

TRIBUNE



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from

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Letter From The Editor

THE PICTURE we have on the cover this week is one of the enigmas of the timeless past in Anuradhapura, in the temple of Isurumuniya, one of the most beautifully-sited shrines in that city. "In addition," states the *Handbook for the Ceylon Traveller*, "it contains two of the most famous carvings in the City (each typical of its period), the *Pallava Man and His Horse* and the *Gupta Lovers*. The monastery to which the shrine belonged received its name from the 500 nobles (*issaras*: those of first rank) who—filled with faith by the miracles attendant on the planting of the Bodhi Tree—sought immediate ordination as monks. The 500 commoners, of the vessa caste, who were similarly moved, were placed in a separate monastery therefore named *Vessagiriya*: a strange, and invidious, distinction in that first flush of a faith that deplored, indeed forbade, such distinctions....." Caste apart, there has been a great deal of controversy in recent times whether the carving, popularly known as *Isurumuniya Lovers* were just plain unknown lovers or whether it was a *Shiva Parvati* in the style and manner found on the Indian subcontinent. Even if it is indeed a *Shiva-Parvati* pose the artist has tried to depict, there is no doubt that it has a special *Isurumuniya* flavour, uniquely Lankan. Archaeologists will continue to argue until the end of time as to what this carving really represents, but at the moment we are in the midst of another controversy, a mundane one, that interests many millions in the world today: what is *nonalignment*? Is there a thing called nonalignment? Is it possible for nations and countries to be truly nonaligned? Or is nonalignment a myth, or only a contemporary smokescreen for the political evolution of the newly independent? One commentator in India has gone so far as to say that "the concept of nonalignment was evolved by the newly independent nations immediately after World War II. The term is strictly and narrowly defined to mean non-participation in any of the military blocs sponsored by the super powers. In the true sense, however, it should mean total freedom of action. This is impossible in the present world where international relationships are based on power politics. The charisma of Nehru, Tito and Nasser enabled this concept to grow. During the better part of their life the policy was more or less adhered to. With the passage of time members of the nonaligned group faced a variety of problems. First and foremost there was the ideology of the countries themselves. Those who favoured socialism gradually got aligned with like-minded nations. In the fierce cold war of the fifties, most countries could not remain on their pedestal of nonalignment. The desire for security almost forced them to lean heavily on either of the powers. Next was the need for financial and technological resources. Obtaining aid was relatively easy but the main problem was the inevitable strings attached. In the long run this directly or indirectly influenced the foreign policies of the countries. The strong nationalistic feelings of the newly independent countries created border adjustment problems with each other. This forced aggrieved countries to seek redress in the UN or outside. This required support of super powers. Such support called for obligations. Presence of one super power in a neighbouring country led the other to seek alignment with another super power for self-preservation. In the final analysis the policy of nonalignment appears rather utopian. A nonaligned country would always be at a disadvantage against a country aligned with either of the super powers." Another commentator, also from India, however, pointed out that "it is becoming fashionable in certain circles to question the sincerity of the nations belonging to the nonaligned group and generally heaping scorn and ridicule on their preparations for the coming Colombo summit. It is important to understand the correct meaning of the term nonalignment in the context of the formation and development of the nonaligned bloc. Nonaligned simply refers to a nation not belonging to a super power-sponsored military bloc and not allowing a super power to dictate a nation's internal and external policies. The term does not refer to a nation's ideological affinities or to voluntary support extended to it by any of the policies of a super power. It is not synonymous with neutrality nor does it call upon a nation to be completely oblivious to its own national interest. Even today the nonaligned group serves two important functions. First, it forms a growing body of nations which both the super powers must constantly woo as they can never take any of these nations completely for granted. This makes an important contribution to peace by preventing the world's division into two hostile camps irreconcilably opposed to each other. Secondly, as almost all these nations are developing countries they can use the forum to develop fruitful cooperation amongst themselves and unitedly wrest fair trade policies from developed countries."

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EDITOR'S NOTEBOOK

Sri Lanka, USA,
France, Vietnam

ON THE DOMESTIC FRONT in Sri Lanka, gloom continues to prevail in spite of the reduction in the price of imported wheat flour (and bread) and the promises of more price reductions in imported essentials like sugar. The drought prevailing throughout the island has cast an increasingly darkening shadow over everybody. The prices of all commodities, especially food items, continue to rise despite the big noises being made about Price Control, Licensing of Traders, and the like. Fish costs more, vegetables cost more, and meat has become a greater luxury only few can afford—than a month ago. There are also promises that scarce goods would be plentiful—at least just before and during the Non-aligned Conference—even items like coriander, cummin seed and what not (they are to be taken off the ration together with a number of other items).

Apart from the Non-aligned Conference and the understandable desire on the part of the Government to create a good image about the living conditions in the island, it is also clear that the Government has a super-duper Sunshine Budget in mind for the coming year which according to the Constitution is the year of first General Election after the 1972 Constitution. Jobs have been promised to 300,000 people and assurances given that there will be rapid economic development. Whilst Prime Minister has insisted that the Constitution would be followed in regard to the matter of holding the elections in 1977, various SLFP stalwarts (most recently Deputy Minister H. M. Gunaratne) have been utilising their "freedom of speech" to state that elections should be held only when the "people" (masses) want such an election, that the UNP should not be given a chance to come back to power again, etc., etc.

The six-hour water supply allowed by the Municipality does not reach a very large number of the households in Colombo, and those who are lucky enough

to get water do not have enough for healthy living. The supply of water by bowser has, like everything else in this country, become a racket. Harassed by the everyday problems of finding water and food supplies (as prices the Government says they could be bought), most people have no time to think about more important problems confronting the country.

Where is the money to pay our bills and the plans for more employment (and the sunshine budget) coming from? Sri Lanka has already borrowed to the hilt abroad from the usual and traditional sources. There have been stories that Government was hoping to get big finance from "private" Arab, French, or some other unnamed source to cover all her needs for high living until the General Elections. This does not seem to have worked out as some Governmental dignitaries seem to have hoped for. It would also seem that foreign commercial banks have been told that they could survive in Sri Lanka only if they brought in fantastic sum of foreign exchange (a thousand million or thereabouts) to help develop the country, or to enable the Government to have enough spending money in the pre-election and election year. Whether the foreign commercial banks will agree to this (blackmail) is yet to be seen, but this kind of unorthodox financing is not likely to create a good image of Sri Lanka not merely during the non-aligned Conference but also on a long-term basis in the world.

Important national issues like public finance, as we said, have been forgotten because peoples' interest has been side-tracked by the sheer difficulties of day-to-day living. Those who are able to keep their heads above the despair line, have all become engrossed in the dynamics and imperatives of the Non-aligned Conference and world politics that they have little time for what they consider parish pump parochial politics. Sri Lanka has however become the focus of world attention. In addition to

this, many world events are now highlighted in Sri Lanka, (much more than before), because this country has suddenly become "world-conscious". The American Bicentennial has deservedly been given frontpage prominence for some weeks. The American-Ceylon Exhibition, now going on in Colombo, is a most interesting and informative record of relations between the two countries. Even those who are now overwhelmed by the thought that the US is today the "spearhead of international reaction and imperialism", must admit that the USA has played an important role in the history of mankind. The USA brought a new dimension in global history by being the first "colony" of European colonisers (of the 15th to 19th centuries) to revolt against the imperial overlords. The French Revolution came after that in 1789 and the Russian Revolution in 1917.

The USA, like all countries which attain affluence, now suffers from greed for power and profit and this has brought her into conflict with a large number of developing countries. But there are hopeful signs that the spirit of 1776 is still alive (and sometimes kicking) in the United States of the Pentagon Papers, Watergate, the Fall of Nixon and the continuing exposures of public scandals by a press which is still free to print what is in the public interest. The war in Vietnam was a major defeat for policies and actions which the founding fathers of the USA would never have embarked upon. The idiom of those who had brought the USA into being continues to be used by the leaders of the USA even today, though actions and policies in recent years have robbed the idiom of much of its original validity.

On July 4, the United States Ambassador to Sri Lanka, Mr. John H. Reed, issued the following statement in Colombo on the occasion of the American Independence Day: "Today the American people, at home and abroad, celebrate the 200th anniversary of our Declaration of Independence. The American Revolution Bicentennial is an appropriate time for all Americans to reflect upon our beginnings as a free, democratic, and independent nation based on the universal prin-

principles set forth in the Declaration of Independence:

'We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the Pursuit of Happiness. That to secure these Rights, Governments are instituted among Men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed....'

"As we celebrate the Bicentennial in Sri Lanka, we also recall the long and continuing friendship between the Ceylonese and American peoples. A relationship that traces its beginning to the voyages of New England merchant ships which visited Ceylon as early as 1789, the year that we adopted our Constitution. Within forty years of our Revolution, American missionaries were at work here looking after the medical and educational needs of the people. The 19th century saw trade between Ceylon and the United States grow and the American Commercial Agency, established in 1850, became the forerunner of the American Consulate and, after your independence, the American Embassy. In the last quarter of the 19th century, an American 'searcher after truth', Henry Steel Olcott, made important and lasting contributions to this country's religious and educational renaissance and national re-awakening. Since Sri Lanka's independence in 1948, the relationship between us has grown and prospered. We have cordial and mutually beneficial relations in many fields. Whether in trade and commerce, science agricultural development, cultural and educational exchanges, or diplomacy, the ties established are a firm foundation for continued friendship.

"Such close relations are essential in today's increasingly interdependent world. All nations, large and small, developed and developing, aligned and non-aligned, must work in co-operation if we are to meet the basic needs of all the world's people. 1976 also marks the twenty-sixth year since an agreement was signed for American economic assistance to Sri Lanka. Our aid, which has now reached a total of nearly 285 million dollars (Rs. 2,450,000,000) has been supplied through the

years because of our sincere desire to contribute to the economic development of Sri Lanka and the well-being of her people. On this 200th anniversary of American Independence, I can assure you of the warm friendship of the American people and their continued interest in Sri Lanka's peace and prosperity. I pledge my personal commitment to work for the furtherance of the good relations between our two nations and our two peoples who share a devotion to the principles of democracy and representative government; a dedication to the preservation of peace; and a commitment to the improvement of the human condition."

On July 3, Washington had released the following text of a "Fourth of July Bicentennial Message" from President Ford, issued at the White House.

"Two hundred years ago we, the people of the United States of America, began a great adventure which stirred the imagination and quickened the hopes of men and women throughout the world. The date was July 4, 1776. The occasion, the signing of our Declaration of Independence. No other nation in history has ever dedicated itself more specifically nor devoted itself more completely to the proposition that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their creator with such unalienable rights of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. Two centuries later, as we celebrate our Bicentennial year of Independence, the great American adventure continues. The hallmark of that adventure has always been an eagerness to explore the unknown, whether it lay across an ocean or a continent, across the vastness of space or the frontiers of human knowledge. Because we have always been ready to try new and untested enterprises in government, in commerce, in the arts and sciences and in human relations, we have made unprecedented progress in all of these fields.

"While reaching for the unknown, Americans have also kept their faith in this wisdom and experience of the past. Colonists and immigrants brought with them cherished values and ideals in religion and in culture, in law and learning which, mixed with the

native American ways, gave us our rich American heritage. The unique American union of the known and the unknown, the tried and the untried has been the foundation for our liberty and the secret of our great success. In this country individuals can be the masters rather than the helpless victims of their destiny. We can make our own opportunities and make the most of them. In the space of two centuries we have not been able to right every wrong, to correct every injustice, to reach every worthy goal, but for 200 years we have tried and we will continue to strive to make the lives of individual men and women in this country and on this earth better lives—more hopeful and happy, more prosperous and peaceful, more fulfilling and more free. This is our common dedication and it will be our common glory as we enter the third century of the American adventure."

FRANCE celebrated July 14 as her National Day, and the message of Mr. Pierre Anthenoz, Ambassador for France in Sri Lanka, explained, for the first time in such a message, about the significance of July 14.

"This is the second time that I have the privilege to celebrate the French National Day in Sri Lanka, and this certainly adds to my pleasure on this great occasion. Indeed, I wish to recall that the relations between our two nations date back to the beginning of the 17th Century, under the King Louis XIV, that is more than three Centuries ago. May I also recall that it is in October, 1948, that we established diplomatic relations. But, last and not least, may I say that it only took me one day to feel at home in Sri Lanka, where the authorities as well as the people show so much kindness to myself, to the members of the French Embassy and to all French people, particularly to the numerous French tourists that come every year to visit your country (about 12,000 in 1975); these tourists participate, in a way, in the development of the nation, but also, which is even more important, after their return to France, they take pleasure in describing to my countrymen the niceness of the Ceylonese people, the beauties of the island and the remar-

kable actions taken for the progress of its economy and the welfare of its people.

"July 14th marks the anniversary of the storming of the Bastille in 1789 by the French people. This fortress, reputed to be impregnable, was the object of much hate for all Parisians, although the essential aim of this prison (where one could be locked up on a simple order of the King) was to keep society people who had incurred the royal anger or earned the ill will of the powers that be. By 1789, the Bastille housed behind its walls no more than seven prisoners and a small garrison of 82 pensioned soldiers and 30 guards, with a fairly large office staff.

"Therefore, the real meaning of its storming was the search by the people of 'liberty, equality and fraternity' by opposition to any form of absolutism. This is where the ideas of both France and Sri Lanka meet: happiness for all in independence, without forgetting friendly relations with all peace-loving nations in the world.

"I do not doubt that our two countries will continue working more and more for the realization of these ideals, for the strengthening of our bilateral relations and for the construction of peace all over the world."

CLOSELY CONNECTED WITH FRANCE AND THE USA, Vietnam has this year assumed a new importance after freeing herself from French Rule and American intervention. Both parts of the country, divided in 1954 under the Geneva Agreement in pursuance of USA's cold war policies of Dulles), have now come together. On June 24, 1976, as a prelude to the American Bicentennial and this year's anniversary of the storming of the Bastille, the National Assembly of unified Vietnam was held in the historic Ba Dinh Conference Hall in Hanoi.

"The 492 elected delegates to the National Assembly from 38 provinces and cities have gathered in full crowd to attend the session. After the opening speech by Chairman Nguyen Huu Tho, Chairman Truong Chinh, Chairmen of the National Elections Committee gave reports on the results of the General Elections held on April 25, 1976. Mr. Le Duan, First Secretary of the Vietnam Workers' Party, on behalf of the Presidium

of the session, read an important political report. The National Assembly unanimously adopted the following important proposals made by the Presidium of the session: **The Name of the Country:** The Socialist Republic of Vietnam; **The National Flag:** The red flag with the star in centre. (a gold five-pointed symmetrical star); **The National Emblem:** Two sheaves of ripe rice symmetrically disposed in circular arc with gold ears-of-corn on light yellow ground; symbol agriculture; A gold cogwheel at the crossing of the two sheaves; Symbol of industry; a vermilion band binding together the cogwheel and the two sheaves and bearing the words "THE SOCIALIST REPUBLIC OF VIETNAM" in gold letters; a middle part with gold star on vermilion ground recalling the national flag; **The Capital:** Hanoi. "After the August 1945 Revolution, Hanoi was made the capital of the entire Vietnam. Hanoi has gone through 20 years of the socialist reconstruction, and become a political, economic and cultural centre of the whole country; **The National Anthem:** Tien Quan Ca (Marching to the Front), composed in the struggle against Japanese fascists and the French Colonialists was adopted as National Anthem since the founding of the

D.R.V. on 2nd September, 1945; **The Session of the National Assembly:** The common session of the whole country is called, this time the 6th Legislature reflecting the continuance which has undergone through different revolutionary stages of the Vietnamese people since its 1st Legislature (held in January 6, 1946).

City: The official name of Saigon City is Ho Chi Minh City. From the August Revolution of 1945 to the victorious Spring 1975, the people of Saigon merely enjoyed their independence and freedom within one month. The Saigonese people have wholeheartedly looked forward to the Fatherland, unceasingly struggled against foreign aggressors and their stooges. They heroically rose up to take part in the Ho Chi Minh campaign in the Spring 1945. For the boundless love toward great President Ho Chi Minh, the Saigonese people, since 1946 named Saigon City in his name. Through the two protracted resistance wars, the name of the Ho Chi Minh City has been borne deep in the feelings of the people of Saigon. Therefore, when Saigon was liberated, the Government and people of Vietnam unanimously named Saigon City as Ho Chi Minh City and President Ho is the great national hero of the Vietnamese people

WILDLIFE PROTECTION

The day of the Special General Meeting of the Wildlife Protection Society came; spent itself in a rather one-sided debate and ended, as T. S. Elliot would have it, "..... not with a bang but a whimper." The "few" left the meeting with but one conviction in their minds—they had lost the motion but won the day.

The upraised hands signified neither victor nor defeat; instead they symbolised a spontaneous surge of triumph felt when the admission was feebly made, from the throne, that the rules of the Society were in dire need of change. A change, which at long last, would reflect and bow its head to the monumental changes that our Nation and the Society had gone through in the last few decades.

The establishment and the establishment alone, could no longer determine the destiny of the Society and the cause it stood for—Conservation. It was the members—the body sovereign—who would eventually guide the Society to its greatest heights. This point was made and driven home clean and true.

The quorum of twentythree members who called the meeting stood out as catalysts of a welcome change and proved that they were not, as the President had claimed earlier, "A small power-hungry, ill-motivated clique who want to take over what others had built up." From this day onwards the Society's ideals of sincere, dedicated conservation would become a reality. Members had at long last asserted themselves; they were heard; they had won the day.

—Tribune Investigator

who has historic significance and special relations with the entire people of Vietnam."

This is from an official release of the Vietnam Embassy.

On the eve of the meeting of Vietnam's National Assembly, the Prime Minister of Sri Lanka, Mrs. Sirimavo Bandaranaike, sent messages to the President and Prime Minister of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam expressing her felicitations on the unification of Vietnam and their appointment to their positions. The messages addressed to Mr. Ton Duc Thang, President, and Mr. Pham Van Dong, Prime Minister stated:

"The Government and people of Sri Lanka have stood alongside the people of Vietnam in their historical national struggle and the establishment of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam is an event of great gratification to us.

"In welcoming the birth of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam, the Government of Sri Lanka is very confident that it will be a great source of strength to the non-aligned movement and the struggle of a better world order.

"The advent of the new State is the culmination of the dauntless and tenacious struggle of a brave people whose capacity for sacrifice has become a legend in our time.

"The Government and people of Sri Lanka have always supported unhesitatingly the epic struggle of the people of Vietnam for independence and unity and we share the sense of joy and achievement which the Government and people of Vietnam must feel on this momentous occasion."

The full reports of the reports and debate of the National Assembly in regard to policies have not yet become available. A brief AFP despatch from Hanoi gives an indication of the trends in the policies outlined in the National Assembly.

"Mr. Le Duan, First Secretary of the Vietnamese Workers' Party, declared here on Friday that a major goal of Vietnamese foreign policy was to promote national independence while leading the country to the 'goal of the social path.' Addressing the first session of the reunified National Assembly Mr. Duan said Vietnam had three other foreign policy objectives; practice patriotism and a spirit

of proletarian internationalism; to meet international obligations towards other peoples while fulfilling obligations to the nation; and to continue to oppose all forms of imperialism starting with American imperialism. With those principles as its basis, he said, the diplomatic action of the new Socialist Republic of Vietnam would deal first of all with the strengthening of militant solidarity and co-operation between Vietnam and all socialist nations.

Next he said, there would be a strengthening of trust and aid in all fields between Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia. He also declared that Vietnam would support the just struggle of the peoples of South East Asia so that they could become truly independent nations without imperialist military bases on their territory. Mr. Duan said Vietnam advocated peaceful co-existence in the region. The First Secretary reaffirmed Vietnam's support for peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America fighting against imperialism, colonialism and racial segregation. He added that his country would contribute actively to efforts by the movement of non-aligned nations to establish a new world economic order.

"Vietnam would strongly support the struggle of the working class in capitalist countries to form a broad, unified front and to oppose monopolies, he said.

Mr. Duan declared that Vietnam planned to establish and broaden normal relations with all countries."

There is no doubt that Vietnam will play a very important role, not only in East and Southeast Asia but also in the whole of Asia itself. It was the victim of conquest and war perpetrated by two countries which had won their "freedom" in 1776 and 1789. Vietnam is a symbol of the fight for human freedom in the third quarter of the twentieth century.



Worst Drought in 250 Years in W. Europe

Brussels, June 27.

It may be fun for sun-worshippers, but farmers in Western Europe are struggling through the worst drought in 250 years, with no let-up in sight. Women wander around in bikinis in Bonn, miles from the sea, and office workers made an abortive bid for time off, saying that in 32 degree Centigrade it was too hot to work. A rainwear factory in Scotland gave up and closed, and a new fainting record was set during the Wimbledon tennis championships with more than 500 persons passing out in a day under cloudless skies.

But the worst hit of all are the agriculture and livestock regions of Britain and northwestern France, where parched landscapes have taken on a yellow, dusty colouring in the practically rainless past weeks. Statistics show Britain has just gone through its driest 12 months since 1727 and the drought in France is described as the worst since 1725 with only a third of the normal rainfall.

"Even if the rain comes now," a French meteorologist said, "it would be too late to save spring corn and cereal crops." Parts of Holland, West Germany, Switzerland, Luxemburg and usually wet Belgium also are facing drought conditions.

The European part of the Soviet Union, however, has just had its rainiest spring in a century, although paradoxically Siberia, and the Soviet east—where wheat is predominant—is suffering an early dry spell. Other European countries report normal weather conditions.

Authorities in stricken areas have put out the usual warning to save water by not washing cars, watering private lawns and encouraging people to take showers rather than baths. But water is already being rationed in parts of France to try to save the farming and, grazing lands in the Loire valley Brittany and Normandy. In England, the Thames Conservancy Board cut by half the flow of the Thames from a normal minimum

of 100 million gallons a day to 50 million. In places, the river is a mere trickle, making it impracticable to navigate pleasure boats.

Beefcattle in many countries already are being fed next winter's feed. More will have to be imported from outside Europe later, which will send import food bills sky-rocketing especially for France, Switzerland and Britain. Some farmers in southern England are hauling their cattle 640 km. north to greener pastures in Scotland. But others elsewhere are taking them prematurely to the slaughterhouse, adding to the existing beef surplus in Europe.

The drought has become a political issue in France and Prime Minister Jacques Chirac has said it will have "dramatic consequences", for his country. He declared fighting the drought "the number one national priority", and his Cabinet has earmarked \$ 222 millions as initial emergency aid for hard-hit farmers. The French Socialist - Communist Opposition says the Chirac administration lacked foresight in not making provision to relieve the farmers' plight.

Various nature protection groups blame the drought on a governmental drive over recent decades to deforest vast stretches of the country, dry up marshes and regulate water courses in a bid to expand, land for cereal production.

But a Belgian weather commentator said the dry spell has been caused by a stabilisation of

a high pressure wedge over Europe which is diverting the usual wet currents to the Balkans and the Soviet Union. Why the wedge stays there nobody can scientifically say", he said. "It may have something to do with solar activity" — UPI.

The Madras Hindu in an editorial on June 29, commenting on EUROPE'S DRY SPELL had stated: "EUROPE IS IN the throes of an unprecedented drought. The persistence of a high pressure wedge over Europe has diverted wet currents to the Balkans and the Soviet Union, resulting in the rainiest spring in those areas. Britain, the Netherlands, France West Germany and Switzerland are the worst hit by the current dry spell. Farmers in France are feeding cattle with feed reserved for next winter. Which means that when the fodder supply reaches a precarious low, an inconvenient beef surplus will emerge through slaughter of livestock that cannot be maintained. All these portend a difficult farm situation. Shades of the difficulty are already reflected in the firming up of wheat prices in the West's commodity exchanges. It is not that the European countries affected by the drought will go hungry. They have enough food to live on as derived from the European grain surpluses over the years. What should cause anxiety is that, coupled with the drought in the wheat growing tracts of Siberia and the eastern region of the Soviet Union, Europe's exportable surpluses in

cereals will be reduced considerably. The same point would apply to sugar beet.

"Even if it be that Europe will get over the drought soon, the lessons, it offers to that continent and to the world in general cannot afford to be overlooked. There is some substance in the criticism that the present European drought is man-made. Excessive deforestation, drying up of marshes and the alteration of river courses—all of which were intended to provide more acreage for cereals—have upset the water and foliage balance. How much of this is reversible is what the countries concerned should determine and act upon quickly. A global drought watch system should also be set up. Australia has its own drought alerting service for moving cattle out of drought affected areas or for transporting fodder to those areas. Further, Australia uses its marginal arable land only in good years and this arid style farming which governments in various countries have tried off and on can be systematised. Meteorologists for their part can help spot prospective rainfall deficiency and help the governments concerned in coping with shortages in output, through an advance action programme to canalise supplies from other areas at home and abroad. So far as cereal importing countries like India are concerned, the European drought is a pointer to the need for reducing their dependence on imports to the absolute minimum by increasing their own production."

SRI LANKA CHRONICLE

June 26 — July 1

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

SATURDAY, JUNE 26: Sri Lanka has made arrangements with shippers and brokers in London to ship teas in polythene bags in view of the shortage of tea chests: meanwhile quality teas will be shipped in tea chests: arrangements are being made to ship urgent components and metal fittings for tea chests from Singapore—CDN. The Inspector General of Police,

Mr. Stanley Senanayake, in a directive to all Police Superintendents said that they will be held answerable for complaints against Police officers: his directive which refers particularly to Police assaults says that it is the duty of all Police Superintendents to hold instruction classes to advise and warn their subordinates that any indiscipline in the service will not be tolerated—CDN. Mr. C. Kumarasuriar, Minister of Posts and Telecommunications, yesterday inaugurated the Indo-Sri Lanka tele-link via satellite: this will enable subscribers to get a telephone call through to India in less than 15 minutes time—CDN. Colombo, Galle, Kandy, Kurunegala and Nuwara-Eliya yesterday recorded a little rain but the Colombo Observatory did not want to commit itself when asked by the Daily News whether this showed the beginning of the South West monsoon—CDN. In talks held between the visiting Maldivian Vice President Amir Abdul Sattar and a number of Sri Lanka Ministers, Sri Lanka expressed desire to buy fresh fish from Maldives and to examine the possibility of establishing a joint venture in the

Maldives to produce dried fish to cater to the country's market: in the talks held Sri Lanka agreed to provide technical expertise to assist Maldives in the development of her coconut plantations—CDN. According to the *Daily Mirror* Prime Minister, Mrs. Sirima Bandaranaike, has reminded the leader of the Opposition, Mr. J. R. Jayewardene that "according to the prevailing laws of the country elections are to be held in 1977". This is contained in her reply to the letter sent by MPs of the Opposition urging her to give a categorical assurance in the NSA that the general elections would be held in 1977. All five campuses of the University will be closed during the Non-aligned summit conference according to instructions given to the Vice Chancellor by the Government—CDM. A large part of the jewellery stolen from the Puloly Rural Bank recently was recovered from the two jewellery shops in Colombo by the Police: when Police recovered the gold jewellery they had been already melted: six of the fifteen suspects arrested have been released—VK. Four members of the crew of a Air Ceylon aircraft including an air hostess had been caught by the Customs at the Karachi air port and the goods believed to have been smuggled confiscated: the Customs also imposed a fine of Rs. 14,000 on the crew; the Air Ceylon flight was subject to Customs checking when it came from London and landed in Karachi enroute to Colombo—JD. The issue between the Postal and Railway departments over arrears to payments by the former to the latter has been referred to the Treasury: the Railway Department refused to carry postal articles by train from July 1, if arrears of Rs. 1.2 million is not been settled by the Postal Department—ATH. Mr. K. B. Ratnayake, Minister of Transport, decided to suspend issue of tickets on government servant's warrants to employees in 17 departments and several local bodies for non-payment by these departments to the Railway—LD. Mr. Abdul Hakeem, Ambassador for Bangladesh in Sri Lanka, arrived in the island yesterday—DM. Several countries have placed orders with Sri Lanka for large quantities of fruits like mangoes, pineapple, plantains etc: meanwhile Prime Minister, Mrs. Sirima Bandaranaike, will declare open a fruit canning factory at Attanagalla today: this factory has been built with Yugoslavian aid—DM & CDN.

SUNDAY, JUNE 27: According to the Police part of the loot robbed from banks in the Northern Province and other places in the island has been used as expenditure for printing of subversive literature and this printing has been done in South India: the rest of the loot was used for various other activities of anti-government organisations in the island: Police also believe that some of the big-time smugglers in the North are actively conniving with these political groups—CO. According to the Colombo Observatory the South West monsoon has set in: Colombo and other suburbs experienced heavy rains yesterday: Colombo recorded 1.5 inches of rain: but the water-cut of 20 hours in Colombo is still in force—CO. At the World Employment Conference held in Geneva this month Sri Lanka Prime Minister's proposal to set up a skilled manpower pool to provide periodic exchange of information on the supply and demand for skilled professional and technical men has been unanimously accepted—CO. Telecommunication employees of the rank of Engineers, District Inspectors and Inspectors suspended their work-to-rule campaign

according to an announcement by their Union—CO. According to the *Times of Ceylon Sunday Illustrated* a Cabinet reshuffle will take place soon after the Non-aligned conference: this will be done with the hope of infusing new blood to carry out the program of the government efficiently during the last lap of the Government: Mr. Lakshman Jayakody, Deputy Minister of Defence and Foreign Affairs, is tipped to be a Cabinet Minister—TOCSI. The Air Ceylon which will be 29 years old this year will introduce a Boeing 747 jumbo jet aircraft from November this year: this aircraft will be subleased from an international airline—TOCSI. Organisers of the SLFP in the Northern province will submit a memorandum to the Prime Minister through Mr. C. Kumarasuriar, Minister of Posts and Telecommunications, urging the Premier to find a solution to the language problem and improve the economy of the province: a decision to this effect was taken at a meeting of the party organisers held in Jaffna recently—VK. CTB decided to increase its bus fares in the Colombo area in August this year, the month of the Non-aligned conference: this decision has been taken in view of the longer routes the buses in Colombo will have to take following the closure of several important routes: the CTB has pointed out this will cost large sums of money to the Board as operational costs: the Board also decided not to issue season tickets during the month of August—SLD. For the first time in the current period, a Sinhala musical show will be held at the Veerasingham Hall Jaffna on July 3: this show is being organised by the Sinhala section of the University's Jaffna Campus—DM. Several top bureaucrats in State Corporation and Government Service will contest the next general elections opposing the government: according to the *Aththa* this action of these officials will be same as that of late Mr. C. P. de Silva's in 1964 when he along with some others voted against the government in the Parliament which resulted in the government's defeat—ATH.

MONDAY, JUNE 28: Mr. S. K. K. Suriarachchi, Minister of Co-operatives and Small Industries, in a directive addressed to the Commissioner of Co-operative Development, Managers of MPCSS said that it would be preferable to assure membership to the housewife of each family: Minister's directive was a follow-up of efforts by the Government to transform the co-operative sector into a real people's movement: the Minister in his directive further said all members should share the profits of the co-operatives and the first profit sharing should be in respect of the period July 1 to September 31 this year—CDN. Mr. R. S. Perera, Minister of Information and Broadcasting, will head the Sri Lanka delegation to the Non aligned News Pool talks to be held in New Delhi from July 8 to 13—CDN. A large number of local industrialists complained to Mr. Felix Dias Bandaranaike, Minister of Finance and Justice, that the current level of Business Turnover Tax imposed on several consumer articles was too high and this is one of the reasons for the current high cost of living—CDM. According to the *Daily Mirror* Customs intelligence report indicate that several smugglers are now engaging unemployed youth and school boys and girls to carry their contraband from one place to another in the island. The LSSP is making arrangements to put forward Mr. Lakshman Rajapakse, brother of late Mr. George Rajapakse, as

their candidate at the Mulkirigala by-election: it is understood Mr. Lakshman Rajapakse will contest on the Mahajana Eksath Peramuna ticket with the support of the Socialist United Front which will include the LSSP—VK. Mr. Gopalapillai Mahadeva, who was a signatory to the 20-point program submitted by prominent Tamil citizens to the Prime Minister on the problems of the Tamil-speaking people, told the *Virakesari* that the Government was carefully examining the proposals and it is believed that certain changes in the Constitution will be made to solve some of the problems. Mr. J. R. Jayewardene, leader of the Opposition, speaking at a meeting at Eppawala in Anuradhapura said that the UNP would not allow the present Government to postpone general elections after 1977—VK. The Ministry of Planning and Employment has been provided with Rs. 150 million by the Government to make jobs available for 100,000 persons within the next one year—ATH. Employees of the National Milk Board will launch a one-day token strike on June 30th in support of their demands submitted to the Board: the employees unions said that no action has been taken during the last five years to solve their problems—JD. Prime Minister, Mrs. Sirima Bandaranaike, who declared open a Fruit Canning Factory at Attanagalla on Saturday urged the farmers of the area to take to fruit cultivation as now they can depend on the factory to purchase their products which will not go waste: the Factory built with Yugoslavian aid cost Rs. 12 million—DM.

TUESDAY, JUNE 29: Mr. P. B. G. Kalugalle, Acting Minister of Local Government, has stated that from next week residents of Colombo will be supplied with water for eight hours each day and this had become possible owing to installation of water pumps belonging to the Colombo Port to augment the supply from Kelani River: the Minister also said that this has become possible owing to the personal initiative taken by the Prime Minister and whether there was rain or no rain residents of Colombo will be supplied with this water—CDN. In a new move to expedite repatriation under the Sirima-Shastri Pact government officials will visit estates to make on-the-spot payments of all money due to Indian passport holders who are overstaying—CDN. The Non-aligned Co-ordinating Bureau has confirmed dates of the Colombo Conference from 16 to 19th of August: the Ambassadorial level Preparatory Committee meeting will be held from August 9 to 11 and the Ministerial Conference will be held from 11 to 14—CDN. According to the *Daily Mirror* the Opposition in the NSA is perturbed over the reply by the Prime Minister regarding the holding of elections in 1977: the *Daily Mirror* said the reason for this is because the Premier did not categorically indicate whether she proposed to give such an assurance on the floor of the NSA: Mr. J. R. Jayewardene, leader of the Opposition, has already told the Opposition MPs that the letter sent by Mrs. Bandaranaike would be tabled for discussion when the LSSP leader, Dr. N.M. Perera, returns to the island. Sixteen young women between the ages of 20 to 25 who were on their way to the Katunayake International Airport last night to take a plane to Greece were nabbed by the Police along with a Greek national and three local men: according to the Police they received information that these girls were "hired" by this Greek national to be employed as call girls in Greece: the parents of the

girls when questioned said they were made to understand that their daughters were to get employment abroad—CDM. The Government is engaged in drawing up a scheme to urge educated youth to take up jobs in the productive sector instead of seeking white-collar jobs: Government has also decided that arrangements should be made to allow youths employed in the productive sector to earn not less than Rs. 600 a month—VK. Government announced yesterday that no action has been taken to increase bus fares during August: the announcement denied the news item in the *Sri Lankadipa* on June 27—LD. According to the *Aththa* the Commissioner of Labour who inquired into the interdiction of Mr. Lal Perera, an employee of the Government Press on whose behalf the entire working sector in the country staged a one-day token strike, has handed over his report to the Prime Minister and it is understood that the report recommended reinstatement of the employee concerned.

WEDNESDAY, JUNE 30: Mrs. Siva Obeysekera, MP for Mirigama and Mr. S. D. R. Jayaratne, MP for Chilaw, were sworn in as Minister of Health and Minister of Fisheries respectively at the president's House at Kandy yesterday: these two MPs were Deputy Ministers in the respective Ministries before the death of Mr. George Rajapakse who was holding both portfolios—CDN & CDM. According to the *Daily Mirror*, invitation by LSSP-controlled Ceylon Federation of Labour to SLFP and CP controlled trade unions in the JCTUO to participate in a mass rally to be held at the Hyde Park tomorrow has not met with good response: the paper said the main cause for this was the attitude of the LSSP's Sinhala daily, *Janadina*, towards the SLFP and the Communist Party: *Daily Mirror* further said this made the JCTUO's future vulnerable. According to the *Janadina* the report by the Committee appointed by Dr. Badiuddin Mahmud, Minister of Education, on the delay of printing school texts following an earlier speech by Mr. R. S. Perera, Minister of Information and Broadcasting, who blamed the Educational Publications Board for the delay, has aroused suspicion whether the statement by Mr. Perera was correct. According to the *Daily News* there will be a larger intake of women to the public service this year: earlier only 10 percent of the total recruits were women on the results of a process by the computer but this year this will be increased from 15 to 25 percent. Minister of Education will soon submit a proposal to the Cabinet to assure employment to all undergraduates following job-oriented courses in the various campuses of the University—LD. The Government of India will soon airlift two water pumps to Sri Lanka to help ease the water problem in the city of Colombo—VK. The Tamil United Liberation Front will announce its next move at the Front's convention in Trincomalee on July 9 and 10—VK. The Ceylon Transport Board is in dire financial straits and it owes nearly Rs. 100 million to the Employees Provident Fund—ATH. Of a total of 7,149 buses in the CTB only 4,792 are in working order and the balance buses are garaged owing to lack of spare parts—CDM. Police and Emigration authorities yesterday commenced inquiries to find out whether Sri Lanka has become a new base for international vice rings following the arrest of a Greek national and three Sri Lankians who were transporting 16 young women to the airport to be sent to Greece: Police asked the International Police for details on the Greek National:

the girls were said to be proceeding to the airport with passports which carried false names: the girls were handed over to their parents—CDM.

THURSDAY, JULY 1: The National Pricing Commission advised the Parliamentary Committee appointed by the Government Parliamentary Group that price control of essential commodities would not ensure a reduction of prices: the NPC further said that the need was for more production and if a rigid price control was clamped down it would act as a disincentive to production—CDN. According to an agreement signed at the Ministry of Planning and Economic Affairs yesterday, Sweden will make available to Sri Lanka an outright grant of Rs. 94.5 million from the year beginning today: this was an increase of 15 million Swedish Kroner over the assistance given in 1975-76—CDN. Mr. J. R. Jayewardene told a UNP propaganda rally held in Minneriya that the Opposition will ensure general election in the year 1977: this was revealed in a news item published in the UNP Sinhala daily *Dinapatha*—CDM. The Sri Lanka Broadcasting Corporation went off the air yesterday till 10.13 am and SLBC sources said this was due to a fault in the main cable—CDN & CDM. Government is considering the closure of all liquor bars and taverns from August 16 to 19 during the Non-aligned summit conference—VK. National Lotteries Board's sweep tickets sellers have informed the Board that they would boycott the selling of the 573rd sweep owing to the reduction of commission given to them recently—VK. Employees of the National Milk Board will launch a one-day token strike today protesting against the delay in considering their demands—CDM. The *Aththa* in an editorial requested the government to bring down the cost of living: the paper said the present cost of living had become unbearable and even if the government was not worried about the suffering of the masses it had to do something in its own interest as there was only less than 11 months left for the term of the government to expire. Seven cars and two motorcycles with a posse of security men will provided for each head of state visiting the country for the Non-aligned conference in August—LD. A mass rally of workers to press home the 28 demands and to protest against Police assault and attempts to break the unity of the working class will be held this evening at the Hyde Park Corner: several trade unions have agreed to support this rally organised by trade unions affiliated to the LSSP—JD.

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INTERNATIONAL DIARY

June 25 - June 26

FRIDAY JUNE 25: In a Government of India press release it was said since Mr. Karunanidhi became Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu Government large investments have been made in the acquisition and remodelling of immovable properties in his own name as well as in the names of his poor relatives: records in a Madras bank showed that Mr. Karunanidhi through his secretary has exchanged currency notes of Rs. 100 denominations aggregating to a total of Rs. 39.2 lakhs into notes of smaller denominations: these facts were revealed, according to the Government announcement when the Income Tax Department probed allegations

of widespread tax evasion and accumulation of unaccounted wealth on a large scale by several prominent members of the DMK and their relations and close associates. An internal disputes prevented the Common Market commission attending President Ford's economic summit at Puerto Rica, according to an announcement from Brussels. In the United Nations America used its veto power for the fifteenth time yesterday to prevent Angola's admission: to the UN: thirteen members including France, Britain, Italy and Japan supported the resolution. 28 European Communist parties will hold a two-day summit meeting in East Berlin beginning on June 28. India and Pakistan yesterday announced their decision to open private trading between the two countries in an effort to expedite the normalisation of relations. Signor Flaminio Piccoli, Chairman of the Christian Democratic group in the Italian Chamber of Deputies, commenting on the claim by the Communist Party that they be admitted to play a role in the government said "by no stretch of the imagination" would his party accept communist in the government: Communist Party chief, Enrico Berlinguer, declared that the election results "confirmed our" conviction that there is no way out of the crisis without the strength of the communists. In Lebanon, Beirut airport was re-opened yesterday after two weeks but the fighting in christian suburbs still continued.

SATURDAY, JUNE 26: The London based amnesty international has stated that at least 40,000 prisoners were held in India without trial and appealed to Prime Minister, Mrs. Indira Gandhi, to grant a general amnesty to all prisoners held without trial to mark the first anniversary of the declaration of a State of Emergency on June 26 last year. Nearly half a million people were present in Peking to welcome visiting Australian Premier, Malcom Fraser, and observers said this was one of the biggest gathering for a visiting head of state. According to Uganda Radio the military leaders of the country have decided that President Idi Amin should be immediately appointed President for life: the Radio further said that this decision was taken by the Defence Council of the country which was ruling since 1971. NATO agreed to reduce troops in Central Europe if the USSR agreed with the US in making the first pacesetting reductions. Egypt and Syria restored their diplomatic ties. Canada refused permission for Israeli security men to carry weapons at the Olympic games in Montreal: the requests had been made after Major General Rehavam Zeevi, security adviser to the Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin, made a visit to the Olympic Village. US Secretary of State, Dr. Henry Kissinger, ended talks with South African Prime Minister, John Vorster, and said they had been aimed at avoiding "a threatening conflict" in Southern Africa: the meeting was held in Southern West Germany and Dr. Henry Kissinger further said he intended to follow up and stay in close touch with the South African Government.



COLOMBO SUMMIT

Lima Declaration

— economic strategy —

This is the fourth instalment of the Declaration adopted at the Foreign Ministers Conference at Lima, in Peru, between August 25-30, 1975.

III. PLAN OF ACTION FOR STRENGTHENING CO-OPERATION, SOLIDARITY AND THE ACTION CAPACITY OF NON-ALIGNED AND OTHER DEVELOPING COUNTRIES AND FOR ACHIEVING THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE NEW INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC ORDER.

151. The Ministers for Foreign Affairs, in accordance with the joint strategy set forth in the Economic Section of the Lima Programme deem it important to carry out the actions contained in the Plan of Action, which would promote the interests of all developing countries without exception in order to strengthen the co-operation, solidarity and action capacity of the Non-Aligned and other developing countries and to achieve the establishment of the New International Economic Order.

A. Co-operation Among Developing Countries

152. The Ministers of Foreign Affairs recognise that closer economic co-operation among developing countries, collectively and among regional and sub-regional groupings, can go a long way to remove constraints imposed by limited skills, technology, investment funds and small domestic markets and inadequacy of transport, commercial and financial links. New links must therefore be forged as regards trade, transport, money and finance, agricultural, technical and scientific co-operation, together with a greater degree of harmonisation of industrialisation programmes, of horizontal and vertical commodity diversification programmes and economic development policies generally. The Ministers for Foreign Affairs, therefore, call for priority action in the following areas.

a) Raw Materials

153. The Ministers for Foreign Affairs of the Non-Aligned Countries took note of the report of the Intergovernmental Group on Raw Materials of the Non-Aligned

Countries and that of the Special Intergovernmental Group entrusted with the elaboration of a draft statute for a Fund for Financing Buffer Stocks of Raw Materials and Primary Products exported by developing countries.

154. In this respect, the Conference approved a resolution establishing the Fund and requested the Intergovernmental Group to constitute itself as a Preparatory Committee to draw up the final text of the Agreement creating the Fund and further invited all developing countries to a Plenary Conference to take place in Geneva not later than 30 June 1976 to negotiate and conclude the Agreement for the constitution of the Fund.

155. In the same line of action and conscious of the need to assist the action of existing Associations of Developing Countries Producers-Exporters of Raw Materials and to establish a mechanism for co-operation which would reinforce such assistance permanently, the Ministers for Foreign Affairs of the Non-Aligned Countries, on the basis of the consultations carried out at experts' level and in conformity with Resolution No. 6 of the Dakar Conference, approved a resolution establishing the Council of Associations of Developing Countries Producers-Exporters of Raw Materials and inviting the Group of Experts to meet in Geneva before November 30, 1975 for the purpose of preparing the final draft statutes for the establishment of the Council.

156. At the same time, the Ministers for Foreign Affairs call on the developing countries to particularly consider the possibility of joining the existing producer associations or establishing new ones as a means of increasing their influence and strengthening the effectiveness of their joint action in international markets.

157. The Ministers of Foreign Affairs support an integrated approach to the finding of solutions to the problems of commodities which should include, in addition to buffer stocking and market intervention through a common fund, mechanisms for compensatory finance, long term multilateral commitments, and promotion of processing of raw materials in the developing countries, supplemented as necessary by appropriate commodity arrangements.

158. The Ministers reiterate the recommendation of the Dakar Conference on raw materials for early elaboration and implementation of various elements of the programme, so that solutions may be found to a wide range of commodities of interest to the developing countries.

159. The Ministers for Foreign Affairs agree that such actions designed to improve the prices for raw materials exported by developing countries should be accompanied by appropriate measures to safeguard the interests of the least-developed among the developing countries and, in conformity with the objective of the Special Programme (Section X of General Assembly resolution 3202 (S-VI), those of other most seriously affected countries.

160. The Intergovernmental Group on Raw Materials of the Non-Aligned Countries will cooperate in preparing the guidelines for a strategic position to be adopted in the field of raw materials taking into account the decisions adopted at the forthcoming meetings of the Group of 77 and of UNCTAD IV.

161. The Non-Aligned Countries are convinced of the urgent need to base the development of the developing countries on greater autonomy. This evolution is politically desirable and economically feasible. Equally, they express their profound belief in the need to strengthen their unity and capacity for collective action with a view to ensuring their complete sovereignty.

162. To this end, they express their belief that they should consolidate their unity in particular in the following three main fields: the strengthening of the associations of developing countries producers of raw materials, the establishment of better systems of information on markets and commodities for the developing countries, and the setting up of the Fund for the Financing of Buffer Stocks of Raw Materials and Primary Products exported by developing countries. These three mechanisms in addition to others would comprise a System for the Economic Development of Developing Countries which would promote their greater unity and capacity for action. The Non-Aligned Countries express the ur-

sent need to enforce this entire system as soon as possible.

(b) *Solidarity Fund for Economic and Social Development of the Non-Aligned Countries*

163. The Ministers for Foreign Affairs took note with satisfaction of the work done by the Committee of Economic Experts and the Committee of Legal Experts which prepared the draft Convention on the establishment of the Fund. The Conference adopted a resolution approving the text of the Convention, fixing the equal subscription of members to the initial capital of the Fund and opening the Convention for signature by the Non-Aligned Countries at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Kuwait until December 31, 1975. The Ministers urged member states to accede to the Convention as soon as possible so that the Fund could begin its operation before the Summit Meeting in Sri Lanka.

(c) *Treatment of Foreign Private Investment, Transnational Corporations and the Transfer of Technology*

164. Upon studying the Report, prepared by the Committee of Experts for the treatment of foreign investment, transnational corporations and the transfer of technology, the Ministers for Foreign Affairs of Non-Aligned Countries have decided to submit it to the consideration of their Governments so that they may possibly be inspired by it in the framework of their national policies in this field.

(d) *Information Center of the Non-Aligned Countries on Transnational Corporations*

165. The Conference took that a report and a draft statute of the Information Center of the Non-Aligned Countries on Transnational Corporations had been prepared by Cuba and decided that a group of experts in this field should meet as soon as possible in order to revise in detail said draft statute, taking into account the views of all member countries on the matter. The Conference decided likewise to accept the generous offer of the Revolutionary Government of Cuba to host the Centre.

(e) *Scientific and Technological Research and Development*

166. A Committee of Experts, consisting in principle of the coun-

tries which are members of the Bureau, but open to all interested member States and other developing countries shall meet by March 1977 in Lima, Peru, to study and recommend a programme of co-operation among Non-Aligned Countries, in the scientific and technological fields. This Committee shall undertake the afore-said duties taking into account the need to establish a Centre to promote this co-operation as well as a common strategy of developing countries in the field of science and technology.

167. This Centre may identify specific projects for scientific and technological research and development among the interested member countries; these projects would be conceived, and programmed and when ready for implementation entrusted to Ad-hoc Committees composed of representatives of participating member countries for their administration. Thus, the Centre would be a flexible non-bureaucratic mechanism, and for this reason, its budgetary resources and its personnel would be limited to the essential minimum.

168. Likewise, the Committee of Experts shall recommend the basis for a common scientific and technological strategy of the Non-Aligned Countries and serve as a forum for coordination among member countries vis-a-vis the UNCTAD Committee on the Transfer of Technology and other international activities related to this question.

169. The preliminary work of the Committee shall be submitted to the Coordination Bureau and to the Summit Conference of Sri Lanka.

(f) *Research and Information System*

170. The Conference authorizes the Coordination Bureau to examine the feasibility of establishing a Research and Information System of the Non-Aligned and other developing countries. Such a system would analyze the situation and trends in the world economy, international economic relations, problems relating to industry and trade, agriculture, and food, monetary and financial co-operation, as well as other problems of interest to developing countries. The system should pay special attention to the study of problems of mutual

co-operation among Non-Aligned and other developing countries. To this end, the Coordination Bureau should submit a proposal to all Non-Aligned Countries two months before the Fifth Conference of the Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries for its consideration.

(g) *Co-operation among Central Banks*

171. In accordance with the provisions of the Georgetown Programme of Action for Economic Co-operation and the report of the Coordinating Countries, it is important that, during the First Meeting of the Bureau of Coordination in 1976, an Inter-Governmental Group consisting of representatives of Central Banks of the Non-Aligned Countries be established in order to study the ways in which these Banks shall co-operate. During this meeting of the Bureau of Coordination, the venue and date of the meeting of the Inter-Governmental Group shall be decided upon. In all events, the meeting of this Group shall take place sufficiently in advance so as to be able to submit a report to the Summit Conference of Sri Lanka.

(h) *Monetary Reform*

172. The Ministers for Foreign Affairs recommend that the Inter-Governmental Group of 24 meet in order to assess the progress of the international monetary reform and the situation in international financing for development, in the context of the New International Economic Order; the Group is invited to prepare a report to be submitted to the Summit Conference of Sri Lanka with recommendations for a strategy and common action by developing countries in these fields.

(i) *International Centre for Public Enterprises*

173. The Conference took note of the information on the establishment and activities of the International Centre for Public Enterprises in Ljubljana (Yugoslavia) and, acting upon the recommendation of the Coordinating Bureau, invited the Non-Aligned and other developing countries to join the Centre. The Conference welcomes the decision to convene the meeting of developing countries which is expected to adopt the statutes of the Centre.

(j) Trade Among Developing Countries

174. The developing countries should take trade liberalisation measures among themselves through preferential arrangements covering primary commodities, manufactured goods and services such as banking, shipping and insurance and re-insurance facilities. Sub-regional and regional preferential arrangements as well as global schemes like the GATT Protocol among developing countries should be widened in product coverage and tariff preferences.

175. The regional and sub-regional payments and clearing unions should be established and strengthened and action should be taken to evolve a linkage between them.

176. Efforts should be made to set up national, regional and inter-regional shipping services.

177. The Ministers for Foreign Affairs noted with deep concern the critical situation of the least developed and disadvantaged landlocked countries which has been worsened by the present crisis in the world economy and by widespread droughts which have affected some of these countries. The special measures which have been advocated in favour of these countries have not resulted in significant tangible results. In view of this, the Ministers invite the Non-Aligned Countries to undertake concrete and specific measures to assist these countries. Further, the Ministers decide to convene a meeting of an Inter-Governmental Group of the Non-Aligned Countries to prepare a programme of action in favour of these countries to be presented to the Vth Conference of the Heads of State or Government of the Non-Aligned Countries.

(k) Financial Arrangements Among Developing Countries

178. Developing countries should promote regional and inter-regional financial support and co-operation among themselves on the basis of adequate warranties and reasonable returns for investment in industries and agriculture with a view to stimulating their agricultural production and their industrialization, particularly through processing of commodities. There is an urgent need to supplement existing flows of funds, particularly through new mecha-

nisms designed to channel investments in capital deficient countries and to enhance their absorptive capacity. An enhanced flow of long term investments can be expected to generate an increased volume of trade, and provide opportunity for diversifying flows for mutual benefit. There is great potential for such co-operation by utilising local skills, natural resources, technology and funds available within the developing countries. Appropriate arrangements including the possibility of joint investment, agencies of capital exporting and capital importing countries, should be made in order to identify and carry out feasibility studies of such projects.

(To be Concluded)



COLOMBO SUMMIT

Continuing Confrontation

— First World vs Third World —

Colombo, July 10,

One of the most difficult and undoubtedly the important question that will confront those engaged in formulating economic strategy at the forthcoming Non-aligned Summit is how the Conference is to deal with the problem of raw materials produced by developing countries and bought by the rich and advanced countries. This is a matter that has come up at a large number of conferences in recent years, and after OPEC, the rich countries led by the USA have closed their ranks to fight all efforts by the exporters of raw materials who desire to have a greater degree of control over their natural resources and which can be achieved only by curbing the activities of the multinationals and other international monopolies. After the success of OPEC, the rich countries of West and Japan are seeking to create a bloc of developed and industrialised nations which can continue to call the tune as of old. Non-aligned and developing countries are aware of the tactics adopted by the Atlantic Bloc of countries to organise the oil importing countries to exert "joint pressure" on OPEC. At the same time these rich countries have warned other producers

of raw materials not to follow the example of the OPEC oil producers.

It will be useful to recount the manner in which the rich countries have sought to get together for joint action against the developing countries. On December 12, 1973, US Secretary of State Kissinger had made a proposal in a speech in London that it was necessary to establish "an action group on energy questions" composed of industrially developed countries to formulate a programme of co-operation in all fields which are affected by the energy crisis. In other words what Kissinger had wanted was a united front of all the capitalist oil consuming countries to adopt a "comprehensive programme of action."

It will also be recalled that early in January 1974, the US President forwarded to the Heads of Governments of a number of industrially developed capitalist oil importing countries an invitation to take part in a Conference in Washington at a Foreign Ministerial level. This American proposal was simply to create a bloc of all major rich western powers to challenge OPEC. (But differences had manifested themselves from the beginning in sharp differences between the USA, on the one hand, and West European countries and Japan, on the other, because the Common Market countries of Europe and Japan were more dependent on OPEC countries for oil than the USA).

The 1974 Washington Conference of 13 major oil consuming countries of the capitalist world which "consumed" more than 85 percent of the imports of world energy resources was an important milestone in the American campaign to form a united front of major capitalist oil consuming countries. Kissinger, at the Conference, put forward a Plan calling for co-operation among industrially advanced and developed countries in regard to the following: energy saving, utilisation of alternative sources of energy, scientific research on new sources of energy, the distribution of energy resources in cases of emergency, relations between oil producing and oil consuming groups, etc., etc. In order to implement this Plan and to prepare for a bigger Conference, with the participation of oil producing countries as well, it was

proposed to set up a permanent "Co-ordination Committee."

After several meetings of this Co-operation Committee, the USA succeeded in adopting in 1974 a ten-year Agreement on "mutual assistance in oil and energy" to be put into operation at times of crisis and emergency. The Agreement also formalised the establishment of an International Energy Agency (IEA) to be attached to the OECD (consisting at that time of 16 countries—8 Common Market countries, not France, the USA, Canada, Japan, Sweden, Switzerland, Australia, Spain and Turkey). In short, the IEA was intended to unify the efforts of western and advanced oil consuming countries to resist the demand of oil producing countries for higher prices mainly by bringing pressure on OPEC countries (and also by creating cleavages and divisions among them).

In a speech at Chicago University on November 14, 1974, Secretary of State Kissinger had put forward a programme of action for the members of the IEA intended to safeguard and consolidate the positions of all oil consuming countries. Kissinger had made it clear that the only way to resist and contain the "unreasonable" demands and blackmail by oil producing countries was for the oil consuming countries of North America, West Europe and Japan to co-operate on an international level on this matter.

Of course, there were sweet words about a "dialogue" with the oil producing countries, (with OPEC), to negotiate reasonable settlements. But this "north-south" dialogue was to be done from positions of strength so that OPEC and other producers of raw materials could be kept under the control of the rich consuming countries. For this purpose, whatever the differences between the USA, France, Common Market countries and Japan in regard to strategic and tactical methods of fighting (or negotiating with) the OPEC countries, the US succeeded in creating a \$ 25 billion "solidarity fund" to enforce a mutual reduction of oil imports and introduce a guaranteed minimum of domestic oil prices. There is also no doubt that the efforts of the USA bore fruit in ample measure and some OPEC countries like Iran

found that their exports had decreased in 1975 because of the restrictive strategies of the IEA group.

In the meantime, France which had a different approach to the oil and energy crisis from that of the USA, had taken the initiative to summon a Conference of producers and Consumers in Paris (April 7-15, 1975). It was a preparatory Conference of importers and exporters of oil and had demanded that there should be discussions not only of oil supplies but also of all the questions connected with raw materials, trade etc., at an international conference to be held shortly on energy, raw materials and economic development.

It must be mentioned that Dr. Kissinger at a meeting of the IEA at Kansas city and the OECD in Paris, both in May 1975, had agreed that the agenda of the international energy conference should include the question of assistance to developing countries as well as all questions relating to other raw materials on a bilateral basis with the different exporting countries. This proposal was accepted by all IEA members.

A further stage in the creation of a united front was reached at a summit meeting of six major capitalist countries held in Rambouillet, in France, on November 15-17, 1975. The Presidents of the USA and France, the Chancellor of the FRG, the Prime Ministers of Britain, Japan and Italy (together with their Ministers of Foreign Affairs, Economy and Finance) participated in this Super-Rich Nations' conference. This was indeed the first meeting in the post-war era of the leaders of the major industrial Powers. One of the most important matters discussed related to the strategy the six powers should adopt in their "dialogue" with the Third World. The Final Declaration at Rambouillet clearly indicated that what the Six were anxious to secure was harmony with the developing countries to ensure regular supplies of raw materials—naturally on terms favourable to them—and also continue to have them as safe areas for the investment of capital (to earn profits).

At this Conference, President Ford had made it a special point to reject the demand of the developing countries that prices should be "indexed" establishing a realis-

tic inter-relationship between the prices of raw materials and prices of industrial goods. Ford had also insisted that the Rambouillet Six and their allies should reach a "basic long-term goal" to ensure that oil producing countries could not fix prices unilaterally. For this purpose he had wanted even more vigorous (united) action of all oil consuming countries vis a vis the supplies of raw materials.

At an OECD Conference in Paris (December 16-19), the Western countries sought to strengthen their stand against OPEC countries and other raw materials producing countries which had tried to follow the OPEC example by taking united action. At this meeting, western countries had propounded the theory that the increase of oil prices by OPEC was the major, if not the sole, reason for the recession, inflation and depression in the world, and that the rapid increases in oil prices had reduced the possibilities of the USA and the West to render assistance to the Third World. The USA and certain other Western countries had also suggested that the OPEC countries should take over the burden of assisting the developing countries on the footing that the OPEC countries were "guilty" of the crime of involving the Third World in new economic and financial difficulties.

But all these efforts of the western countries failed to divide OPEC or the Third World. On the other hand, this has driven the Third World to adopt more acrimonious and tougher attitudes towards the developed countries. This was shown, in no unmistakable way, at UNCTAD-IV at Nairobi recently.

There is no doubt that the confrontation between the Third World and the First World of Rambouillet (and now Costa Rica) is getting sharper everyday. At the OECD Ministerial Meeting this year in Paris (June 21-22), according to a USIS report, U.S. Secretary of State Kissinger had proposed that the industrial nations making up the OECD (Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development) undertake a sweeping review of their relations with the developing nations. "To achieve a more effective integrated development strategy, the

United States proposes that OECD countries decide now to review the entire range of north-south issues which we will be addressing over the remainder of this decade and beyond. Over the next year we should develop a consistent and comprehensive set of objectives and strategies."

Dr. Kissinger had also urged the industrial nations to coordinate their policies on "north-south" issues more closely before they go into international meetings such as the recently concluded fourth United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD-IV) in Nairobi and the Conference on International Economic Co-operation (CIEC) in Paris. "The objectives of the industrial democracies and those of the developing nations should be complementary", the U.S. Secretary of State said. The developing nations want economic progress, a role in international decisions that affect them, and an equitable share of economic benefits, he said, while the industrial nations want "widening prosperity for all people produced by an open world system of trade and investment with expanding markets for north and south" and "stable and equitable development of the world's resources of food, energy and raw materials."

Development is a long-term process and the role of the industrial nations is critical because they "possess the largest markets and most of the world's capital and technology," he said. "Thus real development presupposes a serious, unemotional constructive north-south dialogue.... An atmosphere of extortion or pressure, unworkable proposals or excessive reliance on parliamentary maneuvers will ultimately undermine public support in the only countries capable of contributing effectively to development", Dr. Kissinger warned.

He also warned against poorly conceived responses on the part of industrial nations. "We do not owe a favour when we substitute rhetorical concessions for intelligent and realistic proposals," he said. "...those who carry short-term favour may mortgage the long-term future." Secretary Kissinger said that his call for greater coordination of policy among the industrial nations "is not a call

for confrontation with the Third World. It is an indispensable step we must take if we are not to fragment our efforts and fail in our objectives." He proposed that the OECD Secretary-General undertake a study and recommend procedures for a better coordination of policy, and that OECD take more active role in identifying key issues in the north-south dialogue and in developing "mutually supporting positions." The U.S. Secretary of State also urged closer coordination among the OECD nations on economic relations with the communist countries, on energy, and on non-inflationary economic growth policies. He proposed urgent action to establish joint energy production projects in such areas as coal extraction and utilization, uranium enrichment and synthetic fuels.

This was the position, Dr. Kissinger had taken up at the OECD which was a prelude to a meeting of the Rambouillet group in Costa Rica on June 28. But, in the USIS summary of Mr. Kissinger OECD speech, he spoke a little bitterly about what had happened in UNCTAD-IV in Nairobi.

In this connection, a comment from a leftwing paper in India will show just what Third World forces thought of Mr. Kissinger's efforts at Nairobi.

"THE TORTURING TEN THOUSAND WORDS US SECRETARY OF STATE Henry Kissinger reeled off in his marathan double-talk at UNCTAD IV in Nairobi is the declaration that US imperialism has no intention of respecting the UN General Assembly resolution on the establishment of a new economic order. He has flatly rejected the proposals of Manila Declaration of the 'Group of 77' and in particular the integrated commodity programme of the UNCTAD secretariat, for such proposals, in his view, are "unrealistic" and "peremptory demands." What Kissinger has proposed instead is an unashamedly calculated plan not only to block any serious collective effort to establish a new economic order but to perpetuate the neocolonial exploitation of the developing countries and to intensify and expand it. Kissinger wants the third world to forget the international commitment and swallow the poisoned baits he has thrown at Nairobi.

"Commodity prices, trade terms, resources, multinationals, debts, balance of payments deficit, transfer of technology, etc. are the major problems facing the developing countries in their relations with the developed capitalist countries, notably the USA. Kissinger has offered solution to not a single one of them. His eyes are as ever fixed on the prospects of a bigger neocolonial booty. The developing countries have to pay through their nose for what they import from the developed capitalist countries while their exports of primary goods to the latter fetch hopelessly low and declining prices. Last year alone the purchasing power of these exports fell by about ten per cent. The gap between the developing countries and the developed capitalist countries, in terms of development and per capita income, goes on widening. For example, the per capita gross national product of the developing countries was 7.5 per cent of that of the developed countries in 1973 as against 9.4 per cent in 1950. According to Kissinger's own estimate, the balance of payments deficits of the developing countries in 1975 amounted 35,000 million dollars and now the UNCTAD secretariat forecasts that figure for the non-oil producing countries will rise to 40,000 million dollars. One can imagine its devastating impact on the development of the third world countries. Further, this plunder in the name of trade has resulted in the mounting debt burdens of the developing countries amounting to close on 100,000 million dollars on which the annual repayments come to over 7,000 million dollars. India, incidentally, has been made a leading debtor country, our repayment liabilities currently running at Rs. 700 crores. Debt servicing is expected to rise to 20 per cent of such earnings. On top of it, the multinationals also draw away as super profits huge amounts.

"In his platitudinous and flamboyant verbosity Kissinger does not have even one convincing word to suggest that such an unjust and intolerable states of affairs should end. As if all this is not enough, he has announced that the United State proposes the establishment of an international resources bank (IRB). Also he has not left anyone in doubt that this bank will promote the US private

investments in the developing countries. Kissinger has not missed to dictate the terms either. 'Nationalisation and forced change', says Kissinger, 'in the terms of concessions in some developing countries have clouded the general climate for resources investment in the developing world'. So, if you want resources from the dollar lords and others of the west, stop nationalisation and do not tamper with the concessions they have already extorted. 'Resource flows to the poorest countries', he adds, 'must be freed from restrictions on procurement sources..'. Brazenly he declared: 'We must enable private markets to continue to play a substantial role in providing development capital.' One can go on quoting other words from Kissinger's speech showing that it is a shameless manifesto of US neocolonialism—one that deserves to be mercilessly exposed and condemned.."

Even moderate Indian opinion, had no illusions about the West was after.

There is no doubt that the USA and the West were sorely disappointed about Nairobi. US Secretary of State Kissinger and US Treasury Simon had issued a bitter statement denouncing what had taken place in Nairobi. Whilst Kissinger and Simon had betrayed their disappointment in a possible outburst of indignation, other Western Powers had reacted more realistically. Some of them have even failed to follow Kissinger's lead at Nairobi.

At the OECD meeting in Paris and the meeting of the seven Super-Rich (Rambouillet) in Costa Rica, there has been an attempt to backtrack from the brinkmanship indulged in Nairobi by Kissinger. (This must be examined in a subsequent article).

But, so far as the Non-aligned and Third World are concerned the USA has yet to acquire a real understanding of the current situation in the world. The USA still seems to think it can mobilise the dwindling world of capitalism to prevent the Third World to get as much for their raw materials as the First World get for their industrial goods. The USA has still not learnt the lessons of Vietnam.

—SPARTACUS



COLOMBO SUMMIT

Towards Economic Emancipation

Havana,

Undoubtedly, the most important question before the Fifth Non-aligned Summit in Colombo in August will concern the new international economic order to regulate and govern economic relations in the world today. It is necessary to help poor developing countries to effect a rapid take-off into purposeful and fruitful activity and at the same time curb the exploitative greed of the rich industrialised nations who have established a firm stranglehold on the Third World through multinational and transnational companies.

In this, the many-faceted role of the United States has to be examined from different angles to realise the difficult task confronting Non-aligned and Third World countries. Many developing countries have only recently begun to realise that the U.S.A. pursues policies in international trade and economic relations which have caused a serious difficulty to the economy of other countries, especially developing ones. Today the economic policies of the U.S.A. *vis a vis* developing countries is a "new", refined and sophisticated version of neocolonialism with a selective and differentiated implementation with regard to some states. In the (new) **Trade Reform Act** of December, 1974, this approach was formalised and made to appear universal. One of the basic aims of the Act is to grant to developing countries tariff preferences on their manufactured products imported by the USA. Besides, it is claimed that those preferences are the same for all and were not reciprocal. But, in reality, the preferences follow quite definite objectives of current US policy with regard to the Third World countries in order to benefit, in the final analysis, reciprocal economic and political benefits from developing countries.

The Act *vis a vis* developing countries contains several amendments which limit the number of developing countries to which Customs preferences can be gran-

ted. No such preferences will be granted to a developing country if it is a member of the Organisation of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC), of any foreign Cartel or Association the activities of which consist in holding back from sales in the world market goods needed for the US economy and other developed countries, or raising prices on those goods to unreasonable levels and thus create serious difficulties for the world economy. The same limitations will be used against copper and bauxite exporting countries i.e., countries participating in collective actions to safeguard their raw material resources. Among such countries in Latin America alone one may name Jamaica, Guyana, Dominican Republic (bauxites); Peru (copper) Central American countries (bananas), Mexico, Colombia, Venezuela and others (coffee). In other words the reservation clause specified in the Act providing for a possibility of denying the granting of the preferential regime may be applied against any country which may seek to fight the dominance of US monopolies and multinationals.

Forty six developing countries of Africa as well as countries of the Caribbean and Pacific regions associated with the EEC, — the countries which granted the so-called "return preferences" to the Common Market countries—forfeit US customs preferences in respect of the export of their goods to the USA. This stipulation in the Act reflects US attempts to disrupt the outlying economic regions of the EEC which in the context of the increasing raw material crisis provide the Common Market an increased capability to stand competition. This is evidenced by the statutory undertaking that the USA will grant Customs preferences to any EEC Associated developing country which will repudiate, to January 1, 1976, the preferential benefits granted to the Common Market.

The Act also contains several other "defensive reservations" which deprive developing countries of the opportunities to benefit by Customs preferences in their trade with the USA. These reservation clauses affect countries which expropriate or nationalize US property or capital investments without appropriate com-

pensation; refuse to recognize judgements of international arbitration tribunals given in favour of US firms or private persons in cases of disputes over investments.

The newspaper *Commercio* in Ecuador declared on January 6, 1975 as follows: "This undisguised intention of the USA is to make developing countries, through exerting brutal pressure, give up the policy of defending their national resources and this poses a serious threat to developing countries and runs counter to the principles of international co-operation. The President of Venezuela, Carlos Andres Perez, said that the Act was "an overt act of economic aggression and political pressure" and called on other Latin American countries "not to put up with this kind of discrimination."

Furthermore, many provisions of the Act are worded in such a way that, if so desired, they may be interpreted against any developing country. In this way one can exclude arbitrarily developing countries from the general system of preferences and to use those privileges as a measure of exerting pressure on young states. The preferential system does not extend to industrial products which are in direct competition with similar US products. In 1973 the value of such products mounted to \$ 5 billion or about 30 per cent of the US imports from developing countries.

On products which are excluded from the general system of preferences they impose large import duties. Besides, various non-tariff limitations are set against them. For example, prior to passing the Trade Reform Act, 60 per cent of the US imports from Latin American countries were tax-free. At present, the system of preferences will include only 30 per cent (by value) of the US imports from Latin American countries. A staggering blow has been struck at imported canned meat, clothing, foot-wear, steel industry products because this group of goods is excluded from the preferential schedules. Costa Rica, for example, will have to cut down by one third of its meat exports. Colombia will be compelled to limit its exports of men's clothes and serious losses will be suffered by Argentina and Uruguay in their exports of foot-

wear and textiles. It is expected that the new Act will cause the greatest loss to countries like Argentina, Brazil, and Mexico.

Among Asian countries it is Indonesia, Iran and the Philippines which will suffer the greatest loss as a result of the Trade Reform Act. It will, for example, impose higher duties on 15 items of the Philippines exports to the USA among which there are basic export commodities of the Philippines such as sugar, coconut products, timber, leather products etc. Further, the Act which fixes maximum limits for duty-free exports of certain goods will adversely affect about 30 per cent of the Philippines exports to the United States—exports amounting to \$ 53 million annually.

The US Government, it will be noted, decided to join as from 1st January 1976 the General Plan of Tariff preferences which embrace developing countries in accordance with UNCTAD decisions. This will enable India to enjoy lower duty tariffs on exports of 2,7000 items to the USA. In spite of this, economic experts are of the view that one should not expect a rapid increase of Indian exports to the United States. This evaluation is confirmed by the (Indian) *Economic Times* of February 15, 1976. A detailed analysis of the US general plan of preferential tariffs, which was carried out by the Indian Ministry of Trade, reveals that 22 categories of goods which comprise the largest part of the traditional Indian exports to the USA are missing from the lists of duty-free goods.

Speaking in Nairobi at a press conference with UNCTAD officials present—the meeting took place on the occasion of the opening of the 4th session of this international organisation—British representative, Mrs. Hart, stated that proposal which is expected to be advanced by the USA on establishing a Bank for financing production of raw materials served, as a matter of fact, the interests of multinational corporations.

In regard to Indonesia, foreign capitalists, especially from the United States, have seized controlling positions in a number of branches in the economy of Indonesia and in less than 10 years foreign investments have reached over \$ 6.5 billion. Ruthless competi-

tion over Indonesian natural resources and markets continues unabated between American and Japanese monopolies. From 1967 up to the present time the volume of US investments has amounted \$ 1 billion. Multinational companies want maximum profits and cheap raw materials. The interests of Indonesia's national economy are not the most important consideration. Monopolies prefer to invest their capital in the field of extracting mineral resources and obtaining raw materials for their countries. They are also interested in obtaining supplies of timber. Monopolies also seek to tap uranium deposits. But they confine their "industrial" activity to light industries which produce goods to establish "affluent" consumerism in the "Western style" in these poor countries.

The Indonesian Information Agency has reported that two thirds of foreign investments projects in the country have no relation whatsoever with the actual needs of economic development of Indonesia. This foreign investment has tied Indonesian economy to the juggernaut of the multinationals.

But it must be remembered that both multinationals and the neocolonialist-minded nations of the West have realised that the old methods of exploitation will not work. New strategies have, therefore, been evolved to establish a "new approach" to the newly independent states.

A few statistics will show how badly placed the poorer countries are in relation to the richer countries. In 1973 the Third World which has the population of over 70 per cent of the globe had only 30 per cent of the world's income. In the late 1970s the average annual per capita income is estimated to reach in developed capitalist countries 3.6 thousand dollars, while in developing countries it will be only 265 dollars. Out of 2.5 billion people living in the Third World countries, 800 million are illiterate and 1 billion among them suffer from malnutrition and hunger.

The economic policy of neocolonialism rests on the "three pillars" (1) export of capital, (2) trade and (3) technological and economic "assistance." The funds coming to developing countries

Nonaligned Summit

from industrialised capitalist states stimulate business activities in those countries, and contribute to some development of productive forces. But at the same time there has been a sharp increase in the foreign debts of the Third World and structural disproportions in their economies have also become aggravated and national funds are diverted from the branches of their national economy which need them most while national plans of developments are tied up to investment programmes. The perpetuation of the many sided dependence of the economy of developing countries on the rich advanced countries and their multinationals in the matter of capital and technology places severe restrictions on the economic growth of the poor recipients of aid. The domination of multinational monopolies "leads to the curtailment of the already modest share of developing countries in the world trade while terms of trade are continuously worsening."

In his book *Republique Imperiale. Les Etats Unis Dans Le Monde, 1945-1972*, the French political commentator R. Aron describes the so-called formula of "containment" which is quite often applied to countries of the Third World. "The formula of containment", writes the author, "has expanded and become an international doctrine and this doctrine could entail interference aimed at keeping, even counter to the wishes of the people, a government disposed in favour of the institutions and ideology of the United States. The modern notion of 'containment' has a tendency of mixing up the right of peoples to be masters of their destiny...with an obligation to maintain a pro-American regime."

Latin America, even at present, is still a target of economic exploitation by the US monopolies. Even according to the official US data "each \$ 700 million of direct investments per year bring \$ 1.4 billion in profits". Speaking at a press conference in Washington on April 16, 1975 US President Ford mentioned Latin America among those few regions where the USA "is obliged to maintain its presence" and "intends to continue rendering economic and military assistance on a selective basis".

COLOMBO SUMMIT

The BMICH

Colombo, July 6,

The Fifth Non-Aligned Summit Conference will be held in Colombo from August 9th to 16th at the Bandaranaike Memorial International Conference Hall.

This Hall was built to honour the memory of Mr. Solomon Bandaranaike who was Prime Minister of Sri Lanka from 1956 to 59. His widow, Madam Sirimavo Bandaranaike the present Prime Minister, will be the hostess for the Conference.

Along with Pandit Nehru of India, Dr. Sukarno of Indonesia, Prince Sihanouk of Cambodia, Marshal Tito of Yugoslavia and President Nasser of Egypt, Mr. Bandaranaike was in the forefront of the movement of the Third World countries to fashion an ideology of dynamic neutralism. It is this concept that has led to the creation of a strong non aligned group who can act decisively in the UN and other international forums. It is fitting that the first Asian summit of the non aligned group should be held in a Hall dedicated to Mr. Bandaranaike.

This Hall was built by China on 37 acres in the heart of Colombo at a cost of US \$ 3.5 million and gifted to Sri Lanka upon its completion in 1973.

The octagonal shape of the Hall is in accord with the tradition of Sri Lanka's indigenous architecture. The design of the interior is simple, consisting of spacious halls, high ceilings supported by chaste columns imparting an immaculate atmosphere and finish.

Aesthetically it is a beautiful visual experience, especially at night when the moonlight bathes it in the iridescent glow of its marble.

Jayantha Somasundaram

COLOMBO SUMMIT

The Indian Ocean

Colombo, June 29,

Sri Lanka's Prime Minister Mrs. Sirima Bandaranaike has been one of the pioneers of the effort made by many countries in the Third World to declare the Indian Ocean a Zone of Peace. This proposal

has since been endorsed by all the littoral states of the Indian Ocean and the resolution declaring the Indian Ocean a zone of peace was passed by the General Assembly of the United Nations. In view of the fact that the Fifth Non-aligned Summit Conference will be held in Sri Lanka, which is a country that has initiated the peace zone proposal and is also a country which by virtue of its geographical position highly sensitive to big power rivalry in the Indian Ocean, it is not surprising that the Indian Ocean Peace Zone proposal figures prominently in the agenda of the Conference which is due to open in Colombo on August 9th.

The Indian Ocean comprises seventeen million square miles and is surrounded by twenty six littoral states which contain within them a quarter of the world's population. Although these countries are racked by poverty and are classed among the poorest nations of the world, they contain within them a wealth of natural resources. In addition, the enclosed hydrospace, the ocean, abounds with not only food, but also with untapped mineral resources.

Despite the fact that the call for a peace zone has been met with almost unanimous approval by the international community, with 103 nations voting for it in the U.N. there has been neither a response, nor a curtailment of military activity by the United States or the Soviet Union. In fact in the recent past there has been an increase in the naval activity of both countries in this Ocean. For example, whereas in 1968 the United States and the Soviet Union made 71 and 42 port calls respectively in the Indian Ocean region, in 1973 they made 115 and 153 port calls respectively.

Jayantha Somasundaram

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NEXT WEEK

① Life On A Tea Estate-3

—Ina Trimmer

② Towards A New Economic Order

—At The Colombo Summit

COLOMBO SUMMIT

New World Economic Order

Belgrade, June 28,

The essence of the policy pursued by the non-aligned countries is to reach solutions for reducing the gap between the advanced and developing countries and rendering impossible the further polarisation of the world into rich and poor, the *Tanjung Economic Editor* writes.

Around 6.5 percent of the world's population today lives on over 3,500 dollars in national per capita income, and 6.3 percent on less than 100 dollars. However, an analysis of the world's social product shows that around 57 percent of the world's population realises a national per capita income of below 300 dollars. This means that 57 percent of the world's population finds itself at the level of development at which the the major concern centres around a struggle for bread and sustenance.

At such levels of under-development the only alternative for development is the struggle against hunger. This is why, the commentator writes, the struggle for a new world economic order is in fact the struggle for food and suzerainty in economy development. This struggle must therefore become the the most important part of the economic programme of the Non-aligned.

The struggle for a new world economic order rests on two factors of universal importance and with impact on both the existing and future economic trends in the world. This struggle depends, first, on reducing the gap between the rich and poor worlds' and the industrially advanced countries assuming their responsibility to do so. These are the countries which imposed their monopoly and a system of economic relations and exploitation. This is increasingly leading to the further polarisation of the world into rich and poor.

The other factor is related to raw materials and energy. The question is whether it is even economically justified to continue surrendering the control of the world's

limited raw material reserves to those who are only consumers of the raw materials and who prefer to import them as cheaply as possible so as to realise increasingly higher profits.

The combined impact of these two factors has created the social and economic need for a new world economic order, and a need which is increasingly becoming a part of the consciousness and interest of both the developing countries and the industrially advanced countries.

AMERICA'S BICENTENNIAL

How 213 Million Americans Will Celebrate Their 200th Birthday

By Howard Cincotta

All across the United States Americans will be celebrating their nation's 200th birthday in thousands of observances which will reflect the traditions and outlooks of individual communities. Celebrations will range from multi-faceted programs in cities like Boston to a museum inauguration in tiny Sitka, Alaska.

AMERICA WILL MARK its 200th birthday with characteristic exuberance—as well as with some confusion. High purpose and excitement abound, but there are also question of exactly what America is celebrating. Is the Bicentennial simply a commemoration of the nation's ability to stay intact through two centuries of tumultuous history? Is a nod to the past sufficient—in the form of scholarly tomes on the meaning of the American Revolution or a program of refurbishing historical sites? Or is the Bicentennial an opportunity to draw up a new national agenda to meet the social, economic and political challenges still confronting the United States?

The answers are characteristically American. Amid the pageants and the panoply, the United States will celebrate its 200th birthday

in all these ways as thousands of communities across the country commemorate the American past, celebrate its present and plan for its future. Rather like the chaotic early days of the Revolution itself, planning for America's Bicentennial did not get off to a particularly auspicious start. President Lyndon Johnson appointed an American Revolution Bicentennial Commission in 1966, but its initial proposals were grandiose—and costly. The Commission misread the mood of both the people and their representatives in Congress. There was little enthusiasm for massive, expensive programs.

In 1973 the Commission was replaced by a smaller, more streamlined, American Revolution Bicentennial Administration (ARBA), with a new administrator, former Secretary of the Navy John Warner, and a new mandate—not to direct the celebrations, but to coordinate and encourage a multitude of Bicentennial activities by cities, towns and community organizations across the country. According to Mr. Warner, "The Bicentennial is going to be exactly where it belongs—in every major city, minor city, community, county and tribe." It will be, Mr. Warner adds, "a chain reaction of tens of thousands of individual celebrations—large and small—planned and carried out by citizens in every part of America. The success of the commemoration of the nation's first two centuries will be judged by the numbers of players, not the number of spectators."

ARBA has designated over 7,000 official Bicentennial Communities throughout the United States, ranging from cities of one million or more to small subdivisions of under 1,000 persons. All such communities have drawn up comprehensive plans for participation in the Bicentennial, including at least one project with lasting value. Although the only common factor among these many celebrations would seem to be their diversity, ARBA has categorized projects into three theme areas: Heritage '76 (the studies, restorations and reenactments of the past), Festival USA (the birthday-party celebration of the present) and Horizons '76 (programs aimed at America's future).

ALTHOUGH THE EMPHASIS is upon small, community-based acti-

America Celebrates

vities, there are a number of nation-wide—and even broader—travelling Bicentennial projects under way: (1) **The American Freedom Train**, a multimedia show on rails, will be seen by an estimated 10 million people in about 80 cities before it completes its travels in 1977. Moving conveyor belts have been installed in 10 former baggage cars of the 24-car train, and visitors are whisked past a multitude of photos, film snippets, recordings, historic artifacts and contemporary mementos—everything from President George Washington's personal copy of the U.S. Constitution to basketball star Kareem Abdul-Jabbar's size-16 shoe. Conveyed through the train at a maximum rate of 1,800 persons per hour, visitors will see such displays as a re-creation of an 18th-century New England town together with items of the Revolutionary War era and a car whose theme is exploration, both of the American West and of space. Among the displays: the original 1803 Louisiana Purchase Agreement (which transferred about 828,000 square miles (2,153,000 square kilometers) from France to the United States for the relatively modest sum of \$15 million), and a collection of moon rocks.

(2) slower but equally ambitious travelling project is the **Bicentennial Wagon Train Pilgrimage** that commemorates America's westward migration by assembling 50 covered wagons (one for each state) and trekking eastward. Beginning in the summer of 1975, steel-built, horse-drawn replicas of 19th century wagons plodded from each state (Hawaii's was shipped by boat, Alaska's by air) to join one of five wagon trains following such historic routes as the Sante Fe and Oregon Trails. Accompanied by outriders mounted on horseback or in automobiles, the wagons will roll toward a July 4, 1976, rendezvous at Valley Forge, Pennsylvania, where the Continental Army under General George Washington endured its harshest winter of the war. During their more than 1,000 scheduled evening encampments of the trip, the wagoners will entertain visitors with a musical revue called "The Wagon Train Show", and communities will respond with music, dance, plays or other presentations that highlight the local culture.

(3) The **Bikecentennial** is a plan to map and maintain a series of bicycle trails—using mainly secondary and rural roads—running from the Atlantic to the Pacific coasts; (4) Many of the world's remaining tall-masted sailing ships will be cruising the seas as part of **Operation Sail**—a total of over 60 ships from 20 countries, possibly including two from the Soviet Union. For a number of the ships, the plan is to compete first in long ocean race from Plymouth, England, to Lisbon, Portugal, around the Canary Islands and across the Atlantic to Bermuda, finally finishing in Newport, Rhode Island. The ships will then assemble as a great fleet—ketches, yawls, barks, topmasted schooners, frigates and more—to "parade" down the coast to New York City for that climatic day, July 4, 1976.

NO CITY is more closely associated with the American Revolution than Boston, Massachusetts, and its residents have responded with a great variety of projects and activities. For example: (a) Three major historical exhibits feature Boston city life in the 18th, 19th and 20th centuries. Visitors not only look at the displays, but take part in them as well. In the 18th-century exhibit, called "The Revolution: Where It All Began," tourists are handed a ballot on which to mark their responses to the issues that confronted American colonists in the 1770's. Only after the ballot is counted do

visitors learn whether they would have joined the Revolution or remained loyal to the British Crown; (b) An **Observatory** on the 60th floor of Boston's gargantuan skyscraper, the John Hancock Tower, offers a remarkable panorama of city, sea and sky along with some fascinating displays: a topographical map of Boston in 1775 and a filmed simulation of a helicopter tour of the modern city. In other city locations there are exhibits of contemporary Boston paintings; a multimedia show that recreates the Battle of Bunker Hill; a display of prints, drawings, furniture, diaries and textiles of the 1770's and a film, "Boston and the Sea," that explores the city's history as a port.

(c) Boston's **Citygame** transforms the entire city into a vast exhibit with a network of historic trails marked by special "pathfinder" signs and historical markers. In addition to the famous Freedom Trail that traces Boston's colonial and revolutionary past, other newly blazed urban trails explore architecture, medicine and education as well as the history of blacks and women in the city; (d) On April 19, 1975, the date commemorating the opening battles of the Revolution at nearby Lexington and Concord, Boston celebrated as a collective musical instrument. On cue, bells in every church and tower rang out across the echoing streets

SRI LANKA-AMERICAN BICENTENNIAL EXHIBIT IN COLOMBO

TWO CENTURIES OF SRI LANKA-AMERICAN FRIENDSHIP, an exhibit of photographs, rare books, documents and memorabilia illustrating the relationship between Sri Lanka and the United States from the earliest days to the present, opened Monday, July 12, at the American Center in Colombo. Based on extensive research in Sri Lanka and the U.S.A. the exhibit traces U.S. contact with this country to the earliest known American visitors, merchant seaman from New England who visited Sri Lanka in 1789, the year that the United States adopted its Constitution. Activity in education and medicine in the 19th century by American missionaries is displayed as is the work of Henry Steel Olcott who made important contributions to Buddhist education. A Consular and diplomatic history and 19th century trade lead to a comprehensive survey of the wide-ranging and extensive economic, cultural and educational relations of the present day.

Important events as well as little known facets of a cordial relationship between two countries are illustrated in this informative educational exhibit presented by the U.S. Information Service as part of the "American Bicentennial Salute to Sri Lanka." The exhibit will be open from 10.00 a.m. to 7.00 p.m. July 12 through 24, except Sundays, at the American Center, 39, Sir Ernest de Silva Mawatha, Colombo 7.

of the city. The pealing was followed by a parade of more than a hundred bands playing music especially composed for the occasion. The parade culminated in a massed band concert of more than 2,000 persons in City Hall Plaza that may well have been the largest such musical event in U.S. history. It was a memorable beginning to one city's celebration of the Bicentennial.

THE NATIONAL PARK SERVICE, responsible for 286 natural parks and for an estimated 270 million visitors in 1976, has invested three years and over \$ 100 million in the Bicentennial—more than any other federal agency: (i) The Park Service has produced two films: "Americans and the Revolution," a social history of the Revolutionary period, and "Wilderness America," a portrayal of the land and people west of the Appalachian Mountains in the 1770's; (ii) As caretaker for many battlefield and other historic sites, the Park Service has undertaken a number of restoration projects. Among them: Independence Hall in Philadelphia where the Declaration of Independence was signed in 1776; the Ironworks at Hopewell Village, Pennsylvania, which furnished cannon and shot for the American armies; and the siege lines at Yorktown, Virginia, site of the Revolution's final decisive battle in 1781; (iii) "Living History" programs in the parks will recreate many of the crafts of the Colonial era, from candlemaking to weaving. The Park Service is even building 200 authentic Revolutionary War cannon and teaching employees how to fire smooth-bore muskets so they can re-enact the battles of the Revolution. "This camp life is damp and grubby," commented one Park Service "soldier". But he added: "The experience we are gaining makes it all worthwhile;" (iv) To unearth new data on the Colonial era, archaeological digs are under way in several historic park areas, including Wakefield, the Virginia plantation that was the birthplace of George Washington, and Saratoga, New York, site of the 1777 battle that was a turning point in the Revolutionary War.

Another institution with an extensive menu for those with large Bicentennial appetites is the Smithsonian Institution. Says its Bicentennial planner, Secretary S. Dillon

Ripley: 'A whole series of things — exhibits, happenings, publications testaments to human curiosity and just plain fun—will be awaiting millions of American and visitors from overseas at the Smithsonian in Washington during the Bicentennial year.' For example: (a) Exhibits galore: recreation of the 1876 Centennial Exhibition; 200 years of the design and manufacture of American clothing; "A Nation of Nations", depicting how America was settled — at 30,000 square feet (2,700 square meters) the largest exhibition in Smithsonian history; "America as Art", 200 years of American painting drawing and sculpture; a portrayal of black American pioneers, explorers and cowboys, of which there were many; an exhibition demonstrating the pervasive use of signs and symbols in American city life; and many more; (b) A brand new \$ 40 million Air and Space Museum whose exhibits will trace the history of flight from ancient balloons to Apollo 11's landing on the moon; (c) Several major research programs, including a directory of American painting before 1914 and a 20-volume Handbook of North American Indians; (d) A special Bicentennial edition of the Smithsonian's annual Folklife Festival. As a prelude, in 1975, the festival took place under the banner, "Old Ways in the New World," with participants from many other countries.

(To be Concluded)

* * *

BUILDING A VILLAGE HOUSE—84

That Other-World

By Herbert Keuneman

It is difficult for any as town-bred as I—and I am not particularly town-bred—to realize the vastness and the substantiality of that other-world which to the villager is not only far more extensive than this but also at least as real. It may be that the younger generation (bred to newer fallacies concerning reality) repudiate—no, they do not think enough to repudiate; they are simply spiritually indolent, so ignore—what their fathers counted as real and relevant as their physical environment. But if so, they repudiate—

no, they ignore—their village-ness as well, and ignorance is decidedly a more deplorable privative than even ignorance.

It isn't ignorance (is what I am trying to say) leads to the 'village' frame of mind. Not necessarily. It may, of course, spring from it; but that is quite a different thing. There are modern superstitions. And if they seem less ridiculous than the more ancient ones which the village preserves, that is only because they express themselves in current terms. One can draw a no less erroneous conclusion from an unthinking application of what masquerades as physics—or economics—as from metaphysics. And the unthinking metaphysician is probably often nearer Truth than the unthinking materialist.

To the extent that I myself am of a metaphysical, transcendental turn of mind I share a village mentality. It must be that mentality that set me off dissertating about village superstitions by subjecting me (who think myself above such intellectual weakness) to a typically village emotional experience *tanikama*, 'aloneness'.

I believe that *tanikama* is a technical term in the glossary of the village alienist: be he *vedarala* or *kattadiya*, at this point the functions of both tend to merge. As a technical term, *tanikama* describes a quite well-defined syndrome, for which modern psychiatry has no more insightful name than, I think, hysteria. But there is in the village term an acknowledgement of the determinant which gives the experience its terror: the sudden realization of one's ultimate own isolation, beyond the relevance of any aspect of one's familiar environment. A young girl goes to the well alone and a dusk—she would not, if she were wise; for dusk (and, strangely enough, high noon) is the time for devils to be abroad; dusk is the *mala-ira velava*, the Time of the Dying Sun—and leaning over the parapet, to draw, reflected in the invisible water she sees nothing but endless depth into which she could endlessly fall beyond the power of the visible world to hold her. And suddenly, confronted by the absence of all that she has counted familiar and supporting; by the unreality of all but monstrous immensity; her mind explodes, as her body would if transported into outer space.

Superstition Or Reality ?

This is *tanikama*. And last night, I cannot tell why, I touched the fringe of that normally mercifully— inaccessible hideous territory where nothing but Nothing exists. It was after midnight and I was seated at my favourite lookout and there was nothing to see but the long low lances of the waning moon laid on the dim tank water and the familiar silhouette of the framing trees, and then suddenly— I don't know how to put this— there was less than that little, less than that nothing, nothing but the blazing, burning moon as vast as infinity and as impersonally empty of concern with me. Indeed, what was I had dwindled to vanishing-point: to locus without magnitude. I had better end this totally inadequate, this faintly ridiculous, relation here. I cannot communicate the shock. But I can state the terrifying glimpse of that other-world, that non-world, which the villager knows better than I.

I suppose it is in search of protection from an unwanted enlightenment that turns my thoughts persistently now to the more ridiculous village superstitions: those that from my superior learning I can easily browbeat into appearing even more irrational than they are.

Dinga's feeding of her baby provides me with a few choice examples. Maybe she doesn't, herself, subscribe to the beliefs; but whether for safety's sake or the sake of domestic peace she conforms to the dictates of her mother-in-law who certainly does. She must never, but never, put little Nila to the breast with the baby's hair still damp from her bath: to do so causes bronchitis. I could understand the prohibition if it applied to Dinga's bath and Dinga's hair: to hold a warm baby to a still damp and cold body (for village girls never wipe themselves quite dry and often wear clothes they have just wrung from the wash) might well bring on a chill, and damp hair exaggerate the effect. But the superstition has not been updated, so it doesn't apply to feeding with artificial milk: Nila may lie with no risk at all in Dinga's cold damp afterbath lap and guzzle Vita-Milk to her heart's content. And Nila herself, must be bathed at least three times a day, even in the rawest weather, or she will surely catch a cold.

Again, as a nursing mother Dinga hould by rights never venture abroad but under the protection of a piece of iron. Such as a *gira* (arcanut-slicer) or the house door-key. I don't think she observes this precaution; but whether her mother-in-law has lost faith in it or has simply forgotten about it I am unable to say.

Perhaps iron is losing its talismanic properties. Only the *radi* seem to count on it now; *manuksayek vage-ma araksha katanava*: it keeps guard just like a human-being. 'Nanda (a 'good' caste girl who somehow married into Lokurugama) solemnly assured me. When I first lived in Ehetuwewa, not only nursing-mother but every little girl or boy who sported an ulcer—and that was pretty nearly every little girl or boy— had a small key bound near the wound to keep devils away. Mother's milk is hardly more attractive to devils than ulcers are; for the spirits rejoice to gather round and introduce dirt and even spicules of human bone into the open wound. Yet, the power of iron would seem to extend beyond the merely magical. My *bete noir* Jayawardana Baas, who is a great repository of village superstitions (and whose brother is a science teacher!) is convinced there is no better treatment for snake bite than the binding on of a magnet: to begin with, just above the fang wound, and then progressively nearer and nearer the head, which is where the venom becomes lethal, until finally a small opening can be cut in the scalp and the evil humours allowed to dissipate. 'It draws the blood', he explains.

But Jayawardana Baas knows of at least one other treatment just as good. Many years ago there lived in a cave on Galgiriyakanda a cobra as long as a coconut tree and three times one in girth. It lives there still. ('Have you seen it?' 'No, but I have seen its track: like a dead buffalo had been dragged along the ground.') At Kaduruwewa at the foot of the hill lived a *vedarala* both wise and benevolent. One day in a dream the *naga-raj*a appeared to the latter and begged his succour: some superman (surely) had wounded it in the head. On such an errand the *vedarala* was naturally loth to go; but his great benevolence finally moving him, he

set out; and his footsteps were guided unerringly to the one cave amongst thousands which riddle the 7-mile-long hill in which the mighty serpent nested. He treated the awe-inspiring creature; and on his leaving the grateful cobra presented him with a small brass *sembrwa* he was bidden fill from a spring within the cave, returning to replenish it whenever it was empty. Should any man, the cobra promised, be in danger of his life from snake bite a draught from the little pot would cure him. The *vedarala*, and then his descendants, have employed this healing practice to this day.

'Does the patient always recover?' I asked. 'Always!' answered Jayawardana Baas firmly, 'unless the gods have ordained that he should die.'

But the village gods, once eagerly and regularly propitiated, are seldom so grimly disposed; even though they have suffered increasing neglect. (Today one pins one's faith on politicians; though who shall say that, too, is not a superstition of the rankest sort!)

The tutelary deity of Ehetuwewa is Parakasa Bandara Mutta ('mutta' is 'great—or great-great...—grandfather' and suggests a deified ancestor; but he is worshipped in form as though he were *Aiyana-yakar*: who is in fact, the deity of all the Vanni). A generation ago there was a *devala* in his honour under a large bo-tree half-way along below the tank bund, and the tree still stands and the god's *avuda*—weapons—which are his symbol are still preserved amongst its roots; but when the last 'proper' *kopuva* died none was found to succeed him and the old fane, a tiny structure, crumbled into ruin; although occasional propitiatory ceremonies celebrated by *kapurals* invited from elsewhere are still held and have served to keep the tradition of the sacred place, if only barely, alive. In the days of his power it was, the elder villagers assure me, far otherwise. No man of the *berava* (Drummer) caste dare pass the spot carrying his *bera*—a frequent enough occurrence, since the *bera* village of Konwewa lies just at the bund's far end—but he must stop and play a *paja pade* in the god's honour; else his drumhead would split at the next stroke of his hand. No cart would pass without the

driver's pausing to break a coconut at the shrine, or cart and carters would find themselves flung (*visivenava*) into the tank. And the tank is deep by the bundside!

I have only twice seen the *Ehetuwewa d'vaia*—or, rather, the *devala* site; for, as I have said, no building stands—n use—once when the *Kaduruwewa sarpa-veda*, a descendant of the one I have told about, officiated supererogatorily to bring to an especially auspicious end a snake-bite cure he had undertaken; and once at a Game' Mangalaya, a communal propitiatory ceremony, not long ago an annual custom but now resorted to only in unusual circumstances, as then when an unusually prolonged epidemic of *deviyan ge leda* (D.iles' illnesses—the Geneive is Objective—such as chicken pox: distinguished by a pustular rash) had swept the village. Both took place when my wife and I lived here, in the early 1960s. The other day I passed the site and it was unaccustomedly swept and garnished; but no one I have met seems to know whether this signifies a *devala* revival in the near future. In some ways, and particularly after my last-night's insight into elemental fear, I hope it does. I realize the idea of a multiplicity of capricious and propitiandous gods is irrelevant and foreign to Buddhism and repugnant to Christianity. But most men, like the Great Gatsby, require an illusion to live by. And, baseless superstition or not, the villagers had it once. After my shock my mind went back to a conversation I remembered between my wife and a group of the village boys.

She had asked why the *gammandiya* dogs suddenly howled and ululated as often and apparently causelessly as they do. One of them answered: 'Perhaps they bay the moon.'

'No,' said my wife, 'even on a dark night.'

'Ah, then,' they all agreed—'even when the moon is bright,' she first admitted—they see the *devatavas* passing overhead.'

'But why not in the *kada-mandiya*?' my wife persisted, 'where there are more scraps to quarrel over? Why in the *gammandiya*?'

'Well, naturally,' they replied as reasonably as anyone could wish: 'It is the heart of the village,

where the homes huddle closest, that the coming and going of those who guard them would be thickest.'

I remembered this. And like the dogs, or Jacob at the ford of Jabok or El sha on Jordan bank I had a brief vision of a shining traffic of the upper air, the couriers of a goodwill beyond men's kindness as beyond their power, interposed between my little house by the water and the ravenous night.

IS IT COMING ?

Every Citizen A Lawyer - 2

By An Ex-Cop.

IS AN INDIGENT VILLAGER who has an intelligent son or daughter who has either completed his or her course in Arts or Science or even the G.C.E. Advanced level successfully to be denied the right to read Law and appear in defence of another? Is it necessary that these Rupee-less youngsters should come to Colombo, pay high boarding fees, Law College fees etc., sweat through so many years, "Devil" for a Senior, serve apprenticeship period before they can enjoy the privilege of appearing before a Magistrate or a District Judge? There is only one Law College and that is in the METROPOLIS. In most parts of our Country, the language of our Courts is the Official Language. Why cannot these young persons, who, on their own study Law, be given the opportunity of earning their living in some meagre way at least?

The Honourable Minister of Justice has, quite rightly, pointed out that 'Most of the cases in the Magistrate's Courts and, indeed, even in the District Courts relate to or arise from problems and disputes which are common to rural Society. He has again, with much perspicacity, correctly and pragmatically assessed the position by pointing out that "questions of Law rarely if ever arise and NONE of these matters are BEYOND the understanding of or are incapable of solution by the ORDINARY CITIZEN".

As an Ex-Cop who has prosecuted in the Magistrate's Courts for about thirty years, I can say that

no Police Officer worthy of his salt will dare deny this and agree with the Minister of Justice when he adds that the intervention of the Lawyer only tends to "PROLONG proceedings and INTENSIFY the dispute. I have watched very 'eminent' Lawyers who have levied very high fees, appearing in Court, bullying witnesses and even bamboozling some of the Police Officers who are not very well up in their Law. Some of these 'leading' lawyers have even resorted to "questionable" methods which are only too well known to the Police Officers who appear in Court to conduct cases for the prosecution. I am—if I may in lighter vein be permitted to refer to the story—forcibly reminded of the incident when the Judge cautioned a witness to speak the truth. The hapless and helpless witness, who had been subject to a very 'severe' cross-examination, turned a desperate eye and most appealingly replied "I am trying to speak the TRUTH, SIR but the Lawyer will not let me."

I CAN ANTICIPATE the chief objections that can be raised by those with vested interests, the pundits of the Legal Profession, the 'MOGULS' who claim that pleading for a client is their sole prerogative, and even the doyens of the Law College tutorial staff

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and the GRAND COGNOSCENTES of the Law Faculty of our University. One of them is that a civilian pleader will not be able to maintain the traditions of the Legal Profession, conduct himself with that dignity and decorum of a TRAINED LAWYER. Quite frankly, I cannot think of a more supinely illogical reasoning than this.

Our Legal System, very fortunately, is such that there are Judges of the various COURTS who will not only maintain the highest traditions of the Law but will also ensure most effectively that all participants before them in any proceeding adhere to them. It would be relevant for me to relate how a Judge, who later adorned the Supreme Court, 'quietened' a very famously vociferous Legal 'Eagle' by an appropriately peremptory remark:— "In this Court, Q.C.C. and P.C.C. will be treated alike as long as they maintain the traditions of their professions." I would also not hesitate to relate the incident when a certain Q.C. who had levied his "four-figure fee" on each of the day's proceedings in a Trial which lasted over three weeks keeping away from Court MERELY because his fee for that particular day had not been paid. The Judge had taken his seat. The honourable and distinguished Officers of the Crown who are now most admirably dispensing justice as Judges of the Supreme Court had their taken their seats. The Accused who were facing very serious charges had been brought in.

(To be Continued)

Inania of this, that and the other

Police Policy

By INNA

If you don't want the effect, root out the cause. Simple and plain enough.

The newspapers of the week 1-6 March were all about Police tactics and tragedies, of people who were jailed and bailed all in three -23 days: of questionings and mournings in homes and townships. But

isn't this the way things usually move?

Governments of some South Asian countries adopt repressive measures, police surveillance, legal restrictions and precautions when things are not quite well in the upper regions. Recent restrictive police measures were taken by the Malaysian Government in the wake of youth demonstrations in Sydney when Tun Razak went to Australia.

Governments have become conscious of youth power. Sigman Rhee was overthrown by Youth in Korea. Kintakachorn was sent out of Thailand by social pressure of youth; the Malacanang grounds of the presidential palace in the P'pines were attacked by youth prior to the clampdown of Martial law in 1971. There was a youth uprising in our own country some years ago and the bloodbath still sends up horrors in the minds of many. Student demonstrations took place in Japan, Malaysia and in other Asian countries. Think on, back into history and you will see the 1830 and 1848 Revolutions in Europe all supported by young students and artisans. All is not well since that time onwards. Because greed has increased among some adults, some youth have to suffer to set things aright, perhaps.

Young people are full of zest for life and openness for good. They sense it early and they are critical of the doublefaced hypocrisy of so many adults taken singly and together. Sixty percent of Asia are youth, generally being dictated to, by unseeing men (and women) who belong to the other 40%. Youth, growing, amidst the urban squalor cannot bear to see painted signboards with the words: "Keep the city clean", when really they should have read: "Keep our hearts clean, away from filthy lucre which builds five-star hotels in poor under-nourished and never-to-be developed countries." "Be true to yourself and empty your hearts of evil rather than punish your conscience for emptying a waste-paper basket on to the Galle road."

At Malaysia's BISA III for the Catholic bishops, bishop Labayan, a Carmelite, asked very forthrightly:

"Is youth power something to be suppressed today? or something to be valued and properly channelled? In the drive of youth for

social change where do we place ourselves? Can the youth find in the institutional Church a place for their dreams and vision of society they would like for their tomorrow?" (BISA papers p. 3)

This could be said: these questions were primarily for the christian community. Couldn't something analogical be asked for and from the youth of the country? Why should only catholic bishops be bothered about youth? In fact, Nairobi shows that the WCC of churches too was and is bothered about Youth. Couldn't our local dayaka sabhas, Asoka bank's society, our YMMAs and YMBAs and YMCA's and YMHAs and the forward-looking Ramakrishna mission get down to being on the preventive side of Youth troubles rather than merely on the curative side? It may well be that this is too utopian, but then sociology speaks today of operative utopias, doesn't it? If you don't want the effect, root out the cause. Then, on policy we'll lay less blame at the door of the police.

ENTEBBE

The East is West and the West is West. And the 'twin shall ne'er meet... is a dictum that continues to be valid at so many levels, so many dimensions and in so many matters even today. Take the recent episode at Entebbe. Hijacking is bad. So is the exploitation of poor and developing countries who are compelled to sell their raw materials cheap and buy industrial goods at fantastically high prices: so is the exacting of high prices for technological know-how and unconscionable interest for capital. But what of the Israeli raid on Entebbe to rescue hostages? Is it not worse than hijacking? The USA and some Western countries support the Israeli action and raise a red herring about hijacking. Most third world countries, including Sri Lanka, have condemned Israeli action (those who have not known to be tied to the apron strings of the West). And so the confrontation goes on—and will go on until a new international (and political) order is brought into being.

Confidentially

Colombo's Water

IS IT NOT TRUE that the current water cut in Colombo has opened a Pandora's box releasing all the mini-watergate evils which had accumulated in heartland of the city's Municipal administration? That in this connection, the *Observer*, 22/6/76, had a piece entitled **CITY'S WATER CUT NOW 22 DAYS OLD?** That the report (by Nicholas Candappa) read as follows: "the water cut in Colombo and the suburbs enters its 22nd day today with the situation in Labugama and Kalatuwewa worsening and the hardships of the residents in the city increasing: Colombo's Mayor, Mr. A. H. M. Fowzie, said today that the present situation had arisen as a result of the carelessness of the authorities: 'I warned that it was necessary to bring in a water cut a few hours a day as far back as February this year. He said that the warning went unheeded by certain bureaucrats (who) had remarked that, that was usual every year and that the monsoon would come in on time preventing a breakdown of water supplies to the people; 'as a result of this attitude of the authorities we had to enforce the 20 hour water cut which I am fully aware is causing untold hardships to the people,' Mr. Fowzie emphasised: the throttles at the service reservoirs at Maligakande, Elie House and Dehiwela were now opened to full pressure during 5 am and 9 am, but people in most areas especially those in elevated areas do not get water: meanwhile the Colombo Municipal Council has started a bowser water service. Over 400 such bowsters have been hired for Rs. 300 a day by the CMC to carry water to the people: the Mayor said that there was no possibility of changing the hours of water cut nor providing relief to the people in any other way: 'I think that the water cut will have to go on for a long time before we will be in a position to relax,' the Mayor said."? That there is no doubt that the Mayor has said a mouthful? That readers will recall that immediately the water cut had been imposed by Ministry, the Mayor had told a newsman that a water cut could have been avoided? That he had not at that

time mentioned how it could have been avoided, but many had got the impression that the cut was to unnecessarily made so severe with the sinister and devilish plan of "conserving water for the non-aligned Summit"? That it took a long time more for people to realise that there was really no water in the reservoirs and that the Ambatale pumping was not immediately capable of pumping more water? That it had taken many months for the Mayor to blame some unnamed "authorities" for the present mess? That he has gone so far as to say that he had "warned" the authorities as early as February that the water should be cut for a short time everyday? That his request or advise had been ignored by the "authorities"? That it would have been helpful if the Mayor had, in February itself, made public aware this unhelpful attitude of the "authorities"? That it is not too late even now for the Mayor to make known the "authorities" who had placed such faith in the Monsoon (which has been erratic during the last few years)? That these "authorities" should be placed on trial before the bar of public opinion for their negligent attitude and amount constructive sabotage? That by the time this appears in print it will over 50 days since the water cut begun? That the release of water has been increased to six hours, from 4 am to 10 am? That on June 30, again Nicholas Candappa in the *Observer*, had reported that Acting Minister of Local Government, Mr. P. B. G. Kalugalle, had stated that "Colombo residents will get eight hours of water on tap before the weekend"? That the "weekend" in question was July 3-4, but the water supply had increased by only 2 hours, in spite of the proud claim of the Minister "that he was guaranteeing the residents of Colombo ten hours of water on tap from 4 am to 2 pm"? That the Minister had earlier promised eight hours of water, but on June 30th he had said that it would be 10 hours of supply? That right up to the time of writing these notes, the 10 hours supply is still a mirage-like d'sant dream? The Minister had also told the *Observer* reporter that "we were expecting some pumps and spares yesterday and once these are intalled it would be possible to give Colombo resi-

dents ten hours of water"? That whilst the Minister was making this boastful claim (remember that Minister Kalugalle had once in a speech stated that within a short time Sri Lanka would be one of the richest countries in Asia because of Pesakki oil, Mahaweli waters and Land Reform), officials of the Waterworks Departments in Colombo, according to the same news report in the *Observer*, were 'not sure that there will be more hours of water supply from next month' (i.e. July)? That it is also useful place on record what these officials had told the *Observer* reporter? That a "senior official" of the CMC said: 'This is impossible. We cannot give more water on tap unless there is more rain in the catchment areas'. The officials added that there was no possibility of providing more water from the Kelani River through the Ambatale Pumping Station. He said that the treatment tank was working at full capacity and if more water was to be pumped through the same mains, fish, dredge, etc., would come through the pipelines, (he claimed). That the pipelines had the capacity to carry only 12 million gallons of water daily and 7.5 million gallons were being pumped through these pipelines. It was possible to pump an additional 4.5 million gallons of water daily, but this cannot be done because the Treatment Plant there cannot cope with any additional water supplies', the official said. The *Observer* report, then, went on to report that "meanwhile, leading engineers claim that the present 20 hour cut in Colombo was needless. They say that it could be overcome simply by installing three 12-inch pumps and two 14-inch pumps at the Ambatale Pumping Station. This would mean an additional 15 million gallons of water daily for distribution in Colombo. They claim that the water mains leading to Colombo have a capacity of 20 million gallons, but only 5 million gallons are being pumped through them. The engineers also say that the chlorination of the water could be done at the Elie House Reservoir. This is a 24 hour job and the pumps could be loaned from the government departments?



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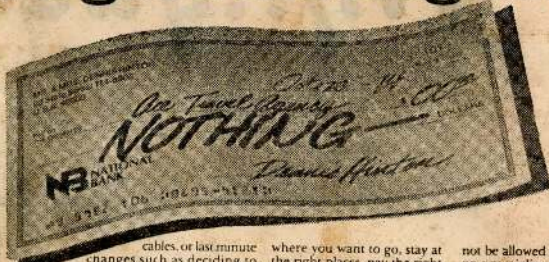
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Who pays?

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

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

Who should use a travel agent?
Business travelers. Vacation travelers. Kids being sent to grandmothers. Grandmothers. Anyone who travels.

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

where you want to go, stay at the right places, pay the right prices and get 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 tickets, he must have received an appointment from the Air Traffic Conference (ATC) or International Air Transport Association (IATA), the International Passenger Ship Association, and others. This appointment requires at least two years of full-time experience in creating, generating and promoting passenger transportation sales and services and at least one year's experience in airline ticketing and reservations.

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

not be allowed to issue tickets on any airline. 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 agents who specialize in the destinations you choose. There are mom and pop agents. Giant corporation agents. Specialists in business and particular countries. Package tour specialists.

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

And what have you got to lose? Nothing.

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