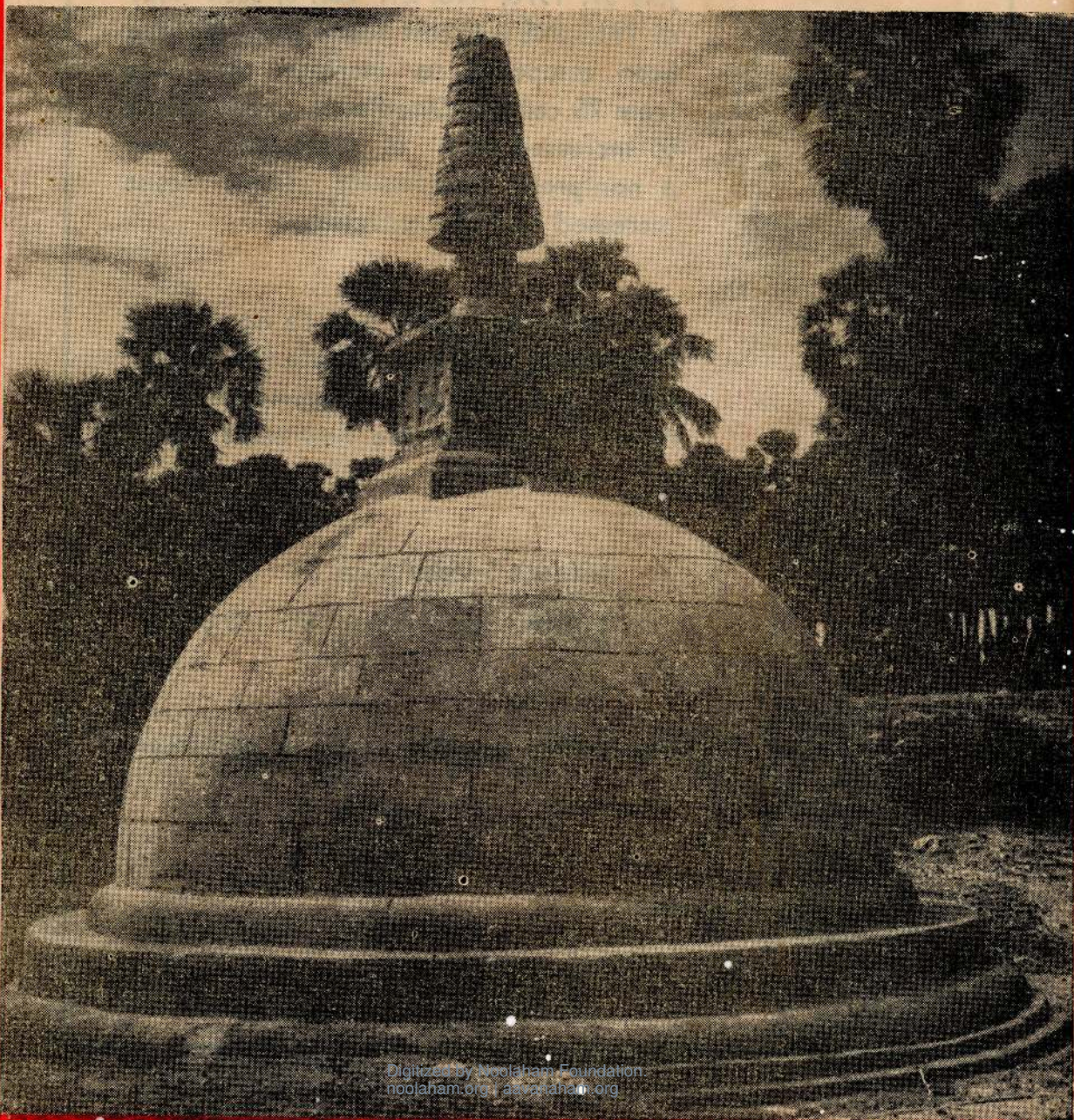


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# TRIBUNE

CEYLON NEWS REVIEW



## Increase of Price

Effective from the next issue, July 31, 1976, No. 21, Vol. 8, each copy of TRIBUNE will cost Rupee One. We have been compelled to increase the price from 75 cents to One Rupee a copy owing to increased costs of production. Even a non-profit undertaking cannot resist increased cost of production.

However, there will be no increase for existing subscribers, both foreign and local, but all new subscriptions and renewals will be at the new rates which will be as follows:

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# Letter From The Editor

ON THE COVER, this week, we have a picture which is part of another archaeological enigma in this country. Last week we featured the enigma of the carving of the reputedly Gupta period *Lovers* in the Isurumuniya Temple at Anuradhapura. This week's cover depicts a stupa uncovered at Kantherodai in the Jaffna peninsula. Vast archaeological remains have been found in this place. There are indications that Kantherodai, apart from being a place where there are Buddhist architectural ruins (in addition to Hindu), was an important centre of trade and exchange — it may have even been a port up a river or a lagoon. What geological upheaval made it a totally inland area, where a civilisation became buried underneath the sands of time, is yet to be determined, if ever it can be. Not much has been written about Kantherodai, and much less seems to be known. There have been speculations galore based on over-simplified history. The Buddhist remains themselves seem to have some unique features — different from the generality of ruins in the South of Ceylon or elsewhere. Some see a faint similarity between some of the stupas in Kantherodai with some of the architectural remains in Angkor Wat in Cambodia. But this game of guesswork will take us out of our bounds and will land us into the same deep waters in which are found jingo chauvinists, who hope that Kantherodai would provide an excuse to chase the Tamils (and the Hindus) out of the Jaffna peninsula on the footing that the area was once Buddhist country. This argument has all the infirmities that counterpart jingoism can invoke: that every area in Sri Lanka where Hindu shrines are found should become Tamil. It is not necessary to dwell on the madcap logic of fanatic racial and religious maniacs, but it would be useful to remind ourselves that large parts of what are today Tamil Nadu and Andhra Pradesh was once Buddhist country: that for over 500 years Buddhism had held sway in South India: that over a thousand years ago, or a little less, the *Tripitaka* and other Buddhist classics had already been rendered into Tamil (in Sinhala the translations of some of them have still to be completed in spite of much State expenditure): and that two of the greatest epic poems in Tamil were inspired by Buddhist thought and action. All this does not mean that present day Buddhists can lay claim to South India, just as Hindus (Tamils) cannot claim the area round Kataragama because it was once a Hindu shrine — although there are buddhist shrines nearby. The Dalada Maligawa in Kandy is surrounded by Hindu temples, but these are the legacies of historical realities and should have no contemporary political implications. Archaeology and history are best left to the field of academic study. It would be disastrous to seek to derive transient political slogans from archaeological and historical discoveries. What good, for instance, can ever emerge from a claim Hindus can make to the present Madhu shrine in the jungle because before the Portuguese and the Catholics took over the place by conquest it was a reputed and famous Hindu temple for the goddess Mariamman. (The fact that the Portuguese sought to propagate religion by force and evangelise through by means of the sword is no reason why there should be a revivalist movement to secure an *ante-Portuguese* era status quo in respect of centres of contemporary Catholic worship. In Ceylon, (in Sri Lanka), civilised life had gone on for countless centuries on the basis of tolerance. There is no doubt that aggressive intolerance, in religion, had come to this island only with European and West Asian Christian and Islamic traders, conquerors and colonisers. Today, Hinduism and Buddhism, which at all times were the acme of tolerance and religious *laissez faire*, have been infected with the intolerance and the desire to conquer new worlds through proselytisation. All attempts to effect a revivalism of the traditional tolerance of the Hindus and the Buddhists will add to the sum of human happiness. Such tolerance had in the ancient past grown from a belief in Karma, in cause and effect, revolving in a series of births and re-births. It was part of thinking of the people who had inhabited the Indian subcontinent before the Muslim and Christian invasions. Rebirth and Karma are scoffed at today and a new sophistication based on the superficial rationalism covered by the pseudo-humanism of an aggressive and individualistic logic has taken the place of the old tolerance which had made life worthwhile in this land. Religious wars, such as those fought in Europe and West Asia, were unknown here and the religious revolutions brought about by Gautamma Buddha, Sankaracharya and others were effected without bloodshed and fighting. And to give a contemporary touch of topicality we can only hope that the Nonaligned Summit which takes place in Sri Lanka next month will help to spread the spirit of tolerance which is much needed in the world of today.

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## EDITOR'S NOTEBOOK

## CRA (Compradore) Capitalists And The Export Mania

WE LIVE IN A CRAZY WORLD in Sri Lanka today. We make much of the fact that we are rushing along on the road to socialism. But many, if most of us, have failed to realise that, instead of eliminating individualistic capitalism and capitalists, as manifestos have proclaimed, we have brought into being a new kind of individualistic capitalism and a new breed of capitalists. We do not want to refer in this piece on the State and Corporation capitalism coupled with the state-run cooperative capitalism which have become a dominating aspect of the economic structure of the island. (There are those who argue that State capitalism, Corporation capitalism and even Cooperative capitalism, such as we have in Sri Lanka today, are a radical evolutionary advance from individualistic capitalism, and it would therefore, be better to deal with the mixed logic and the humbug in such self-delusion in a subsequent article).

For five years now, the United Front government has claimed that it has left no stone unturned and has not failed to pass legislation to destroy the old brood of landowners, estate proprietors, merchants, moneylenders and other capitalists. Tax and fiscal devices were utilised in the most unconscionable and even inhuman manner to liquidate the haves who had stemmed from the old colonial regime and the post-independent era of the brown sahibs. Some of these old types have indeed been liquidated: others have been reduced to poverty and near-pauperism.

But, the fact is that the more enterprising of them have emerged stronger and richer as the central nucleus of a new class which can best be termed the CRA (compradore) capitalists. In fact, they have been enabled to extend their tentacles to nearby countries through the legal and illegal export of capital. The United Front, and especial-

ly the fiscal policies of the ultra-left LSSP, have been responsible for the creation of this vulgar breed of a new arrogant affluent class which has not only established a new empire of CRA (compradore) individualistic capitalism in this island but has also spread its octopus like tentacles over the entire system of State, Corporation and Cooperative (public sector) capitalism which is the pride of the "socialists" of the now debilitated (LSSP less) United Front. The LSSP too had pursued the policy of creating the CRA (compradore) capitalists with rare determination and they cast no stones at the new class in flashy 6 Sri limousines, with the means to spend ostentatiously and freely at the five star hotels—apart taking jet trips round the world ever so often. They are able to import and display expensive gadgetry which the lesser breed of the non-CRA (compradore) people in the country cannot afford.

Having lived with capitalists in this island, and having learned to co-exist with capitalists of different kinds in the world of today, nobody can seriously complain about the existence of capitalism and capitalists. But it is the current humbug which gets every thinking person down. The fact is that the old landowners, capitalists, merchants and traders were not half so bad (looked at from the angle of national interests) as the new class. Their only crime was that most of the old class had tended to vote UNP, and for this crime of supporting political opponents, the United Front has sought to destroy them. Individuals have been weakened and groups and "classes", which were traditionally UNP, have been eliminated, but this was done mainly by creating the new class of CRA (compradore) capitalists (they are already UNP in a big way already!) THESE NEW CAPITALISTS were also enabled to make enormous tax-free profits on governmental licenses to carry on local industries and also export both traditional and non-traditional commodities. Though the State has taken over the imports and exports of traditional commodities, these new capitalists became the invisible brokers and commission agents — truly compradore — to service the

governmental trading juggernauts making big individualistic profits for themselves. The Government agencies have had to jack up the prices of imports for consumers in order to cover the vast overheads needed to employ thousands of political hangers-on.

The situation today is that the consumer in Sri Lanka has to pay much more than world prices for commodities imported by state agencies because they have to pay not only the compradore brokers with governmental pull but also the vast army of young political pensioners-on-the-dole given employment in these government organisations. At the proper time and place the manner in which the different compradore brokers of the new class have minted millions will come to light. At the moment, the scandals about such goings-on have the grown so much that investigations have been ordered into some of them, e.g. the beedi industry and the import of the beedi leaves, but it will be some time more before an investigation of Watergate proportions erupts in this country.

Apart from living on the blood (to use a cliché) of the common consumer in this fashion, or in making millions of unconscionable taxfree money in selling industrial goods at high inflated prices (also doing the country down on the import of raw materials), the worst aspect of the new capitalism is that the CRA (compradore) capitalists have been permitted to export commodities which should never have been permitted to go out of the island. One of the most scandalous of such exports is the export of timber. Vast forests of our catchment and other areas have been exported as logs and otherwise, and today this island has been denuded of its foliage and jungle cover.

Too late in the day did the Customs stop a shipment of logs because the product exported was timber of grade and quality not allowed for export. These exporters of timber have become multimillionaires locally as well as in secret nest-eggs abroad

in addition to getting fat CRA funds to indulge in fancy imports and ostentatious expenditure.

The recent seizure of a shipment of coffee on a forward contract of £ 600 a ton whilst the world has ranged around £ 1500 to £ 1800 a ton for nearly a year has opened the eyes of the public to other invisible dimensions in the export racket. Export should normally be based on goods in surplus, or if people are asked to tighten local consumption in order to export it must be to obtain substantial benefit. But in the case of CRA exports, in most cases, the people of Sri Lanka and the consumers have lost by such exports. Essential food items were exported to enable a few CRA capitalists to make money: gingelly, prawns, coffee, etc. to mention a few items. All that the country received in exchange was devalued foreign currency which could not compensate for the hardships caused by the exports of these essentials and which had caused increased local inflation thereby. Nobody can complain about the export of gems, but there was no reason to grant the exporters tax and other concessions—except to strengthen the new class CRA (compradore) capitalists. There seem to be second thoughts about all these matters but what is the use of bolting the stable doors after all the horses have bolted?

It is time that this country reviews its export policy based on the CRA system. It would be in the national interest to abolish the CRA system altogether. It would be of even greater importance to ban the export of some non traditional commodities like timber, coffee, gingelly, prawns, fish, fresh

### TRIBUNE

In this issue many of our regular features on local matters have been held over. And this is likely to happen for a few more weeks. More has been, and will be, devoted to articles about the Non-aligned Movement. Many interesting articles on the forthcoming Summit, specially prepared by correspondents from the **Tribune** panel of free-lance writers, employed in specialised organisations and agencies, will appear in our pages in the coming weeks.

**vegetables and meat. If tax concessions of a significant and substantial nature are given, it must be mainly for those who produce food items which will reduce the import bill of this country.**

What is the use of granting tax concessions to CRA capitalists who export food items whilst our food import bill goes up each year—the producers of the exported items do not get any over-price: the exporter buys it cheap (after depressing the local market) and makes his money (and the CRA) on exporting them. Government sources do not seem to realise that the producers of food in this country have been deprived of all incentives: and food production is bound to decrease until matters are set right.

The sooner the country adopts a saner policy in the export of the so-called non-traditional exports, the better it will be for everybody concerned. The sooner the Government stops pampering the new class of CRA (compradore) capitalists the better it will be for the United Front. The sooner the obsession that this country can be saved by non-traditional exports and tourism is got rid, the quicker will salvation come—salvation can come only from increased food production, increased re-afforestation, development of the fishing industry (not with a view to export but to primarily at satisfying the local demand.)

The craze for nontraditional exports has reached such limits that the State Flour Milling Corporation has boasted over the SLBC that it has exported a large quantity of wheat bran. (Was it to Singapore not and the Middle East?) Why could this wheat bran have been locally to bring down the cost of brown bread, or cattle and poultry food, or been utilised for a large number of other purposes to which wheat bran could be used? There is no doubt that the export of wheat bran would provide opportunities for corporation officials to make several foreign trips to secure the orders for this wheat bran and this would also have other concomitants which are best not talked about. A foreigner who was recently in this country has told *Tribune* that the number of Sri Lanka corporation bureaucrats one chanced to meet in five-star hotels abroad (mainly in nearby countries) was legion.

Apart from the craze to export unnecessary commodities, this country also suffers from the mania for importing "experts" from abroad to tell us what our local experts can tell us. We have driven most of our best qualified persons to other countries, and then we seek to import foreign experts. A few days ago we had the ignominious spectacle of being told by the *Observer* that an Indian specialist or expert had come to look into our water problem. And, what did he have to tell us? That we have all the water in the world in the Kelani river and what was needed were pumps to get this water out for treatment and distribution. It is just possible that this Indian expert had come only to see what kind of pumps and equipment would help us, but the *Observer*, suffering from this local monomania that a "foreign expert" could tell us more than our experts, overplayed this story.

*We do not need a foreign expert to tell us that at the moment there was water in the Kelani. Nor do we need a foreign expert to tell us that with the denudation of the catchment area of the Kelani (and all other major rivers in the island) the water in the Kelani will decrease year by year and the sun-off to sea would be so uneven that the Kelani would become an unpredictable source of water.*

And inspite of all the hullabaloo about cutting trees and forests and the new determination to grow more trees, the authorities in the city of Colombo and elsewhere continue to cut down large trees with gay abandon. One has only to make a trip round the island to realise that the trees are still being cut down at a rapid rate.



### NEXT WEEK

- \* VILLAGE HOUSE  
—What's In A Name?
- \* NONALIGNED LOBBIES
- \* KANDY PERAHERA
- \* SRI LANKA'S ECONOMIC  
PERSPECTIVES

## July 2 — July 9

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.

**FRIDAY, JULY 2:** On the orders of Mr. Felix Dias Bandaranaike, Minister of Finance, a Bill known as the Control of Finance Companies has been gazetted: the bill seeks to control and regulate non-banking financial institutions in order to protect the interests of depositors—CDN. According to the Department of Import and Export Control, the response by Convertible Rupee Account holders had been very poor under the liberalisation scheme: under this scheme the department listed nearly 60 items for import and so far they have received only about 50 applications—CDM. For the third time within the last six months the Food Department bought 10,000 tons of sugar from Thailand at US \$ 330.50 per ton—CDM. In an interview with the *Daily Mirror*, Mrs. Siva Obeysekera, Minister of Health, said that she would do her best to improve the preventive medicine during her term of office as the Minister: she also said that ayurveda will be given its rightful place in the country—CDM. The resumption of trade between India and Pakistan after a lapse of 11 years was unlikely to affect the export of Sri Lanka tea to Pakistan: according to the *Daily Mirror*, Pakistan had formerly purchased tea from India but since then the price of Indian tea had now increased when compared to the price of Sri Lanka tea: Pakistan will continue buying from Sri Lanka. *Lankadipa* stood by its last Sunday story that the CTB had decided to increase the bus fares during the August summit period though the government denied this news report subsequently: the paper challenged the CTB to deny that it did not decide to increase the bus fares: the paper also carried a photostat of the typed letter sent to the Chairman of the CTB by its operational Manager recommending the increase of bus fares during the August summit conference time—LD. Government will soon request engineers who retired or resigned and went abroad for better prospects to come back: the government decided to bring back these engineers on a promise of better conditions of service with the idea of utilising them in the country's development projects—DM. According to the *Janadina* action is being taken to implement the proposed Security Board Bill even before it was passed by the National State Assembly: the proposed Bill was earlier initiated by the Prime Minister despite the protest by several trade unions: in this regard the government has instructed state corporations and other statutory boards to give preference to ex-servicemen when recruitments are made for security posts. Over two thousand unemployed graduates assembled at the Technical College premises yesterday for interviews for appointment as teachers—VK. Mr. Batty Weerakoon, General Secretary of the Ceylon Trade Union Federation, told the *Virakesari* that they will not hold

any protest rallies or trade union struggles during the August Non-aligned conference: the CFTU is controlled by the LSSP. According to the *Virakesari* the by-election to the Mulkirigala seat may be held before the Non-aligned summit in August.

**SATURADAY, JULY 3:** A country wide operation will be launched from July 15 by task force units to enforce the price control emergency laws in an all out bid to check profiteering, hoarding, short weight, selling spurious goods and all other direct and indirect violation of price control emergency laws—CDN. From today onwards residents in Colombo will be supplied with an extra two hours of water: supplies will be available from 4 am to 10 am daily—CDN. A 16-ton statue made out of bronze in the USSR arrived yesterday by a special plane from Leningrad: the statue weighing over 35,000 pounds and a height of 21 feet was sculptured by professor Lev Kerbel who also arrived with the statue: he was received at the Bandaranaike International airport by Mrs. Sunethra Rupasinghe, daughter of the Prime Minister—CDN. A new movement called the Tamil Speaking People's Rights Movement has been formed by many prominent Tamil-speaking people drawn from all walks of life and diverse political views: the movement's aim is to make the Sinhalese understand the legitimate rights of the Tamil-speaking people without causing any disruption to the unity of the nation—CDM. A team of Malaysian officials arrived in the island and handed over approximately Rs. 8 million inclusive of FEECs to nearly 1300 Malaysian pensioners residing in Sri Lanka: the monies were due to the pensioners under a revision of pensions scheme by the Malaysian government: the team visited Jaffna, Colombo and Kandy and distributed the dues to the pensioners—CDM. According to the *Daily Mirror*, Police proposed to the Government to declare August 13, 19 and 20th as holidays to minimize public transport during the Non-aligned summit conference: top security will be in force from Aug. 8 to 22nd during the expected arrivals and departures of delegates.—C D M. The Criminal Justice Commission (Exchange Frauds) reserved its order in the case against Messrs Razeen Sally and Farook Sally—CDM. Mr. S. D. R. Jayaratne, Minister of Fishing, said that very soon he would establish a Travelers Corporation: he also said a scheme is being prepared to develop the eastern coast for fishing purposes—VK. The Janawasama acquired eight large stores belonging to three foreign agencies and one local company: the eight stores were taken over under the Business Acquisition Law and will be used to store the rubber to be exported by the *Janawasama*—DM. Dr. N. M. Perera, Leader of the LSSP and MP for Yatiyantota, returned to the island yesterday from London—DM. The Ceylon Petroleum Corporation has detected a big fraud involving lakhs and lakhs of rupees in the supply of petrol to aircrafts at the Bandaranaike International Airport: the monies involved are in foreign exchange—ATH.

**SUNDAY, JULY 4:** According to the *Sunday Times*, police officers investigating the recent arrest of a Greek national and three Ceylonese along with sixteen young women who were to be "exported" found out that in an organised racket hundreds of young women have been lured abroad on the promise of employment but have possibly fallen into racketeers who operate vice dens: authorities are surprised that it was revealed in the course of inquiries bonds were not signed locally

for these individuals when they were issued other travel documents: signing of bonds is a requirement by the Emigration authorities—TOCSI. Following the withdrawal by Indian authorities the landing rights of Air Ceylon flights to Sharjah via Bombay the national carrier has suspended its flights to Sharjah: Air Ceylon expressed shock at the sudden withdrawal of landing rights by Indian authorities without prior notice—TOCSI. A major season ticket fraud involving nearly one million rupees has been detected by the Railway Security service: Police too have been called into investigate these frauds—CO. According to the *Sunday Observer* Japan has shown interest in buying packeted tea from Sri Lanka and last week two representatives of a leading Japanese firm arrived in the island and have placed orders for sizable quantity of packeted tea. Dr. Badiuddin Mahmud, Minister of Education, to the *Virakesari* that all eligible unemployed graduates will be given teaching appointments from next month on a "quota" system will be adopted in giving these appointments. The President and the Prime Minister have sent in messages of felicitations to the President and people of America on the occasion of the bicentennial celebrations which falls today—VK. Mr. K. B. Ratnayake, Minister of Transport, has asked for government approval to write off the losses the Ceylon Transport Board has sustained since 1957 which is in the region of Rs. 250 million—ATH. Sri Lanka said that the Public Relations Officer of the CTB should resign his post as he misinformed the public twice during the course of last week. Issuing of licenses to traders under Emergency Price Control Regulations has been extended till the 9th of July and to expedite the issuing of licenses special officers will operate today too at the Jathika Pola and in the Ministry of Trade—SM.

**MONDAY, JULY 5:** Railway services were disrupted in several parts of the island yesterday following a strike over an alleged assault by prison officers on railway staff at Galle: the railway staff went on strike and returned to work this morning after the Police arrested 17 suspects in this connexion—CDN. Mr. Felix Dias Bandaranaike, Minister of Finance, told that he would soon announce the details of a special package deal he was offering to the nation: according to the Minister the plan is directed at bringing down the cost of living, solving the unemployment problem and removing other disabilities currently suffered by the people—CDN. Mr. Felix Dias Bandaranaike, Minister of Finance, alerted all Secretaries of Ministries that three years after the Non-Aligned Conference would be boom years for Sri Lanka? Mr. Bandaranaike also said that there were prospects of massive aid from certain quarters of the non-aligned movement and it was the duty of all departmental heads to ensure that the administrative machinery was geared to make full use of this aid—CDM. Four new Deputy Ministers will be sworn in today: they are Mr. Rajah Welegama, MP for Moneragala (Health), Mr. Senapala Samarasekera, MP for Akmeemana (Public Administration), Mr. Augustine Fonseka, MP for Wennappuwa (Fisheries) and Mr. L. B. Jayasena, MP for Bingiriya (Local Government)—CDM. At the Tamil United Liberation Front's Working Committee meeting held in Trincomalee it was unanimously decided to put forward a candidate belonging to the minority Tamil Community too on the TULF ticket at the next election to enable him to represent his community in the National State Assembly—VK. Mr. Nagalingam Nadarasa, a prominent member of the SLFP, was killed in Urumpirai, Jaffna, last Saturday: two unknown

persons have thrown a hand bomb on him and later he police discovered the body in a mutilated form: in the recent past he escaped death four times when attempts were made on his life: Chunnakam Police under the director of Mr. A. Seneviratne, Superintendent of Police Jaffna, commenced on the spot investigations—VK. 26 people were seriously injured when a CTB bus ran off the road in Mawanella yesterday—LD. According to the *Aththa* the Tamil United Liberation Front has decided to hold its rally in Trincomalee on July 9th and 10th despite the non-issue of permit by the Police. Nominations for the by-election to Mulkirigala seat in the NSA will be accepted on the 29th of this month—JD. Before the end of this year 35 more branches of the Peoples Bank will be established all over the island making the total number of branches 200—DM.

**TUESDAY, JULY 6:** The Ministry of Finance is working out a proposal under which Sri Lanka nationals living abroad will be allowed to open accounts in banks here in foreign currency: account holders will be paid interests in the currency in which the account is held and on their return home they will be allowed to withdraw the money in the same currency in which they had their deposits—CDN. D. Badiuddin Mahmud, Minister of Education, announced that he has decided to re-introduce the system of rescrutinising answer scripts of GCE Ordinary and Advanced level candidates—CDN. The Railway service which was disrupted on Sunday following a strike by the employees returned to normal yesterday—CDN. Mr. Felix Dias Bandaranaike, Minister of Finance, announced that he would decentralise the foreign exchange budget so that people living in the 22 districts of the island will be given the opportunity to decide what they require for their district: this would permit the people to take a decision on their needs like whether they want the money spent on some development work in their district or they want certain specific consumer items imported—CDM. In a report published by the World Bank on Sri Lanka it has been said that the country maintained a modest pace of economic growth since 1972 despite the disruption in the world economy and a decline in volume of imports of one-third from the 1972 level—CDM. Air Ceylon yesterday lodged a strong protest with Indian civil aviation authorities over the refusal of landing rights to the Air Ceylon aircraft at Bombay in the Colombo-Bombay-Sharjah route: according to Air Ceylon the refusal was because the local airliner has carried 145 passengers in excess from Bombay to Sharjah and vice versa from April 4 to 8—CDM. Chairman of Air Ceylon, Mr. P. B. Karandawala, left for Bangkok yesterday for further talks with Air Siam officials to operate a Boeing 747 jumbo jet from November 1—CDM. Government informed all Sri Lanka embassies abroad not to extend the visas of Sri Lanka doctors: the government has decided upon this to bring back to the country all those doctors who are serving abroad without completing their compulsory period in Sri Lanka: meanwhile the Ministry of Health has decided to take legal action against 83 such doctors—VK. Education department informed that over 300 schools in the Colombo district will be closed from the 19th of July to 25th of August in view of the Non-aligned conference—VK. Prime Minister, Mr. Sirima Bandaranaike, in a Farmer's Day message said that school children must be encouraged to plant more trees: Prime Minister

has stressed on this point following the report of experts that deforestation has caused rain failure—VK. Government decided to charge the cost of planting trees from those people who illicitly fell trees along the banks of the Mahaweli river—LD. Mrs Siva Obeysekera, Minister of Health, has taken steps to increase the number of Ayurvedic hospitals run by local bodies to 300 and provide more employment to registered ayurvedic practitioners—DM. Members of the Government Parliamentary Group will urge the Prime Minister to bring down the prices of essential commodities before the August summit: the meeting will be held today—ATH. Sri Lanka has received Rs. 1330 million as long-term loans from socialist countries from 1970 to 1975—ATH. According to the *Janadina* the number of unemployed people in the country in 1970 was 546,000 and now this figure has risen to over 900,000.

**WEDNESDAY, JULY 7:** Government will shortly create a thousand more Grama Sevaka divisions and sixty more AGA's divisions under a scheme of expanding the decentralised administration: according to the *Daily News* this is aimed at opening more opportunities of employment—CDN. Sri Lanka condemned the Israeli action at the Entebbe airport in Uganda last week as an "act of aggression and grave violation of the sovereignty of Uganda and all neighbouring states"—CDN. Mr. M. M. Mustapha, MP for Nintavur, has been appointed as Deputy Minister of Justice: Mr. Mustapha was in the UNP before he joined the SLFP sometime ago—CDN. Mr. Pieter Keuneman, Minister of Housing and Construction, and General Secretary of the Communist Party, addressing the 23rd anniversary of the Communist Party stressed the need for the unity of all progressive forces and said dissension among progressive forces will only help the reactionary forces led by the UNP—CDN. The all Ceylon Buddhist Congress requested the Ministry of Lands that lands near Buddhist viharas should be preferably given to Buddhists—CDN. The Government Parliamentary Group yesterday decided that immediate action should be taken to provide employment for 300,000 unemployed persons and when giving teaching jobs for 30,000 people as decided earlier it should be given on an electoral basis—CDN. Mr. M. A. S. Abdul Adel of the Palestinian Liberation Organisation arrived in the island yesterday to open an office—CDN. According to the *Daily Mirror* MPs who were asked to quit the Sravasti to provide accommodation to foreign journalists during the Non-aligned conference are being paid an extra allowance of Rs. 100 for each day of sitting of the NSA in which they are present: presently, Sravasti, the MPs Colombo hostel, is being renovated. Answering a question by Dr. N. M. Perera in the NSA yesterday, Mr. Felix Dias Bandaranaike, Minister of Finance and Justice, said he had no objection to any investigation ordered by the Speaker of the NSA regarding an appointment made to the Bank of Ceylon.—CDM. Mr. R. S. Perera, Minister of Information and Broadcasting, left for New Delhi yesterday to participate at the Non-aligned News Pool Conference starting in India tomorrow—DN. Department of Fisheries has been provided with Rs. 10 million under a China line credit to rare fish in fresh water ponds—LD. Mr. Lakshman Rajapakse, Deputy Minister of Defence and External Affairs, answering a question by Mr. V. Dharmalingam, MP for Uduvil, in the NSA yesterday said several Tamil youths presently in custody has been detained because they were considered as security risks and several of

them will be released no sooner the conditions return to normal—VK. Aththa in an editorial condemned the Israeli action in Uganda and said the no room should be allowed for international huggery of this nature.

**THURSDAY, JULY 8:** From midnight yesterday the government brought down the price of flour from Rs. 1.10 to 80 cents and the price of one pound of bread from 98 cents to 80 cents: according to official sources the reductions will help counter a steep increase in the price of rice in the open market during the past month—CDN. Following complaints by several MPs, Government yesterday delegated emergency powers to the Director of the Bureau of Standards to enable him to carry out an immediate investigation of the quality of five essential items—soap, safety matches, electric bulbs, margarine and tooth paste: the MPs complained that following price control imposed on these items the quality of these items have deteriorated—CDN. In order to curtail the anticipated loss for the current year the Ceylon Transport Board will reduce the number of mileage covered by its fleet of buses: the targeted mileage of 280 million will be cut down by 30 million—CDM. Prime Minister, Mrs Sirima Bandaranaike, in a statement issued yesterday condemned the attack by Israel on Entebbe Airport in Uganda as an act of aggression and flagrant violation of the sovereignty of Uganda and other neighbouring states—CDM. Mr. Lakshman Jayakody, Deputy Minister of Defence and External Affairs, yesterday said that in keeping with the guideline followed at the previous non-aligned conferences no bilateral or multilateral issues affecting member countries would be discussed at the forthcoming Non-aligned conference to be held in Colombo in August this year—CDM. Mr. Ronnie de Mel, MP for Devinuwara, told the National State Assembly yesterday that the loan of 1,000 million rupees sought by the Minister of Finance from a bank in France through one Mr. Abdul Cader did not materialise and as such now the Minister has requested the foreign banks in Sri Lanka to provide him with this loan on the guarantee that they won't be nationalised—VK. Mr. Ratne Deshapriya Senanayake, MP for Minneriya, yesterday told the NSA that anonymous pamphlets have been posted to all MPs of the Assembly about the personal life of Mr. Rukman Senanayake, MP for Dedigama, and the Speaker should handover this matter to the Police to investigate to find out as to who the persons behind this work were—VK. 12,500 GCE Ordinary Level qualified will be given teaching appointments soon: the appointments will be on an electoral basis and candidates are expected to have at least 3 credit passes—DM. Aththa in an editorial commenting on the statement by the Minister of Finance that he would provide jobs for nearly four lakhs of unemployed youths requested him to divulge the method how this would be achieved and under what terms and conditions.

**FRIDAY, JULY 9:** The price of arrack, foreign liquor, beer and cigarettes went up in price from yesterday: price of all cigarettes were raised by 2 cents: the price of a bottle of arrack by Rs. 2, a bottle of beer by ct. 32 and the price per bottle of foreign liquor was raised by Rs. 10—CDM. At a party leaders meeting Dr. N. M. Perera, MP for Yatiyantota and leader of the LSSP, said that the special allowance of Rs. 100 paid to those MPs who were displaced from the Sravasti should be made available to all MPs: Dr. Perera further said that the special allowance of Rs. 100 for a day of sitting of



the Parliament to MPs who were displaced from the Sravasti has created bitterness in the minds of other MPs—CDM. According to the *Daily Mirror* the food subsidy bill went up by Rs. 271 million following the reduction in the price of flour and the additional income earned by the Government following the increases in the duty of tobacco and liquor is around Rs. 140 million. Mr. Nihal Jayawickrema, Secretary to the Ministry of Justice, has been elected President of the United Nations Association of Sri Lanka in succession to Mr. Felix Dias Bandaranaike—CDM. According to the *Daily News* work brigades would be soon set up in all electorates to provide employment to the unemployed and the accent would be on development and not merely to provide jobs: official sources told the paper that educational qualifications will be waived in recruiting personnel for the work brigades. A condolence book will be kept open in the Chinese Embassy on Monday to enable the public to record their condolences on the death of Chu Teh, Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress, died in Peking on Thursday—CDN. Mr. Pieter Keunenman, Minister of Housing and Construction, told the NSA yesterday that 42,000 houses were transferred to the tenants since the ceiling on housing bill came into force—VK. Prime Minister, Mrs. Sirmia Bandaranaike, told the NSA yesterday that she would issue a statement today regarding incidents at Veyangoda pola on the 19th of last month on the eve of a UNP meeting in which it was alleged that several UNP supporters and an MP were assaulted by thugs—VK. Police commenced investigations into acts of sabotage running into lakhs of rupees in the Galle cement factory: according to the *Lankadipa* this has been done to put the factory out of production. The case against Mr. Anura Bandaranaike, Chief Organiser of the SLFP Youth Leagues, in which Mr. R. Premadasa, MP for Colombo Central claimed Rs. 1,50,000 as damages has been postponed for the 15th of this month by a District Court yesterday—LD. Government approved Rs. 165 million for drought relief works throughout the country—DM. A committee of parliamentarians appointed by the Government to recommend price reductions on various consumer items told the Minister of Trade, Mr. T. B. Illangaratne, that prices of certain consumer items should not be fixed on the recommendation of the manufacturer alone: the committee, for an example, said the price of a cake of Sunlight soap which is controlled at 72 cents could be reduced to 47 cents—ATH. Government Services Trade Union Federation requested the Prime Minister to reveal the contents of the report of the committee appointed to probe into the dismissal of an employee of the Government Press on whose behalf there was a token general strike on February 20 this year—ATH.

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## INTERNATIONAL DIARY

June 27 — July 5

**SUNDAY, JUNE 27:** The Government of India nationalised three heavy engineering units in Calcutta: the three companies nationalised were Burn & Co., Ltd., Indian Standard Wagon Co. Ltd. and Brathwaite & Co. Ltd. President Ford gained 17 of 18 delegates chosen at the Minnesota State Party Convention

and this was considered to be a big boost for Mr. Ford in his contest with Ronald Reagan for the Republican nomination for the November elections. The Ugandan Defence Council declared at a meeting of the country's Cabinet that President Idi Amin has been unanimously appointed as President for life and recommended an immediate strengthening of the President's security escort: in reply President Amin said he was happy at the decision. The agenda for a 12-day meeting, in Mauritius of the Foreign Ministers of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU), has set the stage for an unprecedented offensive on South Africa: the discussions will include a wide range of issues from a possible widening of the sports boycott to the tightening of the OAU's sanctions on trade and communications. *Pakistan Times* accused Britain's extreme Right-wing National Front of provoking racial tension and urged migrants to take it to court: the paper also said that Asian diplomatic missions in London should provide legal guidance on how best to prosecute the organisation. China's official papers, *People's Daily* said on an editorial that Taiwan province was sacred to the people of China and China will liberate it and support the reunification of Korea: the editorial further said I bearing Taiwan was an internal business of China and no outside forces should interfere in it.

**MONDAY, JUNE 28:** President Marshal Tito of Yugoslavia arrived in East Berlin to attend the European Communist Nations Summit Conference beginning today. The Seychelles, one of Britain's last remaining colonies, will become independent today: the present Premier, Mr. James Mancham will become President of Independent Seychelles: Britain agreed to provide Seychelles with £ 1,700,000 budgetary support over the next four years and some £ 10 million has also been allocated for capital aid over the next 10 years. A report from New York accused the CIA for conducting sex shops for foreign VIP's visiting the US: the report by columnists Jack Anderson and Les White accused the CIA of luring foreign VIPs through prostitutes and later filming the scene to blackmail the VIPs to give information to the CIA. Vietnamese newspapers carried photographs of Ton Duch Thang, President of North Vietnam, as the new President of United Vietnam. The Economic summit aimed at a sound recovery from last year's recession started yesterday in Puerto Rico in which heads of seven non-communist industrial countries participated: President Ford the first to arrive warned Cuba to stop its revolutionary activities in the Caribbean. The Organisation of African Unity (OAU) yesterday strongly condemned the recent killings in South Africa's race riots and said it was surprised they followed US Secretary of State Dr. Kissinger's African tour: South African Prime Minister, John Vorster, said in West Germany that the recent riots in his country was the work of saboteurs intent on preventing his talks in Bavaria with US Secretary of State, Dr. Henry Kissinger: he also said on the eve of his departure to Johannesburg that he intended to have another meeting with Dr. Kissinger. Fighting in and around Beirut continued and a Middle East airliner was hit by shellfire shortly after unloading passengers at the Beirut airport: the crew, including the captain, were seriously injured.

**TUESDAY, JUNE 29:** Soviet leader Leonid Brezhnev and Yugoslavian leader Marshal Tito arrived in East Berlin for the European Communist parties meeting

starting today. More than a dozen US Senators had lunch with Rhafik El-Hout chief UN representative of the Palestinian Liberation Organisation in Washington. Delegates of sixtyone countries attended a ceremony in Victoria, Seychelles, where after a period of 160 years the flag of Britain was lowered marking the independence of the islands: the country became independent on Sunday and leaders made it clear that they intended to remain neutral in the strategically important Indian Ocean and not become involved in big power issues. Beirut, once again, closed its airport after a shellfire hit a plane in which the captain was killed. An Air France Airbus was hijacked to Benghazi, Libya, while on a flight to Paris from Athens: the hijacking is claimed to have been done by PLO guerillas had 83 Israeli passengers: meanwhile at the Benghazi airport, Libya sent officials into the plane to negotiate with the six Palestinian hijackers: the plane originally had 216 passengers inclusive of the 83 Israelis and latest reports said that at Entebbe airport in Uganda 40 passengers were allowed to leave the plane. Nearly 50 countries have indicated their willingness to participate in the ministerial level conference on non-aligned news agencies pool to be held in New Delhi from July 8 to 13. The OAU threatened to cill on African countries to boycott the Montreal Olympic games unless New Zealand was banned from its sporting links with South Africa. Four white mercenaries including 'Colonel Callan' were sentenced to death by an Angolan military court for their part in the February civil war.

**WEDNESDAY, JUNE 30:** The river Brahmaputra in the north eastern Indian province of Assam flooded and this left 700,000 people homeless and damage to agricultural crops was estimated at Rs. 70 million: according to reports the water level was still rising. The hijackers holding more than 250 passengers and the crew of an Air France Airbus at the Entebbe airport in Uganda demanded the release of 53 Palestinian prisoners now held in Israel, Kenya and Europe. The seven leading industrial nations of the Atlantic Economic Community meeting in Puerto Rico in a joint declaration resolved to pursue economic policies leading to sustained expansion, reducing unemployment and at the same time avoiding a new wave of inflation. General Eanes, the Army Chief of Staff, was elected President of Portugal at yesterday's elections. British Prime Minister, James Callaghan, sent a message to President Agotino Neto of Angola asking for clemency for the three British mercenaries sentenced to death in Angola by a military tribunal for their involvement in the recent civil war in Angola. India and Iran established a direct satellite link. Indonesia announced yesterday that it has accepted the merger of the disputed Portuguese territory of East Timor with Indonesia. Australian Prime Minister, Mr. Malcolm Fraser, who returned to Australia after a two-week tour of Japan and China, denied reports that his talks with Chinese leaders created a rift with Indonesia. Under an agreement signed last week the West German Government will provide Laos with 580,000 US dollars as development aid. Popular British actor, Sir Stanley Baker, died yesterday aged 49.

**THURSDAY, JULY 1:** European communist leaders meeting in East Berlin adopted a new charter acknowledging the right of every Communist Party to run its own affairs, without interference: Mr. Leonid Brezhnev, leader of the USSR, expressed confidence

that the results of the European Communist Conference will help to pool the efforts to activate the joint struggle of the European Communist nations for the vital interests of the working class. The United States vetoed a Security Council resolution in the UN which would have affirmed the Palestinian's rights to sovereignty in Palestine: France, Britain, Italy and Sweden abstained from voting. Indian Premier, Mrs. Indira Gandhi, arrived in Berlin today for the second visit within one month to a communist capital. Hijackers of the Air France airbus released forty hostages at the Entebbe airport in Uganda mainly women, children and sick people. Foreign Ministers of the Organisation of African countries meeting in Mauritius decided to set up a special fund to help Mozambique which in March applied United Nations sanctions against Rhodesia. Rightists forces battled for the ninth day in Beirut to overrun Paestinian camps: meanwhile an Arab League mediator renewed his efforts to negotiate another ceasefire in Lebanon. Angolan Prime Minister, Lopo De Nascimento, said that talks are being held with neighbouring Zaire to settle their differences. Indian government hailed the reunification of North and South Vietnam. At the London tea auctions held recently Sri Lanka teas fetched good prices and a particular variety of BOP went up to 124 pence per kilo.

**FRIDAY, JULY 2:** Pro palestinian hijackers of the Air France's Airbus released more hostages at the Entebbe airport yesterday and only a 100 Israeli passengers were kept back: the hijackers announced that the remaining prisoners will face death if the 53 pro-Palestinian prisoners in 5 countries were not released by Sunday evening: Israel took the threat so seriously that for the first time in recent years it offered to negotiate with the hijackers: of the 53 Palestinian prisoners, forty are in Israel jails. Senator Barry Goldwater, the 1964 Republican candidate for the US presidential elections, announced yesterday that he would support President Gerald Ford for this year's nomination. The Chinese Communist Party celebrated its 55th anniversary on Wednesday and warned that the party must recognise the existence of the bourgeoisie in the party and of the arduous tasks it had to perform to achieve success. Libyan Ambassador Milod El-Sedik Ramadan was expelled from Egypt after being held for one day for distributing anti-state pamphlets. African Foreign Ministers, meeting in Mauritius, decided yesterday to boycott the Montreal Olympic games if New Zealand was allowed to participate. US President Ford and Japanese Premier Takeo Miki met in Washington to review last week's economic summit held in Puerto Rico and to mark the US bicentennial with a warm endorsement of US and Japanese friendship. Rightist forces in Beirut captured a Palestinian refugee camp: Tass accused Syria of cutting off Palestinian forces in Lebanon from their sources of supply while right wing forces were continuously receiving arms and ammunitions. British Prime Minister, James Callaghan said there were no major problems between his country and West Germany on direct elections to a European Parliament.

**SATURDAY, JULY 3:** The World Health Organisation reported that people with vitamin A deficiency can go permanently blind if fed with a protein diet lacking vitamin A. Iraqi News Agency reported that a coup attempt has been made to overthrow the govern-

ment of President Nimeri of Sudan : the agency further said when the president arrived at the airport from a visit to US and France a rebellious military group with some civilians raced to the airport and tried to seize power : the fate of the President whose aircraft landed at 5 am was not known and fighting raged in several parts of the country between loyal Sudanese troops and the rebellion military units. Soviet Embassy in Lebanon began evacuating its residents from Beirut in a ship yesterday. Ugandan Radio announced yesterday Israel was ready to release "certain number" of prisoners in keeping with the demand of pro-Palestinian hijackers who held about hundred Israelis as hostages in a Air France airbus which they hijacked in Greece : Radio Uganda also reported that French President had suggested to Ugandan President, Idi Amin, that negotiations are being held under the auspices of the UN for the release of "guerrilla" captives : it further said that Israel was ready to break with its eight year old policy of "no-negotiations with guerrillas". Mr. Tara Mukherjee, President of the Confederation of Indian Organisations in London, said that a majority of British MPs are colour prejudiced. Shortly after arrival in East Berlin Indian Premier, Mrs. Indira Gandhi, began talks with GDR President Erich Honecker : Mrs. Gandhi said that India always sought friendly ties with all nations and has associated itself with forces of democracy, socialism and peace. The US State Department commenting on a Japanese newspaper report said that it was false to say that US and China secretly agreed to establish full DPL ties after US November elections. US Congress passed a bill authorising \$ 32,500 millions for armament production. A earthquake in Indonesia killed nearly 350 people.

**SUNDAY, JULY 4 :** Israel negotiating through France with the hijackers of the Air France airbus where over hundred Israelis are kept hostages said that it cannot trace five of the 40 Palestinian prisoners in the country's jails : sources in Kampala said that West Germany, Switzerland, Kenya and France where the balance 13 prisoners are kept named by the hijackers have sent no information so far. Loyal Sudanese troops took back the National Radio from rebellion military units in Khartoum : President Nimeiri went over the official Radio and said that attempts to overthrow his government have failed and life is returning to normalcy in his country. Talking in the East Berlin capital at the Berlin Conference of Communist and Workers' parties in Europe Mr. Leonid Brezhnev, General Secretary of the USSR's Communist Party, called for broader east-west cultural exchanges : he said this would create a climate of trust between states. Indonesia has passed laws to punish by death anyone found guilty of trafficking in drugs or smuggling. Official Middle East News Agency (MENA) reported yesterday all warring factions in Lebanon agreed to a ceasefire from midnight last Friday : this is the 50th time the parties have agreed for a ceasefire and the MENA said this time it was in response of a call by the Arab League. Thailand has called for fresh talks with Vietnam aimed at normalising relations between the two countries. A former scientist consultant of the Pentagon claimed that the US twice tampered with the weather in effort to wreck the Cuban sugar harvest and bring down the communist regime of Dr. Fidel Castro. A television commentator, Howard K Smith, said that former US president Lyndon B Johnson

told him last week that Cuban Premier Fidel Castro had a hand in the killing of the former US President John F Kennedy.

**MODAY, JULY 5 :** Airborne Israeli Commandos swept into the heart of Africa and released all hostages held by guerrillas and killed all six hijackers : the commandos who came from Tel Aviv 2500 miles away from Uganda : three hostages and an army officer of Israel was killed in the operation which took only half an hour : meanwhile Uganda charged that over hundred of its soldiers guarding the airport were killed and President Idi Amin of Uganda urged the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) to take up the matter with the UN security Council : Uganda also charged that 11 of Russia's MIG jet fighters were badly damaged and the airport itself was severely destroyed : In Israel people celebrated the event joyfully and Israeli Prime Minister, Yitshak Rabin, was present at the airport to receive the hostages : President Ford sent a message to Mr. Rabin expressing the American peoples' satisfaction over the saving of the life of the hostages : the Israeli commandos arrived 12 hours before the deadline by the hijackers : they came in three C-130 Hercules transport planes along with Israeli paratroopers and infantry units into Entebbe airport : observers said, earlier assurance by Israel to negotiate with hijackers were only a cover : one of the hostages released arriving at Israel's Ben Gurion airport said first he heard the report of a gun and he thought fighting has broken out between the hijackers and the Ugandan troops guarding the airport : soon after that the doors of the plane swung open and Israeli soldiers shouted in Hebrew "come on home we have got planes for you" : in Israel Mr. Rabin, Prime Minister, said this was one of the long-range military operations by the heroic sons of Israel. America started celebrations on a grand style yesterday on the bicentennial which fell yesterday. In the Sudanese capital of Khartoum a dusk to dawn coup was imposed from yesterday after attempts by rebellion military units to topple the government were crushed by loyal forces. China accused Soviet Union of trying to undermine the struggle of the African people and trying to sow dissension among them. Fighting erupted once again in Libya as the latest ceasefire by the Arab League too failed : meanwhile Sudan called back its Ambassador in Libya as the former suspected Libyan involvement in the last week's coup in Sudan. Italy's Chamber of Deputies will elect a Communist as President today for the first time since the days of the post fascist Constituent Assembly.



## COLOMBO SUMMIT

## Lima Declaration

(Concluded)

**THIS is the fifth and last instalment of the Declaration adopted at the Foreign Minister's Conference of Nonaligned Countries held in Lima in Peru, August 75-30, 1975. This is the concluding part of the PLAN OF ACTION for strengthening Cooperation, Solidarity and the Action Capacity of Nonaligned and other Developing Countries for Achieving the Establishment of the New International Economic Order.**

## (l) Technology

175. A major objective of developing countries is to lay down an effective and viable domestic technological base to secure appropriate technology on reasonable terms and to adapt it to local needs. The establishment of technological transfer centre would assist in this process and would strengthen the ability of the developing countries to deal with this complex process. They should cooperate in setting up such centre and for the speedy adoption of a legally binding code of conduct for the transfer of technology and reform of the patent system. The developing countries should encourage the setting up of consultancy organisations at national and other levels and give preference as far as possible, to such organisations in developing countries, when consultancy services are required.

## (m) New Areas of Cooperation

180. With a view to implementing the recommendations of the Second Meeting of the Coordinating Countries, the Minister for Foreign Affairs decided to expand cooperation among non-aligned and other developing countries to other areas, such as agricultural production, investment projects, development of agricultural institutions, training of personnel, production of agricultural inputs, particularly fertilizers and pesticides, with the aim of making them available under favorable terms and conditions to the neediest developing countries, industrialisation, cooperation in the field of health (health services), training of health workers, production and distribution of medicines and medical substances, cooperation within

WHO, etc.) and the application of nuclear energy for peaceful purposes (strengthening of their role and coordination within IAEA, mutual cooperation in source materials, fundamental and applied research and technology, training of personnel, etc.) and, invite Non-Aligned Countries to undertake initiatives and actions in these areas.

## (n) Future Work of the Coordinating Countries

181. The Ministers take note with satisfaction of the report of the Georgetown meeting of the Coordinating Countries and decide that another meeting of these countries, open to all other Non-Aligned Countries, be held before the forthcoming Fifth Summit Conference to evaluate progress made and experience gained and recommend appropriate measures for action by the Summit Conference. This meeting will be held in Havana, Cuba. The Ministers for Foreign Affairs also decided to include Cuba and Tunisia and any other interested country in a Coordinating Committee for the cooperation among the Non-Aligned Countries and other developing countries.

## (o) International Trade Organization

182. The Ministers for Foreign Affairs re-affirmed their support for the establishment of an international Trade Organization and, pending such action, they agreed that UNCTAD should be strengthened.

## (p) Study of the Establishment of an Assistance Fund for Food Production in Developing Countries

183. Bearing in mind the important initiative of the President of Peru, in his statement, with regard to the urgent need to create a financial organization for the exclusive purpose of promoting food production in developing countries, and agreeing that self-sufficiency in food in Non-Aligned Countries and other developing countries is a guarantee for the autonomy and effectiveness of their international action and, consequently, for the success of their political and economic strategy, the Ministers for Foreign Affairs agree that such a proposal be submitted to a Group of Experts, especially created within the Preparatory Committee of the Colombo Conference in order that it be considered at the highest level at the Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries.

## (q) Organization of Games and Sporting Events among the Non-Aligned Countries

184. Considering that cultural and sporting events tend to strengthen the ties between their peoples, the Ministers for Foreign Affairs of the Non-Aligned Countries recommend the organisation of games and sporting events among Non-Aligned Countries.

## B. COOPERATION WITH DEVELOPED COUNTRIES

185. The Conference considers that, in spite of the lack of political will on the part of some of the major developed countries to cooperate in the establishment of the New International Economic Order, other developed countries are demonstrating a serious political will to cooperate with developing countries which is fully appreciated.

186. It further considers it indispensable that all members of the international community implement, as soon as possible and in its entirety, the Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States in order to contribute to the full implementation of the New International Economic Order.

187. The Ministers urge the developed countries to cooperate with the developing countries in the following fields:

## (a) Seventh Special Session of the General Assembly of the United Nations

188. The VII Special Session of the United Nations General Assembly devoted to Development and International Economic Cooperation, should be of decisive importance for the international community as a whole in the search for concrete solutions to the fundamental economic problems facing the world. All states should express their political will in unequivocal terms to find just, equitable and expeditious solutions, in the UN and other appropriate fora, to problems which have remained unresolved for so long. To this end, Non-Aligned Countries will coordinate their action with other developing countries, in cooperation with all other countries, to enable the VII Special Session to give particular attention to unresolved issues in the fields of international trade, transfer of resources and international monetary reform, science and technology, industrialisation and food and agriculture. In this respect, the Conference took

## Lima Declaration

note with appreciation of the position paper submitted by the African Group. Furthermore, since cooperation among developing countries forms an integral and important part of international economic cooperation, the VII Special Session should also suggest concrete action in this field, including measures requiring assistance and active cooperation of developed countries and international organisations.

### (b) Industrial Development

189. The Ministers for Foreign Affairs of the Non-Aligned Countries agree to continue efforts for the adoption and implementation by the developed countries of the Lima Declaration and Plan of Action on Industrialisation, in its entirety. They also agree to make the institutionalisation of UNIDO effective, by strengthening its targets and ensuring the possibility for the agency to dispose of its own financial resources on a more substantial basis and to promote constructively an effective industrialisation process in which the developing countries, basically producer of raw materials, shall exercise fully their right to process these products and to achieve an equitable participation in world industrialisation.

### (c) Food Production

190. The Ministers for Foreign Affairs of the Non-Aligned Countries considered the need to ensure adequate levels of food production and supplies to developing countries as a matter deserving the highest priority in the context of the establishment of the New International Economic Order. The international community should give the utmost priority to the transfer of resources for investment in projects and programmes for increasing food production in the developing countries. In this connection, the Ministers urged the immediate establishment of the International Fund for Agricultural Development and provision of adequate resources from traditional and new donors of the Fund. The Ministers also felt that the availability of fertilizers in adequate quantities at reasonable prices as envisaged in the World Fertilizers Fund was vital to maintaining the momentum of efforts to increase food production in the developing countries.

### (d) Finance for Development and International Monetary Matters

191. The Ministers for Foreign Affairs of the Non-Aligned Countries

express their concern at the slow progress made in increasing the transfer of resources from developed to developing countries. It was felt that an urgent effort should be made in this direction if the developing countries are to enjoy the minimum benefits of the development process. It is therefore necessary to fix a target for net Official Development Assistance of 1 per cent of the GNP of developed countries by 1980. The Conference also urges that aid from both old and new donors should contain the greatest possible grant element.

192. The Ministers for Foreign Affairs decided that the process of international monetary reform should be accelerated, *inter alia*, through liberalising the IMF's Oil Facility and extending it beyond 1975. Finalising speedily the proposal for a Special Trust Fund and setting up a new discipline for a fairer distribution of the burden adjustment between the surplus countries and the developing countries running payments deficits and reaffirm their strong support of a link between SDR's and development finance.

193. All developed countries and those developing countries in a position to do so, should make adequate contributions to the UN Special Fund, so that it can draw up a programme of lending with effect from 1 January, 1976.

### (c) Trade and Development

194. The Ministers for Foreign Affairs agree that the overall strategy of UNCTAD should be adapted to the objectives of the New International Economic Order with a view to promoting the development in interests of the developing countries.

195. The Conference considers essential that developed countries reduce, with a view to eliminating, on a preferential and non-reciprocal basis, the tariff and non-tariff barriers and other obstacles, including subsidies to inefficient sectors, to the imports from developing producer countries with the view to allowing full access to their markets of the raw materials, food, agricultural products and manufacturers and semi-manufacturers of exports of interest to developing countries.

### (f) General System of Preferences

196. The developed countries should adopt and improve their respective preference schemes.

197. With the framework of GSP and in the context of the opera-

tion of the different schemes, the Ministers for Foreign Affairs agree to reject any coercive elements and conditions which attempt to damage the political sovereignty of beneficiary countries. Non-Aligned and other developing countries should ensure that the system adopted in this respect, as a new form of cooperation, entail the effective elimination of economic dependency of developing countries.

### (g) Multilateral Trade Negotiations :

198. The Ministers for Foreign Affairs urged that under the programme for international trade liberalisation envisaged in the current round of multilateral trade negotiations in GATT, techniques and modalities should be established so as to ensure full and effective participation of developing countries in decision making at all stages and a substantial increase in their share of world trade, through preferential treatment, non-reciprocity, advance implementation of concessions, as well as removal of tariff and non-tariff barriers. All products of export interest to developing countries, in particular tropical products and their processed forms, should be given the highest priority.

### FUTURE CONFERENCE OF HEADS OF STATE OR GOVERNMENT OF NON-ALIGNED COUNTRIES

199. The Ministerial Conference adopted the report on preparations for the Fifth Summit Conference, which are being made by Sri Lanka in its capacity of host country.

200. The Conference also adopted the proposal of Sri Lanka that the Fifth Summit Conference of Non-Aligned Countries should be held from 16 to 19 August, 1976. In this connection, it was decided that the session of the Preparatory Committee at the level of Ambassadors (or Officials), will be held from 9 to 11 August 1976, and the meeting of Ministers for Foreign Affairs from 11 to 14 August 1976.

201. The Ministerial Conference entrusted the Coordinating Committee with the task of carrying out, in keeping with the decision of the Algiers Summit Conference on its mandate and in closest co-operation with Sri Lanka, as the host country, the necessary preparations for the holding of the Fifth Summit Conference of Non-Aligned Countries. Consequently, until the Fifth Conference of Non-Aligned Countries, the Co-ordinating Committee will

also function as the Preparatory Committee for the said Conference.

202. The Ministerial Conference also entrusted the Preparatory Committee with the task of elaborating, at this first meeting to be held as soon as possible, and not later than before the end of the XXX Session of the General Assembly, a draft agenda of the Fifth Conference of Non-Aligned Countries, in harmony with the decisions and programmes adopted at the Algiers Conference, the Ministerial Meeting in Lima and other relevant gatherings of Non-Aligned Countries, it being understood that additional items arising out of subsequent meetings of the United Nations and its subsidiary bodies as well as UNCTAD IV might be added to the agenda at the discretion of the Preparatory Committee.

203. The Preparatory Committee should ensure the timely elaboration of basic documents for the Fifth Conference of Non-Aligned Countries in Colombo.

204. The Preparatory Committee should consult and inform all the Non-Aligned Countries about the course of preparations for the Fifth Conference of Non-Aligned Countries.

205. The Ministers for Foreign Affairs view with satisfaction the offer made by the Revolutionary Government of Cuba to hold the Sixth Summit Meeting of the Non-Aligned Countries in Havana and decide to recommend to the Fifth Summit conference of Heads of State of Government to be held in Colombo that they accept this offer. *Mandate to the Chairman of the Conference*

206. The Minister for Foreign Affairs entrust to the Chairman of the Conference, General Miguel Angel de la Flor, Minister for Foreign Affairs of Peru, the task of submitting to the VIIIth Special Session of the General Assembly of the United Nations, the Lima Programme for Mutual Assistance and Solidarity.

(Concluded)

## NEXT WEEK

- \* LIMA RESOLUTIONS
- \* INDIAN OCEAN
- \* NONALIGNED MEMBERSHIP

## COLOMBO SUMMIT

### Towards A New International Economic Order

Colombo,

THE Colombo Non-Aligned Conference is bound to witness heated debates on the economic problems of the non-aligned countries while considering items 8, 9 and 10 of the agenda. These are:

(8) *Review of the international economic situation and the problems of development with particular reference to the sixth and seventh special sessions of the UN General Assembly; the establishment of the new International Economic Order; the Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States, UN conferences on Food and Population; second general conference of UNIDO; UNCTAD IV, Paris conference on international economic co-operation.*

(9) *Review of measures to strengthen economic solidarity and co-operation among nonaligned countries and other developing countries; with special reference to (a) resolutions of the Dakar conference; (b) trade and aid policy; (c) Agricultural and food production; (d) co-operation on financial and monetary policies; (e) industrialisation, science technology and peaceful uses of nuclear energy; (f) foreign investment; (g) transnational corporations; (h) management of public enterprises; (i) solidarity fund for economic and social development of non-aligned countries; (j) support for countries subjected to foreign economic pressures; (k) consideration of the reports of the co-ordinating countries for the action program for economic co-operation among non-aligned and other developing countries adopted at the Algiers summit and,*

(10) *Measures promoting co-operation and co-ordination among non-aligned countries in the fields of education, information, culture, science and other areas.*

THE MAIN PROBLEM in Colombo will be to arrive at an agreed position on the strategy to establish a new economic order in the context of the general political aims of non-alignment and to agree on measures to strengthen economic solidarity and co-operation of the non-aligned countries among themselves and with other developing nations.

That the present system of international economic relations based on inequality and exploitation of weaker nations by the stronger ones must be changed is not a debatable issue for all the non-aligned countries. In other words, the general discontent with the present economic order constitutes an objective basis for the demand to revise the existing system of interstate economic relations. But there are substantial differences as regards where, how and to what extent the old system must be altered. There is no agreement as to what a new economic order should be and what is to be done to bring it about. These are precisely the difficulties which the heads of non-aligned countries will face in Colombo.

Regrettably the differences of views among the non-aligned have arisen from objective circumstances. The Third World is known for its social and economic diversity. The countries differ greatly as regards the level and mainly the orientation of their economic development.

People now speak not only of the Third World with a population of 620 million, including the OPEC nations and nine more countries, but of the Fourth World with a population of 930 million people and even of the Fifth World, including the poorest countries with a total population of 175 million people, and each of them needs various types and amounts of aid. Besides, one can hardly ignore the fact that 10 developing nations led by Brazil now manufacture more industrial products than the remaining 90 countries taken together or that in Iran the per capita income exceeds from 5 to 6 times that on the average in 25 other developing nations.

But far more important are the actual differences of economic interests brought about by the trends in the social and economic development of individual states and groups of states of the Third World. For, in many developing countries, there is the national big and even monopoly bourgeoisie whose interests have nothing whatsoever to do with the interests of the majority in the developing nations. The Bata concern in India, for example, has far more common business ties and interests with Western monopolies than any common interests with developing countries. Brazil is another and still more glaring example. She

has in general begun to treat the Third World states not as a sister developing nation but as a young and advancing exploiting nation. Some oil producing countries, notably Saudi Arabia, are now turning into stock-holder nations, which have invested their capital in the Western economy and are now anxious that this advanced economy should prosper to regularly bring them profits and dividends.

In this context, it is small wonder, that there should be so many differences of the question of a new economic order. Moreover, there are, leaving aside minor details, two diverging lines of the approach to this question. *First*, there is the line taken by most of the non-aligned countries and other developing nations, which call for a radical change of the entire system of world economic relations in co-ordination with anti-imperialist and anti-colonialist aims of the non-aligned movement. And *secondly*, there is the line taken by the Group 77 (Iran, Brazil, Pakistan, Saudi Arabia, etc.) which refuses to intensify the struggle against imperialism and seeks to take advantage of radical phraseology to bring pressure to bear on the West in order to win more profitable terms of partnership with imperialist monopolies.

Does this mean that the very idea of calling for a common approach to the problem of a new economic order is basically unrealistic and that to do so is to set a task before the Colombo Conference which the latter can hardly accomplish? **This is not so. The heads of the non-aligned states, on the contrary can do a great deal precisely with a view to elaborating common ground for an approach to this problem and the ways to solve it, which would make it possible to bring together with a common idea and aim the heterogeneous and more often than not contradictory demands. This would, naturally, settle a lot of things that contribute to the amplified discord among the developing nations.**

But to begin with, two "concepts" that the West is trying so hard to impose on the non-aligned should be exposed and resisted. First, the "concept of interdependence" or to be more exact, the Kissinger version of it. Of course, interdependence should not be interpreted in a

**way as though we do not wish to see the existence of fairly developed world economic ties that serve the economic life of the planet.**

But the non-aligned cannot be indifferent to the basis of "interdependence", that is, whether it is on equality or exploitation. There is no denying that there does, in fact, exist interdependence between a milking-cow and a farmer but in this chain of interdependence who wants to be a milking-cow? And to perpetuate this position of the developing countries is what the US Secretary of State is trying to do by urging the Third World, as he did at Nairobi and elsewhere, not to disturb the economic order that now exists!

And what are the developing nations offered in exchange for their acceptance of the "concept of interdependence"? Basically nothing at all, except promises to increase, somewhat, the "aid", to make some concessions in the form of granting developing countries easier access to the American market and other promises which do not affect the inequitable basis of the current system of "milking" the developing countries. Besides, Kissinger makes counter-claims. He wants the developing countries to create for the Western monopolies "a favourable investment climate", to forgo the right to nationalise, to guarantee to foreign business access to our raw materials and so on. So, "interdependence" in practice is to lead to a growing dependence and exploitation of the Third World.

American political and economic circles have not hesitated to say what they want. Recently, (on April 5 and 6) a seminar was held in Washington and was attended by representatives of Big Business, Congress and the State Department. The participants, it is reported, had unanimously concluded that "the United States finds unacceptable for itself the very idea of a new economic order", particularly such demands of the developing nations as price indexing, the adoption of an integrated programme in the field of raw materials, including the setting up of funds to keep the returns from raw material exports, a reform of the world monetary system. Thus, there is no room for the Kissinger concept of "interdependence" as the basis for an approach to creating a new economic order. It is un-

acceptable for the non-aligned and other developing countries.

The concept of sweeping, that is, undifferentiated, claims to be made by the developing countries to the entire world community, which the western powers are trying to impose on the Third World cannot be accepted with equanimity. The West has even displayed readiness to accept the Chinese scheme of dividing the countries of the world into "rich" and "poor" states, into "the developed North" and "the backward South", into "a world city" and "a world village". The logic of this reasoning is simple, and from the point of view of making propaganda, sounds strong, impressive and, taken at face value, even convincing. Indeed, since there are the "rich" and the "poor" in the world, then the former should help the latter, without pausing to investigate the reasons for Third World poverty and such questions as who is to blame. This is an approach which can bring no relief to the developing countries.

How can "everybody" be blamed for the colonial yoke under which Asia, Africa and Latin America has suffered for centuries? How can everybody be blamed because Africa, for instance, had to live through a terrible era of slave-trade when every owner of a ship of slaves knew, as Heine, a great German poet put it, "eight hundred per cent I shall get, even if a half is to perish"?

And get they did. And the slave-traders used the money to build up their "fortunes", while Africa lost, according to W. Dubois, 100 million human souls through the notorious "black hunting". And now, the non-aligned are being advised to demand aid from "everybody". This is no more than an attempt to evade the historic responsibility for the colonial plunder. Moreover, this is an attempt to stir up conflict between the developing world and those who were sympathetic and extended a helping hand to the developing nations in their struggle for freedom. This is an attempt to create an image of Third World countries as a "burden of mankind" and as "world beggars".

Can the poor nations win the respect, trust and practical support of the world community of nations and primarily of those peoples who by the sweat of their brow and

through great sacrifices have created their own material well-being, if this advice is followed? Of course, not. There can be no all-purpose yardstick if the Third World are to have allies and get at least partial compensation for the damage caused colonial plunder. And who is to be called to account? The lion's share of profits from the colonial and neo-colonial exploitation has invariably found its way to the coffers of the multinational monopolies. And they are the ones who should be brought to account in the first place.

If one is to assess the problem of a new economic order soberly, one is bound to see, above all, its geographic, social and economic limits. The debate is basically going on between 20 imperialist countries, which are fully content with the present economic order, and hundreds of developing nations, which are totally and absolutely disenchanted with it. This debate only partially, or better still, indirectly involves the socialist countries or to use the UN terminology the "countries with centrally-planned economies". The Third World of developing nations have different kinds of problems with this group of nations. The outward reflection of this fact is that the socialist countries, with the approval of the developing nations and the Western countries, do not participate in current and continuing Paris talks, where a new economic order is basically discussed. Therefore, speaking of a new economic order, it should be clear that this is a problem of relations within the so-called world "market" economy, a problem of the world capitalist economy which has engendered the problem itself. This is the first fundamental factor in regard to the problem of the struggle for a new economic order.

What is the real substance of the problem? It is not merely the question of the existence of "rich" and "poor" countries within the framework of the "world market economy". The average per capita income in Portugal, for instance, does not exceed the one that exists in some developing nations. However, the problems which Portugal has in her economic relations with other Western countries are absolutely different from the problems that exist in relations between the Western and developing countries.

It is not the question of the level of an average per capita income, which is more often than not determined by various extraneous factors. Rather it is the question of the developing nations being not only the poorest section of mankind but the one which has been robbed by imperialism, that it is at the same time still the section of mankind most fiercely exploited by imperialism, that neo-colonialism, as the heritage of colonial subjugation, is trying to perpetuate its backwardness. This is the second fundamental factor to be taken into consideration.

Furthermore, What does the struggle to remove the glaring injustices in the field of international economic relations mean for the developing nations historically? Nothing else than a specific stage in their emergence in the world arena as countries really sovereign, really equal and really enjoying the benefits of independence. The beginning was made by winning independence. The final goal is to overcome as soon as possible economic and cultural backwardness. Therefore, it is basically wrong to try to confine the struggle for a new economic order to a book-keeping type of counting benefits and losses from various modifications in the system of economic relations, to try to divorce our economic goals from our political aims and our common aspirations.

To accept this reasoning is to lose sight of the correct perspectives, to doom oneself to an endless wondering in the dark labyrinth of contradictions and different points of view, and, most important, to lose the things that are common and bring the non-aligned and other developing nations together—for the unity of purpose, in the long run, lays down the foundations for a platform of common efforts of Third World countries which are so heterogeneous.

And now a final general observation. In an attempt to carry out reforms at home in accordance with the principles which they find most suitable for themselves, the non-aligned countries and other developing nations often tend to conclude that their understanding of equitable relations which guides them in running their affairs at home, is at conflict with the laws and aims of the functioning market economy.

Temporary fluctuations of prices on raw materials, pressure applied from the outside to force developing countries to create "a sound investment climate" for foreign companies and many other things lead to a clash of interests and sometimes make it totally impossible for young states to carry out economic, social and political plans in the struggle for a new economic order.

This directly involves one more thing, that is, a desire to tackle seriously the problem of a substantial extension of trade and economic relations with the socialist countries. Although strictly speaking, this problem goes outside the demands for a new economic order, however, in a general way the heads of non-aligned countries should examine the interest of the participants in the movement in going beyond the confines of the "market economy" and lay down guidelines for a study of the practical aspects of this question.

The Colombo Conference will have to deal with a large number of views and specific proposals designed to promote the struggle for a new economic order in the world. The only realistic way to "digest" this conglomerate of claims and incorporate them in a single plan is to sort them out on the basis of the principle of their homogeneity and priority.

The following five have basically emerged now. First, a set of proposals designed to ensure the practical recognition that the principles of economic sovereignty the right to nationalise, the right to dispose of one's own natural resources at will, etc. fully apply to the developing nations as well. This is undoubtedly the first set of top-priority demands and, if they are not accepted unconditionally, there will be no point at all in speaking seriously about changing the present system of world economic relations.

Secondly, the proposals designed to sustain the trend of changes in world prices that has emerged ever since October 1973, that is, following the Arab oil embargo which is on the whole advantageous to the developing nations, including the suggestions to set up buffer stocks of raw materials, to introduce price indexation, etc. To a certain extent, this is



the heart of the review of the present system of world economic relations based on the non-equivalent exchange. And it is of great importance to back up these demands with the prestige and the authority of the heads of non-aligned countries.

The Summit should insist on making the list of raw materials to be indexed. Most of the raw material exporting countries have a vital interest in doing so. But there is a limit to everything, for the longer the list of raw materials to be indexed, the more difficult it would be to set up a new indexation mechanism, which would function with a large error probability. But the question should be settled as soon as possible. Now the demand for raw materials is beginning to show an up-trend in view of the gradual recovery of industrial activity in the West. Their prices are bound to rise. It is important, therefore, not to lose a favourable opportunity to fix prices on the basis of indexation.

The protection of foreign trade interests of the developing nations involves a third group of demands which in essence boil down to the fact that the export of industrial products from the developing countries should not only be unhampered but should enjoy preferences without observance of the principle of reciprocity.

This is of basic importance for the developing countries which are to develop industrially although as of today only a handful of fairly developed countries of the Third World are immediately interested in implementing these proposals. But it would be wrong not to make a reservation that export preferences should not be extended to affiliates of foreign companies or companies with a large share of stocks held by foreigners.

Fourth, Proposals concerning the sources of increasing economic assistance. This problem should be urgently tackled, although there are many practical difficulties. Now only one way of dealing with the problem is being discussed in practical terms and, that is, to double or even treble the financial assistance on an obligatory basis, primarily, through the International Monetary Fund, whose main aim should be to encourage the economic

with of the Third World states rather than to maintain the monetary stability. But there are other ways as well. First of all it is necessary for the Colombo summit to emphasise that non-aligned countries find it wrong to show an undifferentiated approach to defining the size of assistance provided by various countries.

*If this is not done, then the initiative designed to obtain greater assistance may be abortive altogether. Many countries would simply refuse to accept the principle of equal responsibility for the elimination of the colonial heritage. And rightly so. Furthermore, it should be clearly stated what can and must be defined as assistance.*

Over the last 15 years the developing countries have received a total sum of \$57 billion in easy-term loans, while concessional loans have amounted to \$84 billion in the same period. And what is the net result? The foreign debts of the developing nations have jumped to \$175 billion by the end of 1975 and some countries have to pay no less than 50 per cent of their development assistance flows. This is due to the fact that concessional loans and private foreign investments in general should not be regarded as "assistance". This is assistance to the extent that it helps those who invest purely for profit-making reasons. In other words, developed countries should give the developing one per cent of their gross national product in assistance in the form of easy-term loans and not primarily as private investments.

Fifthly, there is a point in actively supporting a set of demands for new forms of providing technology. In other words, it is urgently necessary to work out and adopt a strict code of behaviour for foreign companies with a view to making them to train national cadres, to teaching them handle modern equipment and production processes so that technical knowledge and skill are applied on a wider scale. The first step in this direction has already been made. There is a draft charter of an Information Center of developing countries on multinational corporations. This must be followed up with precise decisions at the Colombo summit.

But perhaps the most important thing that may help bring non-aligned

countries and other developing nations closer together on a common platform with a view to increasing the effectiveness of efforts in their struggle for a new economic order is to carry out measures, proposed by the Coordinating Bureau, to expand mutual economic cooperation among non-aligned and other developing countries themselves. These proposals are designed to double their trade volume in the next five-year period, while stimulating mutual imports, to ease the payment system, as well as to provide for measures to expand cooperation in the financial, transportation and other fields. But the proposals made by the Coordinating Bureau should be regarded as some sort of minimum requirements. The Heads of States in Colombo should support these proposals directing the Coordinating Bureau to pursue them further.

The proposal to consider the question of providing special economic recovery assistance by non-aligned countries to Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchia is an important one. This act of solidarity, will further strengthen the non-aligned movement throughout the world. On the whole, the Colombo conference cannot be expected to provide answers to all the economic problems besetting the non-aligned and other

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developing nations. Nor has the Conference set itself this task. But it will be a success, if the specific economic problems are dealt with on the basis of the principles of the non-aligned movement, that is, its anti-imperialism, opposition towards any manifestation of colonialism and neo-colonialism, and a desire to actively promote a wider international cooperation on a just and equitable basis.

KASSAPA

### COLOMBO SUMMIT

## On The Law Of The Sea

Colombo,

THE Third UN Conference on the Law of the Sea concluded its Fourth Session on 7th May. Although there appeared to be no reasonable prospect of the Conference (which is of vital economic importance to Sri Lanka) adopting a Convention on the Law of the Sea at this session, the progress made would seem to justify optimism regarding the ultimate success. The 156 delegations will meet again in August-September to discuss the revised draft treaty on the Law of the Sea which emerged from the latest sessions. It is possible, however, that a new international Convention may be signed only next year. Mr. Shirley Amerasinghe, Sri Lanka's Representative at the UN, is President of the UN Conference on the Law of the Sea.

There can be no doubt that the question of the Law of the Sea will come up for discussion at the Non-aligned summit Conference in Colombo in August, and these discussions will be significant in view of the fact that the UN Conference on the Law of the Sea will resume towards the end of August. It would, therefore, be useful to examine some of the more important questions of a controversial nature that are likely to come up at the Colombo summit.

In this connection reference must be made to the two articles that have appeared in Sri Lanka in recent months: one was a review in the *Economic Review of the People's*

Bank and the other a series of five articles published by the *Sunday Observer* by Mr. Lal Kurukulasuriya who is a Legal Adviser in the Ministry of Defence and Foreign Affairs. These two articles provide an excellent background to the whole question of the Law of the Sea but sufficient attention was not paid to the controversial matters which are likely to come up for discussion at the Colombo Summit or at the forthcoming UN Conference on the Sea.

In this article an attempt will be made to focus attention on some of these matters. Quotations *in extenso* will be made from the article in the *Economic Review* as well as Mr. Lal Kurukulasuriya's articles. The *Economic Review* set out the general problem in the following terms: "The issues before the Law of the Sea cover virtually all aspects of man's uses of the seas. Do the seas belong to all nations or none at all? To what extent does to coastal State's sovereignty extend? To what extent can a State claim exclusive use of living and non-living resources of the sea? What are the rights of commercial and naval vessels? How are the needs of land-locked and geographically disadvantaged countries to be met? How can the concept of common heritage of mankind be given effect to when the technology for exploitation of sea-bed resources is in the hands of a few countries? How can the seas be saved from pollution? How are disputes arising out of ocean uses to be peacefully settled? For these and other key issues relating to the Law of the Sea there are no ready answers; no ready solutions."

Mr. Lal Kurukulasuriya set out the legal background with a great deal of clarity: "Traditional international law, particularly the law regarding the uses of the oceans and its resources consists essentially of a body of rules systematised in 17th century Europe among a small coterie of West European maritime powers. History records that to them the rest of the world existed simply as a means for the maintenance and eventual enhancement of the quality of life of their ruling classes. This fundamentally exploitative relationship constitutes the basis—indeed "the marshes of inequity"—on which is built the existing international legal order relating to the sea.

If this exploitative relationship constitutes its basis, then surely, the corner-stones of the legal order built thereon are the twin concepts of freedom of the high seas—the *Mare Liberum* of Grotius—which maintained that the open sea belonged to all and open to use by all without discrimination, and its corollary, that a narrow belt of sea adjacent to the coast—which in time settled at three miles from the coast, on the basis of the canon-shot rule—was liable to appropriation by the coastal state. The trend then was to keep the coastal sea at the narrowest possible width in order to open as much of the ocean as possible for the use of "all".

The evolution of the concept of the freedom of the high sea was perhaps a convenient device to perpetuate the domineering and exploitative preoccupation of 17th century Europe. The concept implied that everyone had the right to use the oceans and its resources without discrimination, but in reality it only meant that a handful of European states with large and well-equipped navies could maintain sway over the rest of the world<sup>4</sup>.

Mr. Kurukulasuriya then goes on to point out that in an era when the sea was used primarily as a highway and the needs of society were met with land-based resources these rules were adequate to regulate the utilisation of the sea. But the situation changed very radically in the twentieth century. The overwhelming demand for de-colonisation had become universal and new concepts began to emerge.

"By the middle of the 20th century the process of change had accelerated and the early cracks were beginning to appear. By then, President Truman had proclaimed "The Government of the United States regards the natural resources of the sub-soil and sea-bed of the continental shelf beneath the high seas but contiguous to the coast of the United States as appertaining to the United States, subject to its jurisdiction and control . . . ." thus marking the birth of the continental shelf doctrine. Some Latin American countries like Chile, Ecuador and Peru took the cue from this Proclamation to declare exclusive jurisdiction for all purposes over the 200 nautical mile territorial sea. Economists the world over, were beginning to foresee a population explosion in the latter part of the 20th century and a return to

the bounty of the oceans as land resources become depleted. The technological leap was making unprecedented demands for new and more minerals which were being detected in abundance on the ocean floor."

Whilst Mr. Lal Kurukulasuriya goes on to trace the historical development connected with the attempts to evolve rules to govern the utilisation of the sea, the **Economic Review** article summed up the crucial questions involved in a most succinct manner:

"For the poor and not-so-rich, the Conference offered an unique opportunity to ensure the redistribution of the ocean's wealth in a just and equitable manner, in a manner that would ensure that a wealth would be available to all in proportion to their needs and not in proportion to their technological capacity. The success of the Conference, thus, far lies in narrowing the gap between these two conflicting national interests. This has not been easy to achieve. Each State adopts a position that best suits its own national interests. For the rich countries, national interests would surely be the need to have access to the ocean resources so as to ensure full utilisation of their technological capacity in maintaining their currently high standard of living and protecting it, as well as the associated social system, by all available means, including the economic and military."

The **Economic Review** pointed out that "significant progress appears to have been made on some of the key issues before the Conference." First, the extent of the territorial waters and the related issue of the free transit through Straits. Although there is no accepted maximum limit to the breadth of a country's territorial sea, each state has claimed the right to declare unilaterally the limits of its territorial seas. In fact, at two previous international conferences sponsored by the UN in 1958 and 1960 the participants failed to reach agreement on the maximum breadth of the territorial sea. The **Economic Review** set out the present position after the last conference as follows.

"There was little doubt that the conference has reached a consensus of an internationally accepted territorial sea of twelve miles. There also appears to be a growing acceptance, in all probability as part of a package deal, of guaranteed un-

*impeded transit through and over Straits used for international navigation. This is a principle to which the major powers attached the utmost importance not only to ensure that Straits continued to be open for international commercial communication but also to ensure their naval mobility."*

While most countries, including Sri Lanka, have accepted the twelve-mile rule, together with a two hundred mile exclusive economic zone (over which the coastal state would have exclusive right and jurisdiction to explore for and exploit the living and non-living resources), a number of countries, in particular, China, have not so far been willing to accept this. Many countries, including Sri Lanka have already passed legislation accepting the twelve-mile territorial waters plus the two hundred mile limit for an economic zone.

However, there are countries which have advocated the two hundred-mile limit for territorial waters. China, in this connection, has taken "a special" position. At the UN Conference on the Law of the Sea held in Geneva in 1975, China presented for discussion a "Working Document on the Sea Zone under National Jurisdiction" which stated the following about the limit of territorial waters:

*"A littoral State has the right to establish within reasonable limits the width and the boundary of its economic development needs and national security, and with due account for the lawful interests of the neighbouring countries and convenience of international navigation."*

But the "reasonable limits" of territorial waters are not defined in the Chinese document. In the discussions, at the Conference, Peking's position was made clear. China was opposed to formalizing a 12-mile limit of territorial waters. At the same time it did not advocate a 200-mile limit of territorial waters claimed by some Latin American and African states, but this demand however received indirect support from the Chinese.

It must be noted that the 12-mile territorial limit has been recognized and put into operation by an overwhelming majority of countries although it has not yet been formalized by an international agreement. The 12-mile limit was recognized as

reasonable and beneficial for all countries at the first and second conferences on the Law of the Sea, and also at regional levels (conference of Latin American countries in Santo Domingo in 1972 and also in the conclusions arrived at a seminar of African countries on the Law of the Sea held in Yaunde in 1972). This was also confirmed at the conference of non-aligned countries in Algiers in 1973.

**It is not known whether countries that advocate a 200-mile limit of territorial waters will raise this at the Colombo Summit. This 200-mile territorial limit will do away with a traditional notion of territorial waters and which would mean spreading the sovereignty of littoral states over considerable areas of the world's water surface and this would result in about 40% of the world ocean area ceasing to exist as waters of the high seas, while many sea basins, for example, the North Sea, the Mediterranean and Caribbean Sea would be divided among littoral states and lead to discord and even military conflict.**

It must be noted that from 1958 China had accepted a 12-mile territorial limit. This does not seem to satisfy China at the moment. The new demand may have some bearing to China's claim to Paracel islands and the Spratley archipelago which Vietnam also claims. Another question on which China and some of the Latin American and African countries have taken up controversial positions relates to the question of international navigation through Straits. Among such Straits are Pas-the-Calais, Gibraltar, Malacca, Hormuz, and other sea routes of international significance through which thousands of ships of many countries pass everyday. This passage through such Straits helps to sustain international trade. It is also necessary to mention that the unimpeded passage of ships through international Straits is of a crucial significance to many countries for their defence and strategic interests.

In the "Working Document on the Sea Zone under National Jurisdiction", it was set out: "a Strait is located in a territorial sea, regardless of whether or not it is frequently used for international navigation, is an alienable part of the territorial sea of the littoral state". This argument tends to ignore a distinction which has been accepted in

international law as fundamental; between two categories of Straits—ones used for international navigation and the ones not used for such navigation. The Chinese proposal is aimed at establishing the control of littoral states over such Straits. It is also necessary to mention that in regard to free navigation through Straits there are a number of international agreements: for example, the Treaty of 1881 between Argentina and Chile about the Straits of Magellan, and this treaty guaranteed "free navigation to the flags of all nations."

But the most important question apart from the exploitation of the 200-mile economic zone, would be the rights in regard to the exploitation of the resources of the sea-bed under the oceans not covered either by the 12-mile territorial limit or the 200-mile limit of an economic zone. The article in the *Economic Review* summed up the situation as follows: "the question of who would explore and exploit the resources of a continental shelf is still the subject of discussion and negotiation. Under the system now being negotiated coastal States would share with the international community a specific percentage of the value of mineral resources exploited in that area for the benefit of the developing countries, including the landlocked countries. The most complex and vital issue remaining before the Conference is the exploration for and exploitation of the resources of the sea-bed beyond national jurisdiction. The developing countries, including Sri Lanka, have supported the establishment, by an international agreement of a universal character, of international machinery with jurisdiction over the international area of the sea-bed and its resources.

"The comprehensive powers of such international machinery, it was hoped, would include the power to explore and exploit the international sea-bed on its own or in partnership or joint ventures with a consortium of countries or corporations: the power to ensure the equitable sharing of all benefits derived from the sea-bed among countries on the basis of economic need; the power to control the economic effects caused by fluctuation of prices of raw materials resulting from the exploitation and marketing of minerals extracted from the international area of the sea-bed and ocean floor and the power to promote the

rapid transfer of technology to the developing countries.

"The developed countries, on the other hand continue to press for the creation of an international machinery for the exploitation of deep sea minerals, but with adequate incentives and guarantees for those nations whose technological achievement and entrepreneurial boldness are required for the exploitation of deep sea-bed resources. In the words of the US Secretary of State, Dr. Henry Kissinger, "What the United State cannot accept is that the right of access to sea-bed minerals be given exclusively to an international authority, or be so severely restricted as effectively to deny access to the firms of any individual nation including our own." "We are gratified" he says to note an increasing awareness of the need to avoid such extreme positions and to move now to a genuine accommodation that would permit reasonable assurances to all states and their nationals that their access to these resources will not be denied."

"A number of other issues including those relating to the conduct of scientific research the prevention of marine pollution, the rights of the international community in and over archipelagic waters remain as yet unresolved. It is gratifying to note, however, that considerable progress appears to have been made on these issues too during the past four sessions of the Conference in bringing about a better understanding and appreciation of the conflicting interests involved, which in turn could pave the way for a decisive and final session of the Law of the Sea Conference later this year—"

There are also a number of other knotty problems with regard (a) land-locked states which constitute over one-third of the participants of the Conference and they are agitating for the "right" to territory to transit through territories of neighbouring coastal states to have access to the sea while coastal states seem prepared only to concede the mere freedom of transit; (b) the status of waters between of islands of an archipelago which sometimes can be as much as 100 to 150 nautical miles. Many such issues still remain to be resolved but there is every reason to believe that solutions will be found.

In the concluding part of his article Mr. Lal Kurukulasuriya has

stated the importance of an international agreement on the Law of the Sea so far as Sri Lanka was concerned "A number of factors of immense national importance underlie Sri Lanka's special interests in the development of the new Law of The Sea: her strategic location which requires her to be ever-vigilant of the great dramas that continue to unfold in the Indian Ocean in the context of global power politics; the crowded international sea-routes that skirt her southern coasts, used almost daily for the carriage of potentially dangerous cargoes; a substantial coast-line with a well-established coastal fishing industry for the development of which ever-increasing investments continue to be made, and a continental shelf, the exploration of which has only recently commenced."

It is to be hoped that in the discussions at the Non-aligned Summit Conference in Colombo next month some guidelines will be laid down which will help to bring the forthcoming UN Conference to a successful conclusion.

SPARTACUS

\* \* \*

COLOMBO SUMMIT

## Non Aligned News Pool

New Delhi,

INAUGURATING THE MINISTERIAL conference of nonaligned countries on the press agencies pool in New Delhi on July 8, Prime Minister Indira Gandhi emphasised the necessity "to have more direct exchange among ourselves" and pointed out: "Self-reliance in sources of information is as important as technological self-reliance."

She said that "rather than unguardedly accepting versions put out by news agencies and publishing houses of the western countries, we should get to know one another directly and keep in touch to have first-hand acquaintance with our respective views." She openly charged that the "media of the powerful countries

want to depict the governments of their erstwhile colonies as inept and corrupt and their people as yearning for the good old days. This cannot be attributed entirely to the common human falling of nostalgia. To a large extent there is a deliberate purpose. "Leaders, who uphold their national interests and resist the blandishments of multinational corporations and agencies, are denigrated and their image falsified in every conceivable way." The conference is attended by the delegates from over 40 nonaligned countries. Many more are expected to arrive. India's information Minister V. C. Shukla was unanimously elected chairman of the conference. Prime Minister Indira Gandhi in her inaugural address pointed out to the "extraordinary diversity" of the nonaligned countries but added that "we share a common past, a common present and a common future." Referring to ravages of colonial exploitation which "we have all suffered", she underscored "our vision of a future in which the resources and stock of technology are more equitably shared." The shared impulses, she said, make nonalignment "one of the most purposive and powerful international movements in the world's history". Non-alignment, she added, has provided "a powerful impetus for detente" and that "we must ensure that the trend "is not reversed", for, detente "is not yet an accomplished fact." She called for cooperation with all countries, "except avowedly racist regimes, but let us guard our identity."

The Prime Minister said that in spite of political sovereignty, "most of us who have emerged from a colonial or semi-colonial past continue to have a rather unequal cultural and economic relationship with our respective former overlords." They often remain, she said, "the main source of industrial equipment and technological guidance."

Referring to the European language that is spoken, she pointed out that that itself "becomes a conditioning factor" and "we imbibe their prejudices." Pointing out to the misdeeds of western news media, she cited the instance of 1972 drought in India and the effort it had to put in to feed and provide work to millions of people and charged that "newspapers and news agencies ignored this heroic achievement, looking only for disaster

stories!"

She also mentioned the "concerted and determined bid" last year in India "to paralyse the functioning of government." It was a political challenge which had to be met, she said. But the "western media interpreted it as an onslaught on democracy or an abrogation of our Constitution, which was not at all correct." She added: "Most if not all, developing countries understood our position. Yet many were misled into believing the western versions to be objective reporting."

"The attempt to promote a pooling and sharing of the work of our national news agencies is a good beginning", she said. "We want to hear Africans on events in Africa. You should similarly be able to get an Indian explanation of events in India." In this context she also mentioned that very little is known in India about leading poets, historians, editors etc., of various Asian, African, Latin American countries "while we are familiar with minor authors and columnists of Europe and America." She expressed the hope that the conference will mark the beginning of "a determined effort to rectify" what she called "another lingering consequence of colonialism."

The objective of the conference is to establish a pool arrangement of news services of the nonaligned countries and ensure dissemination of the news of nonaligned countries among themselves as well as in other countries. This is a bold move and its necessity may be judged by the fact that four major western news agencies—AP, UPI, AFP and Reuters—virtually dominate the information media in the developing countries as far as news is concerned. It has been estimated that in our country, we receive on an average about 380,000 words per day from outside while only 14,000 words are sent out from here. Naturally, no correct picture of the tremendous effort this country is making finds place in the western information media.

There are about 50 news agencies in the nonaligned countries but there is not much coordination between them. Neither is there a concerted effort to end the western dominance over the transmission of news. Of course, there is also another aspect to it, That relates to the attitude of the monopoly dominated newspapers which do

not publish much news about non-aligned countries, even if they get it. For example, India has a tie-up arrangement through Samachar with the news agencies of two non-aligned countries—Tanjug of Yugoslavia and Prensa Latina of Cuba. But one can see hardly any news of these countries on the pages of our big business papers. The transmission media too are dominated by western countries and this has given rise to the term "communications imperialism". Nonaligned countries news agencies, even if they try within the existing arrangement, can hardly get through before the western news agencies.

The nonaligned summit of 1973 at Algiers first took up this subject in order to find ways and means of remedying this situation. This was the first concerted effort in this direction. Earlier, in 1972, the foreign ministers of the Andean group of Latin American countries took note of the fact that larger volumes of international information that circulated in those countries were processed by outside agencies. The Algiers summit adopted a specific proposal aiming at reorganising "the present channels of information which are a legacy of a colonial past, and have prevented free, direct and fast communication between them." The Lima meeting of foreign ministers of nonaligned countries in August 1975 further concretised the idea and put forward for the first time the conception of a news pool of news agencies of the nonaligned countries.

This was followed up by the seminar on news media of nonaligned countries held in Tunis in March this year where structural pattern of the news pool arrangement and allied matters were discussed at length. It is this concrete subject that will be discussed at the ministerial level meeting here and decisions taken thereon.

—New Age

## COLOMBO SUMMIT

### Declaration On Pool

New Delhi,

THE Non-aligned Countries have decided to adopt a Statute of the Pool of their News Agencies and to set up a Coordination Committee to take care about Pool activities, says a Declaration adopted here

last night by the First Conference of the Information Ministers and Directors of News Agencies of Non-aligned Countries. The document, which will be submitted to the Heads of State or Government of Nonaligned Countries for approval at their Fifth Meeting in Colombo next month, also provides for the development of mutual cooperation in the spheres of television, radio, film and publishing activities.

Reflecting the substance of the statements by Heads of delegations of more than 60 Non-aligned Countries which attended this important meeting, the Declaration notes the existence of a serious disequilibrium in the sphere of information in the world today. A number of big News Agencies in developed countries are supplying news to a vast majority of the world, now in the role of passive consumers. This is the result of the period of colonial past and domination, the document says.

The Declaration provides for co-ordination of Non-aligned Countries' activities at the United Nations and in other international forums, so as to ensure the early adoption of a Declaration on the Fundamental principles concerning the role of public communications media in the strengthening of peace, promotion of international understanding and cooperation aimed at establishing such an international economic and social tenets as will be based on equality and justice.

—Tanjug

## AMERICA'S BICENTENNIAL

# How 213 Million Americans Will Celebrate their 200th Birthday

by Howard Cincotta

**This the second and concluding part of how US Americans will celebrate their nation's 200th birthday in thousands of observances, which will reflect the traditions and outlooks of individual communities.**

THE BICENTENNIAL has become a catalyst for a host of ethnic celebrations: (a) Wilbur, Nebraska, is holding a festival commemorating

the town's Czech founders; (b) Indians in tiny Sitka, Alaska, have assembled a museum collection on the life of Tlingit Indians in 1776. (c) Charleston, South Carolina, is presenting a series of Founders Festivals highlighting the respective contributions of Irish, Black, Jewish, Greek, French, German, English and Scottish settlers of the region; (d) The Arizona Historical Society has sponsored a travelling exhibit on Spanish exploration and settlement in the American Southwest; (e) The Lithuanian American Community of the United States in Philadelphia has supervised the assemblage of a comprehensive book on the history and culture of Lithuanians in the United States.

FOR CERTAIN GROUPS, the Bicentennial poses special problems. A prime example is black America. "Blacks are not going to be as enthusiastic about celebrating as Whites," says black writer Alex Haley, a member of President Ford's Bicentennial Advisory Council. "They're not going around saying, 'Wow, great, we were slaves in 1776.'" But Mr. Haley still feels certain that Blacks will contribute greatly to the Bicentennial, just as they have to American history. "Blacks have just as intensive a stake in the country as anyone else," says Mr. Haley. Some examples of Black participation: (1) Mr. Haley's personal contribution to the Bicentennial—a book entitled "Roots" that traces his family, through the tales of relatives, old census reports and other records, to an African named Kinte who was shipped as a slave to Maryland in 1767; (2) Two brothers, Robert and Vincent Deforrest, have founded the Afro-American Bicentennial Corporation to stimulate interest among blacks throughout the country; (3) A nation-wide survey of black history sites that may become official landmarks.

TYPICALLY, the planning for America's 200th birthday is not without controversy, and much of it centers on a very vocal, colorful and definitely anti-establishment organization called the People's Bicentennial Commission (PBC). "We think real revolutionaries ought to be in charge of celebrating the American Revolution," says PBC founder Jeremy Rifkin, a socialist and political activist who is outspoken in his criticism of most "official" Bicentennial activities.

Among PBC's activities: —A series of radio announcements quoting some of the more radical pronouncements of America's founders. One sample: "The more elevated the person who errs, the stronger is the obligation to refute him," James Otis, 1776. "In 1976 we will observe the 200th anniversary of this nation. Join with the new patriots. Save America. Restore the Constitution. Write the People's Bicentennial Commission..."—An occasional newspaper that contains a conglomeration of 18th-century graphics' ideas for celebrating the nation's birthday, scholarly historical analyses, and outspoken criticisms of many corporate and ARBA-sponsored Bicentennial projects. —A series of paperback books, among them "Voices of the American Revolution," a collection of speeches and writings by the American rebels of the 1770's.

THE BICENTENNIAL label has been placed on a number of projects that have no direct connection with America's past, but are efforts to improve the country's present and future quality of life. For instance: —The U.S. Department of the Interior has created a vaguely western cartoon cowboy named Johnny Horizon. Johnny sponsors a nationwide clean-up program that includes picking up street litter as well as eliminating pollution from lakes, rivers and the atmosphere. —The U.S. Forest Service has its own environmental protection campaign—and its own cartoon symbol, a bird called Woodsy Owl. —A major effort of the American Medical Association against the disease sickle cell anemia has received Bicentennial recognition. A blood disease that primarily afflicts blacks, sickle cell anemia is being attacked through concentrated research plus an information and counseling program designed to provide early diagnosis and treatment.

THE BICENTENNIAL is also being celebrated with food: —The 1975 National Food Festival in New Orleans opened with the baking of an eight-foot (two-and-a-half-meter) loaf of French bread, and featured scrumptious dishes from throughout the country along with products of the justly famous Louisiana culinary art — gumbo, roast suckling pig, almond torte, jambalaya, and shellfish such as oysters, crawfish, crabs and shrimp in delicate, exotic sauces. —In Texas, the menu was

less elaborate: the state chili championship matched recipes for the tangy combinations of peppers, beans, tomatoes and ground meat that are often so spicy and hot that they can make your eyes water and your hair practically stand on end.

OF COURSE, there will be music as well: — Perhaps the most elaborate musical salute to the Bicentennial will take place in St. Louis, Missouri. For three weeks during the summer of 1976, the streets, theaters, churches, auditoriums, outdoor parks and river boats will vibrate to music of every description: folk and jazz, tunes from the Colonial era and newly commissioned classical works, marches, operas, choruses, ballets, traditional Indian dances and experimental electronic compositions. — The Soviet Union staged a musical tribute to the Bicentennial with the first U.S. tour ever of the noted Bolshoi Opera. Appearing in New York City and Washington, D.C., the Opera performed such enduring classics as *Boris Godunov* by Mussorgsky and *War and Peace* by Prokofiev. Interestingly, both the Bolshoi opera and ballet companies were founded in the same year as the United States: 1776. — A special opera for children called *The Duel*, commissioned by the Metropolitan Opera Guild, dramatizes the conflict between two important figures of the Revolutionary War era, Alexander Hamilton and Aaron Burr — Barre, Vermont, will host a national oldtime fiddlers' contest. — The National Endowment for the Arts has commissioned about 300 original musical compositions: one example: a special Bicentennial piano concerto by Pulitzer Prize-winning composer Charles Wuorinen for the New York Philharmonic Orchestra.

VERY LITTLE ESCAPES the eye of television in the United States, and the Bicentennial is no exception: — One of the most original TV productions is a series of nightly 60 second vignettes that began on July 4, 1974, and will continue until July 4, 1976. Sponsored by Shell Oil Company and called "Bicentennial Minutes," each program — narrated by an actor, government official, author or other well-known figure — presents a historical event that occurred exactly 200 years before the date of the telecast. Some of the incidents are quite famous, others obscure. The goal, says the series' executive producer

Lewis Freedman, is "to humanize the period and the people who lived it." — There have been a number of full-length historical television programs, among them dramatized episodes in the life of Benjamin Franklin and the lives of the Adams family, which produced two American presidents. — Another major project is a six-part series by James Michener, author of such bestsellers as "Hawaii" and "The Source," that traces a fictional family from the 1820's to the present as it moves from the East to a midwestern farming community that gradually evolves into an industrial center. — On July 4, 1976, one network (NBC) will follow the sun across the United States for 16 consecutive hours to record how different communities celebrate the day in a program called "Happy Birthday to Us".

THERE WILL BE celebrations in American theaters as well: — A number of major regional American theaters will tour the United States and visit several foreign nations. — A planned World Theater Festival will bring over 40 international theater groups to the United States. A listing of the groups under consideration hints at the theatrical experiences awaiting audiences first in New York and then in 13 other major American cities: the National Theater and Royal Shakespeare Company of Great Britain, France's Comedie Francaise, the Vienna Burgtheater, the National Theater of Oslo, theaters from Genoa and Milan, the Habimah and Cameri Theaters of Israel, the Schiller Theater of Berlin, Kabuki Theater of Japan, Yugoslav Drama Theater of Belgrade, and Narodni Divadlo, the national theater of Prague. "We plan to record as much as possible on videotape," comments Broadway producer Alexander H. Cohen, executive director of the festival. "Then we can have a record of world theater in the second half of the 20th century."

But acting is not limited to television or the theater. The demand for powdered wigs and old-fashioned muskets has boomed as Americans seek to re-create the institutions and events of the past. Some examples: — Re-enactments of battles from Lexington in 1775 to the British defeat at Yorktown, Virginia, in 1781. — A re-enactment of the rides of the Pony Express — the service that carried mail westward

before the telegraph — will cover some 2,000 miles (3,200 kilometers) from St. Louis, Missouri, to Sacramento, California. — Political leaders from the 13 original states re-created the historic 1774 meeting of the First Continental Congress that adopted a list of the colonies' grievances against the British Crown. — Iowa has built three living history farms that attempt to duplicate as closely as possible a pioneer farm of the 1840's complete with oxen, a homestead or horse farm circa 1900, and a farm of the future that utilizes the most contemporary technology and production techniques.

MEANWHILE, communities across the country — large and small — have spawned a number of Bicentennial projects that go beyond pageants and parades: — Mountainside, New Jersey, will bury a time capsule, stuffed with contemporary documents and artifacts, to be opened in 100 years. — Near Greenville, North Carolina, investigators are exploring a ship-wreck in a local river that may prove to be a well-preserved Civil War gunboat of the 1860's. — The small town of Deadwood, South Dakota, is celebrating its local Centennial as well as the national Bicentennial with projects ranging from the prosaic (a renovation of Main Street) to the romantic (an elegant Centennial Ball). — The big project in Kodiak, Alaska, is restoring Erskine House, an office and fur warehouse built in 1794 that is the oldest Russian building standing in the United States. — Hawaiians are building a 60-foot (18-meter) sailing canoes which a crew of 24 will sail to Tahiti and back to demonstrate how the Polynesians of the South Pacific discovered the Hawaiian Islands.

In Los Angeles, a collection of actors, comedians, athletes and other well-known people are designing and sewing a Bicentennial Celebrity Quilt. — Bedford, Indiana, noted for its limestone, is going to use a big chunk of it to sculpt a 21-foot (six-meter) statue of George Washington. — Residents of Brea, California, are distributing the seeds of the state flower, the golden poppy, to every home in the area. — Silver City, Nevada, is refurbishing its cemetery, which has many old graves, some dating back to 19th century frontier days. — A paddle-wheel steamboat will take theatrical productions to small towns along the Mississippi River.

As energetic, diversified and bewildering as the nation itself, the American Bicentennial seems big enough to encompass just about every sort of celebration—from the Freedom Train to the radical pronouncements of the People's Bicentennial Commission, from the world's biggest fireworks display planned for New York City to a clean-up campaign in rural Harrodsburg, Kentucky. In sum, the Bicentennial has something for everyone.



ON A TEA ESTATE—3

## Brae Gap

By Ina Trimmer

This is the third instalment of life on a lonely tea estate forty years ago—but this article is still about the first journey to the place way up in the Knuckles Group.

WITH a bound, Mary leapt over the ditch and clattered up the towering hillside. Not to be outdone my chair coolies followed, swinging me over from left shoulder to right as if I was bag of potatoes. The box carriers straggled behind. Quickly I closed my umbrella and clung on to the poles. Steep! No wonder lizards could creep up walls if human beings kept a fasthold on such verticality. Deep gulleys scarred the hillsides, large rocks blocked our way. But nothing daunted, my coolies sprang from boulder to boulder, over ditches and hollows, panting their way, up and up. It was useless holding my breath. It was too long a performance. The higher we climbed the "sheerer" was the hillside and the more oblique my position, for the two coolies in front were far above those behind. My feet were up far above my head, but I was past caring. I gave myself up to the horror of the hour, but weakly protested every now and again with a faint "Nillu" (stop) to which no one paid attention. My knowledge of Tamil was nil or, shall we say *Nillu*, for I had lived all my life in Sinhalese country. But *Nillu* I knew and said it unavailingly, but often.

As we rose we left a belt of newly planted gums behind and weird, gnarled, stunted forest trees

took their place. Centuries of gales that sweep up these hillsides had twisted their branches out of all normal shape and their strange tortured forms bore witness to their sufferings. Grey moss covered each trunk and floated out in the breeze like malted hanks of witches' hair. My husband had dismounted and I could see him waiting for me where the steepness flattened out into a narrow path.

"Would you like to get out and rest a bit?" he called.

I agreed gladly. The coolies lowered the chair and he helped me out as I stepped shakily over the pole.

"Well M'lady, how's that for an initiation?"

"The acid test", I gasped.

With twinkling eyes he looked at me. "There's more coming".

"Heavens", I said as I sank on to a nearby boulder. "More climbing?"

"N-o-o! We're more or less on the flat now, but get up and look round and say goodbye to civilization for a time."

I rose and joined him. From the eminence on which we stood half Ceylon was at our feet. Range upon range of mountains their craggy escarpments descending with steady diminuendo until they flattened out into plains that ended in the sea. This shone in the rays of the afternoon sun with such brilliance that the eye found it difficult to take it all in. Slightly on the left, Adam's Peak held pride of place, the holy mountain of Ceylon, its clear-cut cone held high into the clouds. On the right crouched Yakdesa Gata from whose summit Kuvenci cursed Vijaya for his faithlessness, one of the many rocky heights of Kurunegala, conspicuous against the horizon, a petrified fabulous monster. I gazed and gazed on this picture displayed as it were for us alone, till my husband awoke me to realities.

"Isn't that Bible Rock in the foreground?" I asked.

"Yes, what about it? We have still a long way to go. I am afraid we must hurry on."

We turned reluctantly from that effulgence in the West. I climbed back into my chair to face a belt of heavy jungle, which he led the way again on Mary, the white mare. Literally, I held my breach as the

chair coolies picked their way along a narrow path cut into the hillside which fell abruptly into a deep ravine. Far below, almost hidden by undergrowth, a mountain torrent cascaded over blackened slimy rocks. The path itself was no less slimy. Not a ray of sunshine could ever penetrate through that matted umbrage of forest treet. We padded along through a tunnel of living green without slackening speed. I peered over the sides of my chair watching each step uneasily.

And then I saw them! Leeches! Leeches in numbers such as I had never seen before, never could have imagined. Hordes! Millions! Swarming on each damp leaf, waving in the air as they sniffed blood or hurriedly measuring up to great the legs of my poor men. Already they were bleeding but did it worry them? Oblivious of the onslaught they continued on their way. I snuggled into my chair thanking God for its security. This macabre scene was heightened by the cacophony of all the insect world, cicadas shrilling away as if each one was determined to drown the music of the rest. My husband greeted me as we emerged at last into the sunlight, now fast fading because in the hill country sunset comes earlier than in the plains. Evening shadows were already darkening the forest-covered hills.

"Here we are at Brae Gap, 5000 ft. above sea level".

"Have I been carried up 2000 ft.?" I asked, "Weren't we 3000 ft. just below that terrible climb?"

He nodded "Yes. Not a bad effort on the part of your coolies".

"What about me? Haven't I done well."

"Go on with you. Riding in state like a Roman matron in her litter. Anyway we are halfway home, so cheer up M'lady".

BRAE GAP is a well known landmark, a narrow incision in the great massif that divides the North Central Province (N.C.P.) from the Central Province (C.P.). It is marked on every map, a deep V carved into the high hills, when as yet the world was in the making, by the cataclysmic forces that raised these mountains and flattened the valleys. Clearly can it be seen from the Rest-house at Polonnaruwa where in the blue distance the high peaks surge upwards to the sky. Seen from afar this mighty range is hardly



## In A Lonely Tea Estate

more solid than a bank of clouds, but clean cut is the notch, the gateway left by Nature; Brae Gap. I continued to sit in my chair while the coolies stamped their feet trying to get rid of the leeches that hung on.

"Come", said my husband "Get off that dizzy height."

I shivered and drew back.

"I'd rather stay where I am."

"No, you don't", he laughed. "I've something to show you. Besides, give the poor men a chance to scrape off their leeches. Out you come." No sooner was the chair laid down than I jumped off and ran, picking up my dress, into the little hut that stood on the crest of the Gap.

"Now, now! Don't give the boys a treat."

The "boys" were far too engrossed scraping off their leeches to look at me. I stood in the shelter of the hut and watched them. They were bleeding profusely but they didn't seem to mind much. The leeches that were set free were waving about frantically in search of further prey. I retreated into the one little room of the hut for safety from the blood-thirsty creatures.

"What's this hut for?", I called out.

"It's a shelter for the coolies when the ropeway is worked. Two or three men are stationed up here to take the goods as they come up from Brae and swing the carriers on to the line that goes down from here to the *Kambiaddi*. See that big wheel close to the ground? It's that which controls the two sides of the ropeway, up from Brae and down to the *Kambiaddi*.

"It's cold". I said, shivering in my thin frock.

"What would you expect? We are over 5,000 feet above sea level here. Some of these little hills round us are really amongst the highest mountains in Ceylon".

I put on a cardigan and plucked up courage to go outside.

"Whew", said my husband, "It's parky," and taking my arm ran me down the slope to the path below the hut. "Let's go on. We'll walk a short distance. It'll do you good. The coolies will follow with the chair."

Gingerly I stepped out. "Don't be afraid. This is a gravel path. you won't find leeches here." The

strange stunted jungle was all around, quiescent under a heavy elemental hand. The stillness of lonely places enclosed us, oppressive as a tomb.

As we walked along I noticed in the side of the hill, in a little cutting, something alien to the surroundings. "It's that a shrine?", I asked. A rough stone slab did duty as a sacrificial altar. Flowers and a broken coconut lay on it. Above stood a crude, black, iron trident.

"Yes, it's a shrine put up by my coolies. To them the Gap is an awesome place, and they break a coconut here and offer it to the gods for a safe return to their homes. You are lucky crossing it for the first time in April but you'll know all about it in a month later."

"It's an eerie spot." Even as I spoke a great white cloud descended on us, enveloped us like a heavy mist, then passed on blotting out the forest trees. We walked on, rounded a hillock; and there far below, shimmering in the evening sunlight lay the whole of the N.C.P.

"See that patch of silver on the extreme right? That's *Topewewa* near *Polonnaruwa*. And there's the *Ambanganga* and further on the *Mahaveli*."

"It's all flat as your hand."

It was indeed so, Where we had looked before on mighty mountain ranges, here on the further side of the Gap Ceylon lay prostrate.

"We must move on," said my husband.

"Where's your horse?", I asked.

"Gone on ahead. I never ride downhill."

My chair coolies came forward with shining smiles. *Dōraisani* they said pointing to the chair that had been laid down for me to get it.

"Short cut" said my husband decisively. Then to the coolies: *Kuruku Padhai, Sari*. (Short cut—all right). They nodded, and in a trice he disappeared down some steps. Within seconds I found myself again in the same position as before, my legs far above my head. We were going down a slope steeper than we had climbed on the other side. In fact it was no slope but steps of rough stone fitted into the hillside; and the chair coolies chose to carry me down in reverse!

Thump! Thump! Down! Down! Step after step! Not once did those men hesitate. Like mountain goats their foothold was unassailable. Waterfalls tumbled amongst giant tree ferns as tall as a man and lesser ferns of a hundred varieties grew lush amongst begonias and other water plants. From the branches of the forest trees hung orchids. What a paradise for a fancier, I thought!

I tried to count the steps. Three hundred! Four hundred! How many more! "Easy is the descent to *Avernus*" I had learnt; but this was the hard way, I didn't realize then would one day love this wild, forest mountain side, and yet hate it too. One last thump! One more step, and there was my husband waiting on the path below. He gave the men the order to turn me round and face the way we were going. They did so and broke into a steady effortless trot, for it was now down hill—but comparatively gently so—all the way.

The red roofs of Brae appeared in the distance. We put on speed Oh! I can still feel the urgency of their movement beneath me. The thrill of the first sight of my new home! We turned in at a little wicket gate and along a little path lined with roses. But it was not home yet. This was the Big Bungalow where we would live but it was being reconditioned, so after instructions to the baas and a hurried cup of tea amongst the debris of building operations, we set out again.

Lower, still lower! The day was indeed far spent. Evening shadows lengthened and disappeared in darkness, then reappeared in the light of a young moon before we reached our destination.

(To be Continued).

### LETTERS

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

# Confidentially

## Water And Trees

IS IT NOT STRANGE that after all the headlines and Ministerial boasts about airlifted pumps (and other equipment) to provide at least 10 hours of water for the residents of Colombo, the latest is that "heavy rain (was) the only solution" to the water problem in Colombo? That Acting Minister Kahugalle had on several occasions promised increased water supplies before the end of July? That he had guaranteed eight to ten hours supply before the end of the first week of July? That the permanent Minister Ariyadasa, after his return from a sojourn from UK and Europe, has been wise enough not to utter one word promising the moon (i.e. water for the residents of Colombo)? That the *coup de grace* came in the *Observer* of July 15! It first softened the readers by a banner headline: **DROUGHT MADE MANGO SWEETER: WE NEVER HAD IT BETTER — SEASON OF QUALITY AND PLENTY?** That thereafter a less prominent (two column) headline announced **WATER: HEAVY RAIN ONLY SOLUTION?** That the mango story, by one of the few real journalists left in Sri Lanka, Manik de Silva, set out that the mango crop was plentiful and that the fruits were sweeter, etc., etc.? That it was a topical story with current interest? That all knowledgeable persons are aware that mango is best in a "dry area" where the rainfall is around 35" a year? That is why the mango from Jaffna was the sweetest and the best? That the wet zone was not the area for a plentiful crop or a sweet fruit? That this year, no doubt, the wet zone mango was plentiful and sweet? That in the drought-stricken dry zone too the mango crop was good? That all those who know ancient lore and are infused with village wisdom are never happy when the mango crop becomes a stunner as it was this year? That there is a Tamil aphorism or proverb (there must be a Sinhalese version as there is in most Indian languages) which states: **Ma Mangum, Puly Pongum!** That a literal translation would be some-

thing like this: that if it was (a bountiful crop) of mango (**ma**) it would mean that everything will decline (or diminish or decrease): that if was (a bountiful crop) of tamarind (**puly**) everything will multiply? That if one believed in the signs of nature, the mango crop this year was an indication that troubled times were ahead in production and everything else? That current developments all show that the ancient aphorism has much more validity than many people imagine?

That apart, the *Observer's* story on Colombo's water by Nicholas Candappa, another enterprising reporter who covers the city's water problem, was a total reversal of Ministerial and Mayoral boasts? That the Mayor (vide *Tribune*, July 17,) had turned sour recently and had started blaming the bureaucrats and "the authorities" who had ignored his February hunches and advice about water? That the report then pointed out that "the scarcity of water in Colombo as a result of the insufficient pressure in the water mains during 4 am and 10 am is causing severe hardship to people in several areas....?" That the report placed on record that the Municipal Commissioner, Mr. B. A. Jayasinghe, "said this morning that there had been no improvement in the water levels at Labugama and Kalatuwawa reservoirs: he said that there would neither be an extension of the hours of water supply nor would there be a further water cut...." That Mr. Jayasinghe had further stated that "the Council was facing difficulties in providing water by bowser to areas where there was no water. **'we have only three bowsters to serve the entire city.....'** he added that several organisations had hired their own bowsters to collect their stocks of water and this had eased the situation a little: he said that Welfare Societies of flat dwellers who are also affected by the scarcity of water should seriously think of hiring bowsters for collecting water for use by the flatters...." That up to the time Mr. Jayasinghe revealed the truth, the public was under the impression from (based on Ministerial and Mayoral boasts) that 300 bowsters had been hired by the Municipality to provide water? That there was a big difference between 3 and 300? That big private companies and rich (expenditure-wise) corporations were able to afford the bowser hire?

That the ordinary citizens and even welfare societies cannot afford to hire private bowsters? That after the Municipal Commissioner had revealed the real state of affairs, the mod Mayor of Colombo, Fowzie, had told the *Observer* reporter that "there has been in fact a drop in the level of water at the Kalatuwawa reservoir: **'I cannot see a solution to the water problem unless there is heavy rain in the catchment areas of Labugama and Kalatuwawa reservoirs'...."** That was that? That all talk of airlifted pumps and Kelani river water has faded away like the proverbial mirage in the desert? That Colombo is not yet a desert but it can very well turn out to be one unless the rain gods pour down rain on the treeless catchment areas in Labugama and Kalatuwawa? That in this connection, the story on the frontpage of the *Daily News* of July 15 about an (unlawful) shipment of timber being exported should rouse the Government to immediate action? That it was reported that the Customs had seized a cargo of logs of a quality of timber that could not be exported? That, for five years and more, this kind of racketeering had gone on? That no export of timber in logs should have been allowed in the first instance? That whole forests in the Mahaveli montane area and in the catchment areas, where nearly all the big rivers rise, have been, in fact, exported? But a few have made millions (with bigger nest eggs abroad)? That *Tribune* has been shouting itself hoarse about the denudation of our forests? That *Tribune* had stated that the first step was to stop all exports of timber? That it is not too late to make a start? That in Sri Lanka's present position, it will be national suicide to allow any more timber exports, leave alone cutting any more trees? That we go to press, the *Observer*, on July 21, had a frontpage piece that the Director of Water Supplies and Drainage Randeniya had assured reporter Nicholas Candappa that Colombo would get more water from "next week" because of the pumps that would be installed this week? That it is surprising that the Colombo Municipal Commissioner did not know about this last (vide *Observer* and *Sunday Observer*)? That everybody knows that Colombo will have water during the Summit month, but after that . until the Deluge, what?

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