama and Puerto Rico.

82. The Ministers for Foreign Affairs reiterate once more the total support and the solidarity of the Non-Aligned Countries with the people and Government of Panama in their just struggle to exercise their effective sovereignty

and full jurisdiction over that part of their territory which is known at present as the Panama Canal Zone, that is occupied by the United States of America against the will of the Government and people of Panama. The Ministers for Foreign Affairs likewise undertake to support actions at an international level, particularly in all the organs of the United Nations Organisation, to attain this inalienable right of the people and the Revolutionary Government of Panama. They decide to give this matter their permanent attention and charge the Co-ordinating Bureau with the task of taking appropriate action on this matter.

83. The Ministers for Foreign Affairs support the Revolutionary Government of Panama, headed by General Omar Torrijos Herrera, in its firm intention to establish new political, economic, social and cultural structures for the benefit of its people, and they firmly condemn any action designed to undermine the bases of the Panamanian revolutionary process or directed against the physical person of the leaders of the Revolution.

84. The Conference reaffirms its support of Puerto Rico's right to independence and demands that colonial situations be eliminated, especially in the cases of Belize, the Malvinas Islands, Puerto Rico, and Panama.

85. It urges the members of the Non-Aligned movement to carry out all necessary efforts to accelerate the process of decolonization of the Puerto Rican people and to extend their full solidarity and support that it may attain political and economic independence. The Conference likewise urges the United Nations Organization to recognize the movement for national liberation as the only legitimate representative of the people of Puerto Rico, to request the Special Committee on Decolonization to send a mission to visit that territory under colonial domination, and to demand that the Government of the United States of America cease all political or repressive maneuvers intended to perpetuate the colonial status of Puerto Rico.

86. The Conference expresses its unconditional support for the people of Belize whose aspirations for independence continue to be

frustrated by territorial claims. In affirming the territorial integrity of Belize and the right of its people to independence, the Conference agrees to lend its support to all efforts directed to those ends.

87. The Non-Aligned Countries, without prejudice to ratifying the validity of the principle of self-determination as a general principle for other territories, strongly support in the special and particular case of the Malvinas Islands, the just claim of the Argentine Republic, and urge the United Kingdom to actively continue the negotiations recommended by the United Nations in order to restore the said territory to Argentine sovereignty and thus put an end to that illegal situation, which still persists in the southern part of the American continent.

88. The Non-Aligned Countries support and encourage the nationalist and independent measures taken by Ecuador, Venezuela, Colombia, Panama, Mexico and other countries to recover their natural resources, and condemn all attempts at coercion and aggression, such as the United States Foreign Trade Bill recently enacted by the Congress of that country, which affects the Latin American countries.

89. They reiterate their firm support and encouragement to the governments and the peoples of Guyana and Jamaica in their nationalist and independent action to consolidate their sovereignty and to establish complete control over their natural resources.

90. Likewise, they state their support for the nationalist action taken by Honduras to recover its natural resources and fight against the imperialist action of transnational enterprises that monopolize the banana production of that country.

91. The Fifth Conference of Ministers for Foreign Affairs of the Non-Aligned Countries pays homage to the unforgettable Latin American leader, Salvador Allende, almost two years after his death in the defence of his democratic ideals, in a struggle which led the Fourth Summit Conference of Algiers to offer its solidarity and support to the government of Popular Unity, in the face of the imminent events in which he later lost his life.

92. The Conference expresses its solidarity with the resolutions

on Chile approved by the twenty-ninth session of the United Nations General Assembly, the relevant decisions of the Dakar Conference on Raw Materials, the resolution adopted by the International Women's Conference, and the agreements of the Third Meeting of the Ministerial Bureau of Co-ordination of Non-Aligned Countries held in March of this year.

93. It expresses its deep concern over the presence of imperialism in Chile, which is reflected in the reversal of the processes of recovery of natural resources and of socio-economic transformation, as well as by the human rights situation in that country and by the fact that the Military Junta did not allow the United Nations Commission on Human Rights to visit Chile.

94. For all the above reasons, the Conference ratifies the decision adopted by the Co-ordinating Bureau at its Third Ministerial Meeting, held in Havana, and to effect it reiterates its intention of giving permanent attention to that situation and intensifying its solidarity with the Chilean people.

95. The Ministers for Foreign Affairs state that all the struggles of the peoples of Latin America and the ever-growing participation of Latin American countries in the Non-Aligned movement constitute a transcendental contribution to the historical current for liberation, particularly with respect to the cohesive and joint action of developing countries to achieve effective democratisation of international relations and a new international economic order.

96. The Foreign Ministers declare that, since the first Summit in Belgrade, in 1961, Non-Alignment policy has been quantitatively and qualitatively confirmed and has considerably broadened its sphere of action in the struggles of peoples striving for independence, national emancipation and active peaceful coexistence, as well as in its constant and consistent opposition to policies of force and to the actions of imperialism, colonialism and all other forms of foreign domination.

97. The Ministers for Foreign Affairs reaffirm the commitment of their Governments with regard to the principles of Non-Alignment policy which has already been defined in the Belgrade, Cairo,

Lusaka, and Algiers Summits: active opposition to any imperialist, colonialist and neo-colonialist policy. The rights of peoples, who are not yet free, to obtain their freedom, the right to self-determination and independence; respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of all States; the right of all States to equality and the right to actively participate in international affairs; the right of all sovereignty nations to dispose freely of their natural resources, including nationalisation and the right to determine in full liberty the means of their political, economic, social and cultural development; also the right of all peoples to benefit from the achievements of economic progress and to harvest the fruit of the scientific and technological revolution.

(To be Continued)

* * *

COLOMBO SUMMIT

In Sri Lanka Eyes

The Third World

Colombo,

Not very long ago the third world meant almost nothing. Now mention of the Third World stirs people, staggers and even astounds them. Its powers of perseverance, resistance and unity have soared. World events once were determined by two worlds. Now there is a Third World. Fundamentally what happens in the Third World is important to the whole world.

The efforts of the Third World to eradicate the economic inequities and other disparities are set to nought by the economic pressures of those dominating the sphere. The important thing is that the Third World represents two thirds of the human race. Clearly no country can any longer be exploited by various interests for political and economic ends. The stage has reached when all pretences and secret leanings have to be shed in order to preserve provision of the basic necessities and hope for a better life. This consideration supersedes every other consideration.

THE COLOMBO NON-ALIGNED SUMMIT should well be the mainstay of the third world and its

involvement in questions like Diego Garcia the Indian Ocean as a peace zone the needs of the impoverished, and many other questions which must not be allowed to grow. The key note of the Summit is the spirit of self reliance and optimism. It has a large concentration of experts, scientists and engineers. But the Third World is poor.

In a forum like the Summit with all the raw materials at its command of the Third World countries it has the ability to delineate through its common denominators a Third World orientation of whether to give or deny the rest of the world copper, rubber, bauxite, copra, mercury and a 1001 items that are vital.

The Colombo Summit has an important role to play in resolving the complexities of the Third World.

T.M.G. Samat

COLOMBO SUMMIT

Sri Lanka

Security Arrangements

Colombo, June 15,

The spate of terrorist attacks, kidnappings and other violent political demonstrations in recent times, has prompted the Sri Lanka Government to take special security precautions during the Fifth Non-Aligned Summit Conference which will be held in Colombo from August 16th to the 19th.

Heads of state who arrive in Colombo this August will be met at the Bandaranaike International Airport, which is situated twenty miles from the city of Colombo, by the President Mr. William Gopallawa and the Prime Minister Mrs. Sirimavo Bandaranaike. Each head of state will have at his disposal a Police pilot car, two security cars and two motorcycle outriders. Although foreign dignitaries are encouraged to bring their own security personnel, they will be supplemented by a detail of specially trained Sri Lanka security guards, headed by a senior Police officers.

Heads of state will be housed in Colombo two big hotels, the Intercontinental and the Oberoi.

The airport, the hotels and the Conference Hall will be high security areas.

From now on foreigners residing in Sri Lanka on visas will be asked to leave the island, and strict screening will be given to all these seeking to enter the island until the Conference is over.

Jayantha Somasundaram

COLOMBO SUMMIT

Indian view

Non-Alignment Under Assault

New Delhi, May 15,

Very much unlike in the past, there is an unprecedented focus of world attention on the Fifth Non-Aligned Summit, scheduled in Colombo in August. Apart from the leading powers of the fraternity, both its friends and foes are already alert and active. New Delhi is having more than a fair share of this heightened interest, as is evident from the recent series of VIP visits. Sirimavo Bandaranaike, who hosts the Summit, was here in mid-April on a brief visit. Yugoslav Prime Minister Milos Mincic spent more time in Delhi. Though Nepal's Prime Minister Tulsii Giri was pre-occupied in Delhi with Indo-Nepal relations, there were certain issues in the discussions which had a bearing on the Sri Lanka conference. The Rumanian Foreign Minister is now expected here.

The more than usual world interest is seen in the rush for admission into the non-aligned meet as members, observers or guests. Applications are being received from unexpected quarters. For instance, at the recent Tunis symposium on Information and Communication Media in the non-aligned world, the Information Minister of the Philippines arrived bag and baggage without any invitation. He was barred, however, from participating in it.

It would appear that inimical forces have lately been taking undue interest in the non-aligned business. Even at its inception, when Jawaharlal Nehru, Marshal Tito and Nasser, among others,

launched it, the movement had been an eyesore, to the imperialist and neo-colonial forces. The unity in action of the non-aligned world at the recent meetings of the United Nations, as on the recognition of the PLO, condemnation of Zionism as a form of Racism, the New World Economic Order and the like, had so irritated men like Prof. Moynihan as to make him go off the handle. It was Moynihan who disappeared. Not the unity of the Third World.

It is, therefore, quite explicable that the forces that have repeatedly taken a beating at the UN and other world forums at the hands of the emerging world would resort to their familiar Trojan Horse strategy to infiltrate their buddies into the non-aligned fraternity. The aim is to dilute the very concept itself and thereafter confuse the issues. Foreign Minister Chavan's repeated warning in recent times against attempts to dilute the concept of non-alignment should be read in this context. There is an intimate link between dilution of the concept and diffusion of membership of the community. The agenda of the Sri Lanka Summit and the question of fresh invitees will come up at the meeting of the Steering Committee to be held at the Foreign Ministers' level at Algiers at the end of this month.

MEANWHILE New Delhi was the venue recently of an eventful seminar on the role of non-alignment in the changing world. A number of basic issues of non-alignment and the new problems thrown up by the world that is experimenting with *detente* and SALT, which the movement has perforce to face were debated at the seminar, and consensus was arrived at on most problems. Some 50 scholars and specialists on current affairs from 24 countries participated in the New Delhi seminar including Egypt, Nigeria, Cuba, Tanzania and Vietnam (as observers). Though pegged at the academic level, the conclusions of the discussions have 'practical implications for the Colombo Summit. The seminar noted that many of the fundamental problems grappled with by the pioneers of the movement were still with us, like racism and colonialism, which has taken another avatar in the shape of neo-colonialism, military pacts,

bases and, to boot, the multi-nationals bent upon denying the newly liberated countries sovereignty over their natural resource.

Delivering his keynote address, Dr. Sarvapalli Gopal summed up the problem this way: "all the silver linings of detente cannot smother the clouds of cold war." There was a tiny minority at the seminar which considered detente as inimical to the interests of the under-privileged on this planet on the plea that it would cement the *status quo*. The overwhelming majority rejected this jaundiced view. This is bound to find its large reflection at Colombo. It was in the background of such an exchange of opinions on detente and world security that the problem of admission of members and the criteria thereof were debated at length. It may be recalled here, that at the last meeting of Foreign Ministers, in Peru, the host country had on its own invited Rumania, a member of the Warsaw Pact, and Australia, a partner in the ANZUS, as guests.

Presently, some of the non-aligned nations in the ASEAN grouping are lobbying for the Philippines. Some others have gone to the absurd length of recommending Thailand. At the Algiers Summit, some of the Arab potentates had canvassed Pakistan's entry, but had been rebuffed. This time, Islamabad has not yet shown its hand, but is possibly waiting for the outcome of Turkey's application. Turkey, meanwhile, has joined the Islamic Bloc. The weightiest of all arguments in favour of throwing the door open to members of military blocs is that such a course would help them to extricate themselves from their entanglements. It was argued that straggling members of certain military alliances had been taking relatively independent positions, and that they should be encouraged by according them at least the status of observers at the Non-Aligned Summit.

The consensus at the seminar was that admission should be governed not by the intention of the aspirant but by a practical demonstration of the will to be non-aligned. The clinching observations came from Dr. Gopal. "It is up to us to be on our guard," he observed, "neither to relax our own principled commitments, nor to so dilute our system as to

bring the contagion of the cold war within it."

If non-alignment was to retain its basic character, he added it had to protect itself "from pressures as well as infiltrations."

China, which had not shown much interest in non-alignment in the past, is busy as a bee these days. She would like to rope in as many non-aligned nations at Colombo around her bizarre super-power theory meant to denigrate the Soviet Union.

Inevitably, therefore, the New-Delhi seminar devoted some attention to the role of China. The topic came up in the course of the discussion on international security and the position of the non-aligned world.

Some of the participants made unsavoury references to China's latest role in Chile and Angola, and underlined the divergence from one of the cardinal aims of the non-aligned, namely, the unremitting struggle against colonialism and neo-colonialism. China's perpetual imbroglio on her borders with her neighbours like Vietnam, not to speak of India, was mentioned by others.

The consensus was that China has emerged as a Great Power, and her role in the emerging world situation in the context of international security must be assessed from issue to issue.

A cabinet minister of a leading non-aligned country recently raised the question of how friendship treaties with security undertones, as the one between India and the Soviet Union and the one that was recently abrogated by Egypt, are compatible with non-alignment. This is the type of statement which can provide excellent ammunition to the enemies to blow up the whole thing.

Some at the New Delhi Seminar raised the question of setting up a permanent secretariat to deal with problems in between summits. The idea was rejected, as most participants argued that non-alignment should be kept vigorous as a movement, and saddling it with a secretariat would reduce it to a bloc with all the attendant factional squabbles

**A. Raghavan,
Blitz**

COLOMBO SUMMIT

Yugoslav View

Need For Unity

Belgrade, May 20.

The non-aligned countries are carrying out intensive preparations for the next Summit Conference, which will take place in August in Colombo. Political consultations, mutual visits on the part of the highest leaders, contacts and agreements in international forums and the activity of the non-aligned on the international scene in general—all this demonstrates the detailed, all-inclusive and responsible activities on an international level. The aim of this political activity is to ensure that the reparations for the Colombo Summit be carried out in as detailed a manner as possible, in order to assure the complete success of the Conference, from which, as can be heard on all sides, the non-aligned and other members of the international community can expect a great deal.

Much concrete business has been carried out up to the present, out of which it should be stressed that the agenda has been agreed upon with the consent of all the non-aligned countries. The Prime Minister of the host country of the Fifth Conference of the Non-aligned, Sirimavo Bandaranaike, has visited many non-aligned countries, making consultations concerning the organisational preparations which are being brought to a successful end. The bilateral consultations and the agreements on the part of the non-aligned are characterised by an exchange of opinion on concrete questions which will certainly be included in the official documents of the Conference. In this context, the non-aligned are, to an even greater extent than on previous occasions pointing to the need to solve the major international problems and the necessity to attain the unity of the non-aligned, the strengthening of their co-operation in all domains, permanent forms of linking and organisational consolidation.

In the course of the preparations for Colombo, the non-aligned countries are confirming once again their decisiveness not to simply

THOUGHT - PROVOKING

An Analysis Of Independence

By Prof. A. D. P. Jayatilaka

Professor A. D. P. Jayatilaka, M.B.B.S. (Cey.) Ph.D. (Edin.), Head, Department of Anatomy, in the Faculty of Medical, Dental and Veterinary Sciences, University of Sri Lanka, Peradeniya, sent us this article wondering whether we would publish it. *Tribune* has never hesitated to publish any worthwhile article expressing a point of view that reflects a trend of thinking. Professor Jayatilaka's article is one of the most thought provoking received by us in recent times. The concluding part will appear next week.

The article entitled "Kandy and after" and which appeared in Volume 20, No. 51 in your issue dated 29th May 1976 gave an analysis of the present political system and the efforts made by the Government to combat the problems, was an extremely interesting paper to read. I made my own comments and submitted a short letter to a weekly publication, appearing on Sundays, about the unnecessary expenditure incurred in connection with the Republic Day celebrations on May 22nd 1976 in Kandy when that money could really have been utilized for more worthwhile purposes. This Sunday weekly has not published my letter as perhaps the present proprietors are closely associated with the powers that be. I wrote to this newspaper because in 1969, I wrote to this very same newspaper about the colossal wastage of public funds incurred by the U.N.P. Government in celebrating Independence Day on the 4th of February 1969 in Kandy.

AT THIS JUNCTURE I must declare that my political affiliations have been with the S.L.F.P. During the last General Elections held in 1970, I worked extremely hard with other S.L.F.P. stalwarts like the Honourable Hector Kobbek-

be passive observers of international trends, but rather an active factor in them. This quality of their activity is already evident to such an extent that no single international problem in any domain can be solved without the participation of the non-aligned. The non-aligned countries, together with the developing countries, place special accent on the need for the creation of a new international order, with the basic aim of overcoming the existing lack of equality and discrimination against the less developed countries. Hereby it is shown that it is not a question of "aid" to the developing countries from the developed world, but rather of the creation of the conditions for the acceleration of economic and social progress in the developing countries, with co-operation on the basis of equal rights, without discrimination and exploitation. In this domain, according to the assessments put forward by the non-aligned and developing countries, it is of essential importance to apply the decisions of the Seventh special session of the UN General Assembly. In their preparations for the Colombo Conference, which will, as it is to be expected, represent the largest ever gathering of the non-aligned, these countries are pointing to the need for unity, as an extremely important quality and prerequisite for successful common activity.

As President Tito of Yugoslavia recently said, the three year period from the Algiers Conference up to the present has been extremely fruitful, but not a sufficient extent "for we have allowed those who oppose non-alignment to disrupt our ranks. It is now up to us to gather all our forces to oppose even more firmly the attempts to break our unity. This will be our special duty at the Conference in Colombo. We must put minor mutual affairs aside and concentrate on what is most important, that is the preservation of unity and the realization of those principles put forward at the Belgrade and other Conferences"—announced President Tito.

Economic and other forms of co-operation among the non-aligned, mutual solidarity—especially if one of the non-aligned countries is confronted by economic, political or any other pressure—also represent current themes in bilateral

consultations. Mutual co-operation of the non-aligned has long since gone past the stage of political declarations and is receiving to a greater and greater extent a definite content and concrete forms on all fields. Judging by the preparations, the Colombo Conference should contribute to this to an even greater extent.

Together with the other non-aligned countries, Yugoslavia is actively participating in the preparations for the Colombo Conference, these preparations represent the most essential preoccupation of Yugoslav diplomacy and state organs. In the framework of these preparations, President Tito has had several meetings with statesmen of Asia, Africa and Latin America, and other Yugoslav leaders have had contacts with foreign partners. Taking as the point of departure the principles and content of the policy of non-alignment as the framework in which she develops her exceptionally wide and detailed foreign policy activity, Yugoslavia is once again offering the greatest possible contribution not only to the success of the Colombo Conference, but also to the strengthening of the role of non-alignment. As was recently announced in Belgrade, this orientation stems from the deep conviction that the platform, principles and activities of the non-aligned countries offer optimal conditions for overcoming the existing contradictions in the world and ensuring permanent peace and relations among all countries on the basis of equal rights.

Djordje Milosevic

—Tanjug

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LETTERS

The *Tribune* welcomes letters from readers. Short letters have a better chance of being published. All letters are subject to condensation for space reasons. Anonymous letters will not be considered for publication. Writers may request that their letters be signed only with initials or a pseudonym but preference will be given to those fully signed and bearing the writer's complete address.

kaduwa, Minister of Agriculture and Lands, and Dr. C. E. S. Weerasinghe, presently our Ambassador in Russia, in the Kandyan areas. It is for this very reason that I have attempted, in this article, to make a political analysis of the events and governments we have had since independence although I must confess that I am no political scientist nor do I pretend to be one. I am merely a Human Anatomist. I know about the structure and function of the human body but I must claim ignorance of the state of the human mind, from which fountain all our greatness or lowliness, our love and hatred, our understanding and misunderstandings arise. In this connection I wish to quote from the Blessed One.

"Mind is the forerunner of all (evil) states. Mind is chief; mind made are they. If one speaks or acts with a wicked mind, because of that, suffering follows one, even as the wheel follows the hoof of the draught ox".

"Mind is the forerunner of all (good) states. Mind is chief; mind made are they. If one speaks or acts with a pure mind, because of that, happiness follows one, even as one's shadow that never leaves."

From 1815 upto the dawn of Independence, in 1948, the British, ruled us as a protectorate. They made certain valuable contributions to this country but at the same time tried their utmost to stifle the natural genius of our people, our language, our culture and the established ethical values of Buddhism and Hinduism. The British were aware of the differences between the Sinhala Buddhist and the Hindu Tamil and thus sought to rule by separating these two major ethnic and cultural groups. Those who had embraced Christianity, whether they be Sinhala or Tamil, were given a place in British society. The fact that the British succeeded in dividing the Sinhala and Tamil people so well and with such finesse has provided the basis of the extreme racialism that exists between the diehard Sinhalese and the diehard Dravidians of today.

In February 1948, there were certain ethnic and cultural groups that formed the population of this country. They were broadly, Sinhala (Buddhist and Christian),

Tamil (Hindu and Christian), Moors and Malays (Muslim), Burghers (mainly Christian) and the Brown Sahibs (with no sincere religious convictions of any kind). The British transferred power, strangely enough, to the Brown Sahibs of this country forgetting totally the other existent groups. It is a matter of history that when our first Prime Minister attended the Independence celebrations in 1948 he did so wearing tails, top hat and white gloves in the sweltering heat of Colombo. Only one man, on stage with the Duke and Duchess of Gloucester, wore a dress more in keeping with the traditions of this country.

WITH THE TAKE OVER of the country by the Brown Sahibs nothing really changed for the masses of this country. The powers that be merely imitated the rulers who had left and carried on life styles even the British could not afford. Plantation jobs, which fell vacant, were soon occupied by the sons of the elite who had been attending well known schools in Colombo, Kandy, Galle and Jaffna. The other executive jobs were also open to these privileged sons of the elite and their only qualification to secure such posts was their ability to play cricket, rugby football or tennis. The stooges of the rulers were paid off by giving them British honours. In fact, even in the University, the British Vice-Chancellor advised the construction of a Campus more in keeping with the traditions of those of Oxford and Cambridge. Education by that time was free. So was health. The rice ration of two measures at 25 cents a measure and started during the war years continued to be given at the same price. Those with property and undeclared money enjoyed the fruits of freedom by travelling often to Britain and other countries and bought cars, apples, grapes, and peaches freely. The peasants in the villages and the workers in the cities continued to live in appalling conditions and any demand by them was ruthlessly suppressed as being the work of Communists. In order to offset the threat by left wing forces, the Prime Minister of the time encouraged the recruitment of Catholics (both Sinhala and Tamil) to the armed forces and the Police, as he was given an undertaking by the Catholic church hierarchy in

Ceylon that they would always be loyal to the Government in power and, if there was a change, the armed forces would recapture power for the ruling class. This was amply depicted by the personnel who were tried for the abortive coup, in 1962, against the government of Mrs. Sirima Bandaranaike.

In 1951, a very significant event took place in this country. The Leader of the House at that time, the late Mr. S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike, wanted an assurance from the Prime Minister that certain resolutions of the Sinhala Maha Sabha would be incorporated in the policies of the government. He also wanted the Prime Minister to create a post of Deputy Prime Minister so that in the eventuality of death or resignation of the Prime Minister, the Deputy Prime Minister would automatically assume office. Mr. D. S. Senanayake did not agree to these suggestions and Mr. Bandaranaike sensing some undercurrent against him quit the Government and formed a new political party—the Sri Lanka Freedom Party. With Mr. Bandaranaike crossed a few MPs and everyone, especially the National Newspapers, at that time thought that this was the political end of Mr. S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike. A little while later, in March 1952, Mr. D. S. Senanayake died due to a fall from a horse he was riding and it was expected that Sir John Kotelawala who was the Leader of the House, would succeed to the office of Prime Minister. The Governor-General of the day was away out of the island and on his return made Mr. Dudley Senanayake the Prime Minister of the country. The Governor-General's explanation was that the late Mr. D. S. Senanayake had wished his son to succeed him. Was it really Mr. D. S. Senanayake's wish or the machinations of the Wizard of Oz? This caused bitterness in Sir John Kotelawala and as a result he did not fully co-operate with the new Prime Minister. In order to gain the confidence of the people of the country, Mr. Dudley Senanayake dissolved Parliament, in 1952, and went before the people. He romped home a sure winner thus proving beyond doubt that he too had the fullest confidence of the people. It must also be remembered that in a legislature

which was comprised of a few members, 9 seats were won by the Sri Lanka Freedom Party, which had been born just a year or two before.

THE ECONOMY OF THE COUNTRY was fairly good at the time of Independence. Britain had left a substantial foreign exchange reserve. Sri Lanka depended mainly on the export of tea, rubber and coconut but imported everything from food to a pin from other countries. The Government at the time made feeble attempts at developing agriculture, mainly rice but left the import of essential consumer items of the Ceylonese diet like, onions, potatoes, chillies, lentils, etc in the hands of unscrupulous citizens who had bought their citizenship at a price.

During the Premiership of Mr. Dudley Senanayake and on the advice of Mr. J. R. Jayewardene, who was then Minister of Finance, the price of rice was increased to 75 cents a measure. This was indeed the realistic price of a measure of rice. This decision had disastrous effect. The left wing political parties took political advantage of this price increase and instigated the people to protest and stage the now famous 'hartal'. There was civil disobedience and a few people lost their lives. Mr. Dudley Senanayake resigned subsequently in 1953 and Sir John Kotelawala assumed office in succession as Prime Minister. Incidentally, Mr. Dudley Senanayake resigned from politics and the U.N.P. in 1956 with the idea of becoming a Buddhist monk. Sir John was a determined Prime Minister. He was strong, decisive, blunt and his lack of politeness made him tread on the corns of so many people that gradually there built a resistance against the Government of the day. He particularly antagonized the Buddhist clergy and having being a baptized Christian, this spelt doom for him.

From 1948 onwards the rulers and those who supported them lived in the lap of luxury. Benefits were only for the privileged few while the masses lived on promises. With the onset of the clash between North and South Korea the price of natural rubber went upto Rs. 3.50 per pound and thereby the country received invaluable foreign exchange. This enabled the

privileged classes to live in even greater luxury.

In 1956, the Government of the day wanted to celebrate the 2500th year of the death of the Blessed One. Elaborate plans were contemplated and in order to cash in on this, the U.N.P. Government decided to hold General Elections in April 1956. From 1948, the Buddhists of the country were ignored and Buddhist leaders like Mr. L. H. Mettananda, Dr. G. P. Malalasekera and P. de S. Kularatne went around the country collecting data and information about the disabilities of the Buddhists. In February 1956, the Buddhist Commission Report was published. By then Mr. S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike with other progressives had formed a political front known as the Mahajana Eksath Peramuna. Mr. Bandaranaike pledged his support to the recommendations in the Buddhist Commission Report. About the same time the left wing political parties like the Lanka Sama Samaja Party and the Communist Party entered into a no-contest pact with Mr. Bandaranaike to contest the U.N.P. at the General elections. Mr. Bandaranaike also had the support of a good proportion of the Maha Sangha, the Sinhala School Teachers and the Ayurvedic practitioners. The results of the General Election proved to be a disaster for the U.N.P. when they were able to retain only 8 seats in the new Parliament.

WITH MR. S. W. R. D. BANDARANAIKE as Prime Minister the old privileged brigade was driven to desperation and sought ways and means to reestablish their privileged position. Mr. Bandaranaike abolished all British Honours and kindly requested the British to shift all bases from the country. For the first time, this country established diplomatic relations with countries like Russia and China. Mr. Bandaranaike was unfortunate that he did not have very many capable men in his Governing Party to carry on an efficient and progressive administration. Inefficiency, combined with corruption, saw most of his progressive legislation unimplemented. The Prime Minister himself was no administrator and although a good orator, could never make up his mind on certain issues. He could be pressurised by certain vociferous groups to go counter

to his original pledges. The classic example was the abrogation of the Bandaranaike-Chelvanayagam pact.

Mr. Bandaranaike, although he had a no-contest pact with the left wing political parties, did not offer any portfolios to either the L.S.S.P. or the C.P. These political parties were highly offended and deeply annoyed at this and, in their theoretical tradition, considered Mr. Bandaranaike to be the counterpart of Kerensky in Russian history. The left forces gave no peace to Mr. Bandaranaike and organised strike after strike both in the public as well as in the private sector.

The U.N.P. during this time was not completely inactive. With the passage of the Sinhala Only act as the official language of the country, there was a demand by the Tamils that they should have the right to communicate with the Government in their own language. When Mr. Bandaranaike saw the reasonableness of their demand and he wanted to introduce Tamil as the regional language of the Northern and Eastern provinces where the Tamil populations were greatly concentrated, the U.N.P. openly opposed this and the present U.N.P. leader organised a March to Kandy. Strangely enough it was the same U.N.P. that introduced the Tamil language provision bill in January 1966 when a Buddhist monk was shot to death when they went in protest. The U.N.P. in its official organ incited communal feelings amongst the Sinhala people against the Tamils and in 1958 the communal riots spread to many parts of the island. This indeed was a blot on the relations between the Sinhala and Tamil people. With more and more youths attaining competence to enter the University, two more Universities were opened. They were the former Vidyodaya and Vidyalkara Pirivenas.

In 1959, Mr. Bandaranaike was assassinated by a man in yellow robes. This in fact was a well planned coup but unfortunately the people who planned and plotted Mr. Bandaranaike's assassination did not come into power. Mr. W. Dahanayake assumed office and after a few months sacked most of the S.L.F.P. ministers who were loyal to the late Prime Minister.

Over Sixty Years Ago

The masses were deeply moved by the death of their leader and they mourned unashamedly. In Mr. Bandaranaike they saw their liberator from their misery and injustice.

In 1960, Mr. Dudley Senanayake gave up his religious role and returned to politics to become the Leader of the U.N.P. by which time Sir John Kotelawala had left the party. In March of the same year, after the General election called by Mr. Dahanayake, Mr. Senanayake formed a minority government. It is well worth mentioning here that Mr. Dahanayake who was caretaker Prime Minister lost his seat at the elections. The throne speech of the Senanayake government was defeated in Parliament and he had to go before the country again. In the meantime, he reduced the price of rice to 25 cts. a measure and went to the polls in July 1960. The very man who increased the price of rice to a realistic value brought the price down for purely political advantage. During this time, Mrs. Sirima Bandaranaike, wife of the late Mr. S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike was elected President of the S.L.F.P. In July 1960, Mrs. Bandaranaike entered into a no-contest pact with the L.S.S.P. and the C.P. and thus the S.L.F.P. were returned to power. Again the left wing political parties were kept out of the government and as usual the reds started organising strike after strike against the newly formed government.

(To be Concluded)

* * *

ON A TEA ESTATE—I

Once Upon A Time —A Long Long Time Ago

By Ina Trimmer

"When you wish upon a star..." says the old song, reassuring you that it makes no difference who you are, "...your dreams come true..." I wished—and I wished, seated on the grey stone seat that faced the sea, on the ancient ramparts of the little walled Dutch town in the south of Ceylon. I, who had never left Matara; who had been born with the sound of the sea in my ears, its song my

ever constant companion, I wished to leave Matara. I wished to live on a tea estate. Not that I had ever seen one, except in pictures; for I had never left Matara. I wished upon Venus, the evening star, as it followed the setting sun going down in a blaze of glory behind the far distant horizon.

At that time it was usual for girls to leave their homes and attend school in Colombo or anywhere else except their own town. I longed to go, to be in a boarding school, the herd instinct was strong within me, but my parents thought otherwise. What was good enough for them was good enough for their children. Of course we went to school but we had tutors besides, who taught us in addition to the usual subjects, French, Latin, and Mathematics. I had a Tamil tutor for maths and arithmetic. Poor man! He must have had a hard time with me, nor had he the gift of imparting his knowledge. One day exasperated with my obtuseness he burst out in desperation—"You are very bad in grammar". I was insulted. If he had said arithmetic, I would have sympathised whole heartedly, but he touched me on the raw with grammar.

And thus through all my young life I knew no other world except the narrow confines of our little town, and most particularly of the Fort where we lived within the protection of the ramparts built by the Dutch over 300 years ago, the sea on the south and the river on the North. On the west they joined these two, so that no one could come in or go out except by the opening in the ramparts which we called the Main Gate. Friends we had in plenty. The narrow streets of the Fort were lined with houses, cheek by jowl, each one stepping up on to the road but with large gardens behind, some that stretched down to the sea and others to the river. Our coconut garden ended in the sea where I spent my free hours, peopling my life with mermaids and such like and living in a strange underwater world of my own. In the evenings we played tennis, croquet, or games on the several esplanades in the Fort, or we went walking along the Sea Beach Road that led to Brown's Hill; but my delight was always to end the day on the warm old seat on

the grass covered ramparts and watch the sea, the sun, and Venus southing into the depths of the ocean.

And so the days passed, and the years, a gentle passing, undisturbed by the world outside, unharmed. It seemed as if it would ever be thus, that nothing would change. And then I married—married and left my beloved Matara. Heavens! How I cried on my wedding day! It was not in me to say goodbye to my cat, Penelope, Pringle (Pringle, short for Purring Girl) was my special favourite. I hugged her warm white body and sobbed "Pringle I cannot leave you. I cannot go." Never was there such an ugly bride, with eyes swollen and red, and nose like a "lovi" fruit.

And all the time I kept thinking, "I am going away but my dreams haven't come true." The tea estate where I longed to be was as far away as ever. Venus was a false jade. I was only going to Colombo. Be that as it might, a strange world opened to my distracted eyes, and yet I revelled in all the new wonders I saw. I would spend hours in a tram. I delighted in a rickshaw ride. It was the first time I had ever seen either. But in the evening the call of the sea could not be denied and I would sit on the rocks by the railway line and watch the sun turn the ocean blue to gold, just as it did in my dear old Matara.

We did not live long in Colombo. My husband was posted by the Government all over Ceylon. We travelled the length and breadth of the island. Sometimes only a month in one place; giving notice to the landlord of the house we had engaged even as we entered it. Matara to Point Pedro, Trincomalee, Mannar, Ratnapura up and down we went. I who had never left Matara, now was a wanderer over the face of Ceylon.

In my journeyings I saw the tea estates for which I had longed. Not the pictures that had so attracted my eyes, but the real thing, and indeed it was no less beautiful. How I gazed on the green tide, that flowed over hill and valley against all accepted theories of the law of gravitation! The bungalows with their bright red roof set amidst close-cropped lawns and flower beds flaming with colour, the peace of these broad

acres of seemingly untenanted, country, tugged at my heart strings.

But I knew they were not for me. Venus, had played me false. Venus, the star I had wished on! However I found a certain pleasure in my wanderings and had many strange experiences in remote places of Ceylon. But I wasn't happy. Increasingly and often between my husband and me, came spells of disillusionment; and though I fought them down in the end they overcame me.

Then life crashed about me. We parted, my husband and I not as enemies but in friendship, and with goodwill for neither of us even disliked each other. There was no acrimony, but we found ourselves no longer kindred spirits, and it was useless to imagine we could ever remake that happiness we had known. Our marriage was dissolved.

Stars in their courses ignore poor earthlings, I thought, why wish on their brightness! A fig for Venus! She was a sorry creature!

Gradually I took up the unraveled threads of my life, but the weave was different. Interlaced were knots and frayed places, the even texture was gone. I was restless, I could no longer live in Matara. Its very peace irritated me, and so I made my home in Colombo; but I was lonely. I could not settle down, perhaps due to the nomadic existence I had been leading for so long, or to the disturbance within the innermost fibres of my being.

Then, one day I met a friend, an old friend of many years standing, whom I had come to know during our peregrinations but had lost sight of completely since we left Ratnapura several years ago. In those days we had frequently played tennis together, had passed many a happy hour in mutual company. He looked surprised to see me.

Both of us said, as any one would in such circumstances—"after ages". Then he asked "what are you doing here? Stationed in Colombo I suppose?"

"N or m.m." I said "I have burnt my boats."

"What boats?" He looked thoroughly mystified.

"Oh, the ladder! I've knocked away the ladder."

"Come along and have a cup of tea and tell me all about it. You are being most mysterious."

I remembered his weakness for tea. "Any time was tea time," with him. While others had the usual drinks, he sat with his pot of tea, drinking endless cups, thoroughly satisfied and happy, joining in all the fun but completely sober. So we went to a nearby restaurant, and we talked, he over the inevitable tea and I over an ice cream.

"And you?" I asked. "Where do you hang your hat now?"

"An estate called Brae," he replied. "Tea, back of beyond. But never mind me. Tell me about you."

He listened while I talked, nodding sometimes, or murmuring, "yes—yes—But I never dreamt this would happen, you seemed so happy together."

"We were, then. But always there was something, or rather I should say there wasn't something, anyway it was missing. We both felt it."

Contemplatively he stirred his cup. "Go on" and I continued my story. Then at length I stopped. There was no more to say.

We rose.

"I am sorry this should have happened", he said. "You know I always liked him. He was a real sport. I am indeed sorry. But somehow not altogether." With this cryptic remark we parted but not before he had taken my address.

"I am not going to lose you again," he said, his blue eyes twinkling, a smile on his lips which were usually set very firm and hard.

The days passed. Nothing happened. Neither of us wrote. He was the worst correspondent in the world. I knew this because his sister in England used to despair of ever hearing from him, and I, was not going to make the first move. After all he was nothing more than a good friend from whom, as the best friends sometimes will, I had parted for years.

Suddenly one day I received a telegram. "Hope to see you today," and that evening he walked in at my gate. We met oftener after that.

Some time later when he asked me whether I would marry him, I said "yes."

"It will be lovely", he said, "I must warn you that you'll have no one else for company but me. For weeks on end you'll meet no one. There'll be the coolies and the staff, but that's all. Brae is

cut off from the rest of the world. No words of mine can adequately describe it. I wouldn't like you to be disappointed again and to feel you have made a mistake a second time. Heaven forbid that should happen, and I to cause it.

"Don't forget there's no one there you could talk to except me and you can soon tire of that. No place where you could wear your pretti-pretties to. Do you think you could stand it?"

"Yes", I said happily.

His friends and mine foretold early disaster. "She'll never stick it out. Who's the women who'll be contended to be copped up in that lonely place. No pictures! No parties! No church even to go to! Mark my words", said one. "It wouldn't last long."

And so we were married very quietly, with none of the usual trappings of a wedding, just a handful of old and trusted friends to wish us happiness and God Speed.

Later that evening we sat on the beach at Negombo, and there before our eyes, blazing against the Western sky was Venus.

"When you wish upon a star Make no difference who you are."

I murmured.

"What's that you are saying?" asked my husband.

"No-oo—it's nothing really. Just an old song. Venus over there made me think it if. Look! Isn't she beautiful?"

Was there an extra twinkle in her light as she moved slowly down towards the sea. Did I really imagine my dreams would come true when I wished upon her, far away in Matara, so many years ago?

Yet, they had, my new husband was a tea planter and Brae was a tea estate. I would live in a red-roofed bungalow amidst lawns with flowers, hundreds of flowers around me, and the vastness of the fields. My wishes had indeed come true. Venus had accomplished it. Her part was over. It was mine now not to let her down. With a last flaming wink of light, she sank beneath the waves.

(To be Continued)



Every Citizen A Lawyer

By An Ex-Cop

THE ADAGE "Every citizen is a policeman to catch a thief" may be a very sound one. If I were to equate this to suit the title of my literary effort, it may appear somewhat trite and lacking in both wit and originality. However, it will only be the fastidious and highly opinionated pedant who will not commend the latest move of the Minister of Justice to introduce legislation to enable every citizen to defend himself and others in proceedings in the Magistrate's Court and the District Court. According to the news item appearing in banner headlines of the *Ceylon Daily News* of 12th June, 1976, "Anybody can plead in Court now" and will have the same rights as Attorneys-at-Law. To say the least, it is a very magnanimous gesture and the thought is definitely characterised not only by a sense of social justice and fairplay but also by a very high level of juristic logic and prudent reasoning. If I were to shower encomiums on this most brilliant piece of legislation which is now in draft form before the Government, it would be more flattery which they say is only "Food for fools". Instead, it will be relevant to comment on the appropriate part of our Legal System.

In their inestimable book entitled *The Dominion of Ceylon*, Doctors Jennings and Tambiah have referred to the 'hiatus' which existed during which apparently no Courts functioned (1776 to 1799). The proclamation of 1799 maintained the Dutch Laws and Institutions. The Proclamation dated 23rd September 1799, reads "Whereas it is His Majesty's gracious command that for the present and during His Majesty's will and pleasure the temporary administration of justice and Police in the settlements of the Island of Ceylon, now in His Majesty's dominion, and in the territories and dependencies thereof, should, as nearly as circumstances will permit, be exercised by us in conformity to the laws and institutions that subsisted under the ancient government of

the United Provinces, subject to such deviations in consequence of sudden and unforeseen emergencies, or to such expedients and useful alterations as may render a departure therefrom either absolutely necessary and unavoidable or evidently beneficial and desirable."

Even the student of elementary law will know that "The answers of men learned in the Law were the decisions and opinions of those who were authorised to state the Law"—*Justinian Inst.* 1, 2, 8. The class of men learned in the Law were called Jurisprudents. The great Cicero tells us that activities of the jurists of this period (referred to in later writings as the "Veteres"—the Ancients included 'Respondere'—advising clients or Magistrates or Judges. The Praetors, too, played a very important role in the development of the Roman Law. Their Edicts had considerable authority.

In the backdrop of such historical facts in the development of Roman Law which our country as well as other progressive countries had adopted, is it not illogical to oppose the proposed Legislation of the Minister of Justice? Were the Jurisprudentes, the Praetors or Curule Aediles men who had to sweat through many years in a Law School or any special Legal Institute? Were Law Schools, Colleges or even such prestigious Halls of Learning like our Faculty of Law in existence during their time? Some members of the Legal Profession, the aristocratically academic types, may raise a stentorian furor of protest on the basis that a common civilian cannot learn and practice the Legal profession unless he successfully performs his 'stint' for the full period at the Law College. Are we to slavishly accept an antiquated rule? Is it not inconsistent with the changing trends and attitudes of our socialistic way of Governmental and private thinking?

(To be Continued)

HELD OVER FOR NEXT WEEK

BUILDING A VILLAGE HOUSE—83

— The Sound, And The
(Impotent) Fury

* Tamil Castes

Sir,

The learned article written by Mr. Arumainayagam on caste in Jaffna in the nineteenth century that appeared in the *Tribune* last week is most instructive. While there are some works on the caste system among the Tamils, I would suggest Mr. Arumainayagam to write in greater detail, for instance, by giving us the full list of *Kuddimakkals*, and the differences urged by both sides between the *madapallis* and *vellalas*. There is a community in Jaffna, fast disappearing who call themselves 'Chetty Vellalas'. It will be interesting to know how they originated. I must congratulate the *Tribune* on having enlisted Mr. Arumainayagam, as a contributor. Let us hope that he will go deeper into his subject and produce a work on the Tamil Caste in Ceylon—a long felt want.

James T. Rutnam

35, Guilford Crescent,
Colombo 7.
29.5.76

* * *

* Snakes

Dear Sir,

You seem to be paying a lot of attention to snakes of late (Thanks to Messers Keuneman and Deva—Aditiya) and so I'd like to add my own Rs. 0.02. Is snake bite *anti-venom* freely available in govt. hospitals and dispensaries, especially in rural areas? I understand that Sri Lanka has a fairly high snake-bite fatality rate by world standards. Secondly, in the late sixties, news papers reported that a number of river bathers had been stung by sea-snakes. As we have no lethal fresh water snakes, that sounded plausible. Did anyone figure out why sea-snakes entered fresh water or why these usually peaceful clagids started biting people?

Explanations, *si vous plait*.

Anoma Abeyawardena

'Maha Mega'
Maharagama.
3.6.76

* * *

Confidentially

* CEB's Mendis

* Beedi Watergate

IS IT NOT TRUE that the threat of a power cut, on top of the already catastrophic water cut in Colombo, Negombo, Nuwara Eliya and other places, has made many people (lost in lethargic complacency) to sit up? That it has now dawned on them that a time may come when many residents of Colombo and other towns may have to get out or be compulsorily evacuated? That hints that there might be a power cut have been cleverly leaked out to the press to prepare the people for any contingency? That apart from this, it is intriguing that the Chairman of the Ceylon Electricity Board (CEB) had resigned suddenly? That now ex-Chairman T. W. Mendis was one of our top electrical people and that though he had reached the "age-limit" his term had been extended? That much older and feebler men are continuing as the head of other government corporations and the suggestion that it was "age" that had made him resign does not seem a valid reason or excuse? That even more intriguing was a sentence in his letter of resignation? That he had stated in his farewell message that "...during the entire period of my service I have conscientiously sought to adhere strictly to the highest principles that one in my position should uphold in the discharge of my duties and to maintain the highest traditions of the service...it is in order to maintain this principle which was constantly guided me that I have no alternative but to offer my resignation...". That this cryptic remark has naturally generated a great deal of speculation? That government sources say that there is nothing to Mr. Mendis' talk about "principles"? That this governmental smokescreen will not satisfy anyone? That already the UNP has begun to ask pointed questions? That the (UNP) *Journal* of June 18 has commented as follows: "Mr. Mendis has a responsibility to maintain his principles. He has a more important responsibility to the nation to state what impro-

per suggestion caused a conflict between his conscience and well-being. He sacrifices a lot by resigning on the eve of the Non-aligned Conference. Mr. Mendis has been the chief instrument of negotiation with the World Bank and other financing bodies for resources to maintain the pace of development of the country's hydro-resources. His departure leaves a gap...? That if no explanation comes from official sources to satisfactorily explain Mr. Mendis' action and remarks, Gossip—the nation's No. 1 newsmaker will take over?

IS IT NOT A FACT that the reported Government decision to have a "CRASH INQUIRY INTO (the) BEEDI INDUSTRY" (vide *Daily News*, 18/6/76) has stirred hornets' nests in many places into strangely vicious activity? That the *Daily News* report (it was echoed in *Lake House's Dinamina* also had stated that the Inquiry was a sequel to complaints made by many MPs? That a team of officials was to report on questions relating to the issue of leaf quotas, import and marketing? That "the Government has decided to appoint a committee of officials to investigate and report on the beedi industry on a priority basis", according to the *Daily News*? That "this is a sequel to representations made to the Government by several members of the Government Parliamentary Group alleging that thousands of workers engaged in the industry had been thrown out of employment as a result of the non-availability of beedi leaves and malpractices in the industry. Mr. D. M. Jayaratne, M.P. for Gampola, had told the *Daily News* yesterday that in his electorate alone about 4,000 persons engaged in the beedi industry had lost their only source of income. He said that not a single beedi leaf was available for those engaged in the industry in his electorate...About 100,000 persons are engaged in the beedi industry. The Committee will consist of officials of the Ministry of Food, Co-operatives and Small Industries, Ministry of Trade, and officials of the Imports and Exports Department. It will be empowered to make recommendations on restructuring the beedi industry, the issue of quotas of beedi leaves, the import of beedi leaves, the marketing and distribution system, and improving the conditions of service including the

wage structure of those employed in the industry. The Committee will also be asked to investigate and report whether there are any malpractices in the industry and to suggest remedial measures." That this is a tall order? That the first thing that will strike thinking people is why the Committee of Inquiry has been confined to officials including officials of the Ministry responsible for "mess" in the beedi industry which has caused an outcry among Government MPs? That it would have been better if some "outside" person, like a retired Judge, had also been included in the Committee? That it may be very difficult for a mere Committee of Officials to investigate the malpractices which have brought about the present situation? That officials may be able to write long memoranda on the import, marketing and distribution of beedi leaves? That they would find it extremely difficult to investigate or even write about the underlying motives responsible for the decisions and actions which have laid the foundations of a mini-Watergate? That for some time now the atmosphere in Sri Lanka was full of scandalous tales of new beedi rajahs (and old rajahs who had richer)? That all the qecome wavelengths of Radio Gossip (which according to a semi-official survey is the most effective media in Sri Lanka) have been working overtime with stirring stories about the Beedi Watergate? That it is doubtful whether a mere Committee of Officials can even skirt the fringe of the real and central core of the corruption that has eaten into the beedi industry—after "nationalisation" (state capitalism if you please). That it is known that strong feelings have been aroused among the backbenchers of the Government Parliamentary Group about the mismanagement in the Beedi Industry? That many had expected the Minister concerned, the redoubtable fighter in the National Assembly, to say something on these matters? That as Minister in charge of the Beedi Industry, Mr. S. K. K. Sooriyaarachchi, has to bear a great deal of responsibility for what has taken place? That some Parliamentary circles expect a volcano to erupt in the fabulous land of the Beedis?



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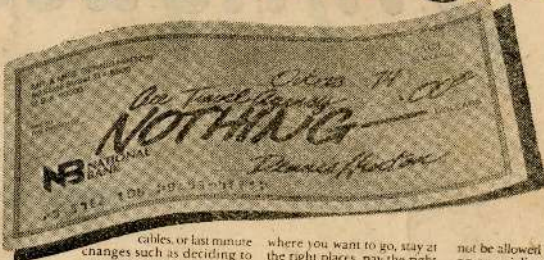
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Who pays?

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.

Why? 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 it 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 out to make you happy, not the airline or cruise ship.

Because he wants you back. So he honest with you 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 place, pay the right prices and get the 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 checks, 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. That's not a threat. That's a promise.

In addition, travel agents take many of those glamorous familiarization trips every year. The difference between your glamorous trip and his is that on his trip, he may check out five or six hotels in one day. He looks at singles, doubles, twins, suites, restaurants, bars, convention facilities, kitchens, chefs, management—all in a single day in a single city. That may not be fun for him, but that'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 the agents who specialize in the destinations you choose. There are moon and jog agents. Glam 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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