

# TRIBUNE

CEYLON NEWS REVIEW





## *Increase of Price*

Effective from this 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:

1 Year's Subscription Rs. 50.00

3 Years' Subscription Rs. 120.00

*New foreign subscription rates on application*

**Tribune,**

43, Dawson Street, Colombo 2,  
T. Phone 33172



# Letter From The Editor

THE ESALA PERAHERA in Kandy comes in the month of August, and this year it will herald the summit conference of the Non-aligned Countries. On the cover we have a picture of Perahera scene with the caprisoned elephant dominating the centre of the stage. Tomes have been written about the origin and the history of the Kandy Perahera. It is not our purpose to delve into either into the history or the legends that surround this annual pageant. There is no doubt that the perahera had originated with a religious motivation but today has developed many new and strange dimensions far removed from religion. Though the seeds of change had become apparent in the twenties and thirties of this century, it was really after the second world war and the upsurge of contemporary modernism and the growth of an ultra-nationalist self-glory about Sri Lankan uniqueness that the Perahera has become what it is today. It has acquired political overtones as well as socio-cultural undertones. It has become a carnival, a pageant, a *tamasha* and a *gundu* all rolled into one. It has become a status symbol that compels attendance by all those who can afford to go (and even all those who cannot afford the luxury of making this trip). And now, more than anything else, it is a bait for the tourist who is given pride of place in the manner royalty and nobility were accommodated in the days of old. All this is done in the name of Buddhism. But, today, the Perahera has lost every trace of meditative contemplation which is the bedrock of the philosophy and the way of life (it is wrong to call it religion) preached by Gautama Buddha. And when one sees all that is happening in Sri Lanka and the world around us, one cannot but be constrained to seek escape into contemplative meditation about life and its meaning about existence on this earth and the nature, significance and purpose of the Universe itself. The eerie situation all around us, in this island and on this planet, has made everything depressingly dismal that thoughts of death and life thereafter (if there is one) envelop one's thinking. An article in the *Newsweek*, July 12, 1976, entitled *Life After Death* set has in motion a chain of thinking far removed from the pageantry of the Perahera. "The experience is a familiar one to many emergency room medics. A patient who has been pronounced dead and unexpectedly recovers later describes what happened to him during those moments—sometimes hours—when his body exhibited no signs of life. According to one repeated account, the patient feels himself rushing through a long, dark tunnel while noise rings in his ears. Suddenly, he finds himself outside his own body looking down with curious detachment at a medical team's efforts to resuscitate him. He hears what is said, notes what is happening but cannot communicate with anyone. Soon his attention is drawn to other presences in the room—spirits of dead relatives or friends—who communicate with him nonverbally. Gradually he is drawn to a vague 'being of light'. This being invites him to evaluate his life and shows him highlights of his past in panoramic vision. The patient longs to stay with the being of light but is reluctantly drawn back into his physical body and recovers." At one time such phenomena were dismissed as nothing more than hallucinations but these "near death" experiences according to the *Newsweek* are "being seriously examined by several psychiatrists and psychologists for possible clues what happens at the moment of death." One such researcher, Dr. Elizabeth Kubler-Ross, an internationally respected expert on the psychiatric dimensions of dying, now claims that she has proof that "there is life after death" on the basis of hundreds of such authenticated reports. The *Newsweek* commented that "although other psychologists believe that Dr. Kubler-Ross gives too much credence to tales told by the dying, her outspoken views have recently heightened scholarly interest in near-death phenomena. What most impresses Kubler-Ross about the cases she has assembled over the last eight years is the evidence of out-of-body consciousness—that is, the apparent ability of people who exhibit no respiration, heartbeat or brain-wave activity to describe events taking place around them." Dr. Kubler-Ross states that although details of near-death accounts vary, there were certain common experiences: "a pervasive sense of calm well-being, a feeling of personal wholeness—even among accident victims who have lost limbs—and the experience of being greeted by previously deceased loved ones." As a result of such experiences, she says, "many of them resented our desperate attempts to bring them back to life. Death is the feeling of peace and hope. Not one of them has ever been afraid to die again." One can understand why the dead do not want to come back to life on this planet. Though many assert that there is no scientific proof of an after-life, they admit that reports of near-death experiences cannot be explained away as delusions.

# TRIBUNE

Founded In 1954

A Journal of Ceylon and  
World Affairs

Editor S. P. Amarasingam

Every Saturday

July 31, 1976

Vol. 21 No. 8

TRIBUNE

43, DAWSON STREET,  
COLOMBO - 2

Telephone: 33172

## CONTENTS

### EDITOR'S NOTE BOOK

—The World's Poor p. 2

### INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

—Indian Ocean p. 4

### SRI LANKA CHRONICLE

—July 10 - 16 p. 7

### INTERNATIONAL DIARY

—July 6 - July 11 p. 9

### NONALIGNED RESOLUTIONS

—At Lima P. 12

### COLOMBO SUMMIT

—Invitations P. 15

### ABOUT COLOMBO

—Background & History P. 16

### VILLAGE HOUSE - 85

—What's In A Name? P. 17

### ON A TEA ESTATE-4

—First Morning p. 19

### MORE FOOD OR RAPE?

—Evaluation p. 20

### INANIA

—The Tree p. 21

### LETTERS

—Tea, Prof Jayatileke,  
Management p. 22 - 23

### CONFIDENTIALLY

—Non-aligned Lobbies P. 24



## EDITOR'S NOTEBOOK

## Global Economic

## Perspectives

INSPIRE OF THE TALL CLAIMS daily broadcast over the S.L.B.C., it is clear that the economic horizon in Sri Lanka is darkened by heavy clouds which prevent even the optimist from seeing a silver lining. It is customary for bureaucrats and apologists for the government to assert that people in Sri Lanka had no cause to complain because the situation in the rest of the developing world was even worse.

There is not the slightest doubt that the problems of the Third World are immense. But our complaint is that Sri Lanka could have easily avoided many of the difficulties which have now enveloped her. It has been our contention that much of the distress in this country is the result of inept and unrealistic policies coupled with acts of commission and commission detrimental to the national interest. We have been harping on this too often and lest we be accused of riding a hobby horse to death, we will refrain from pointing out, once again, the errors which have accentuated misery and hardship in this country.

It would be useful, however, to examine some aspects of the economic situation in the rest of the developing world. A UN report quoting world Bank estimates has stated that in 1975 that some 750 million people were living in absolute or relative poverty (defined by an income per capita below \$50.00 or Rs. 375/- a year). A recent UN survey has also indicated that half the world's population was suffering from hunger or malnutrition, or both.

It is evident that development strategies, international or national, must focus increasingly on relieving poverty rather than encouraging growth of the gross national product, *per se*, and hoping that the effect of this growth will trickle down automatically. This is the main thesis of the United Nations study. In the absence of structural changes involving redistribution of income and property and tax reform it would be necessary to sustain

a growth rate of 9 to 12 percent annually to end absolute poverty in most developing countries, by the end of this century. However, in countries which have highly egalitarian economic distribution, basic needs have to be achieved with lower growth rates. According to the ILO if emphasis were placed on meeting basic needs of the world's poor, it was possible with the necessary structural changes to achieve basic economic and social targets for the entire population of the world, by the year 2000, with more realistic growth rates of 6.8 percent per annum.

This means that the creation of productive employment would have to shift increasingly towards traditional and rural sectors of the economy where the majority of the poor (80 per cent of the total unemployed and underemployed) are to be found.

How poor are the poor?

In 1972 as much as 700 million people or 39 per cent of the population of developing market-economy countries were "destitute" and suffering from severe malnutrition: 67 percent of the population were "seriously poor." Preliminary ILO estimates for 1975 showed the 40 percent of the population of the developing countries had no work at all or did not have work that provided adequate income. The numbers of poor have increased over the last 10 years in spite of rapid economic growth. Figures show that the number of (destitute) people increased in 17 countries in 1963/72 and the number of persons suffering from "serious poverty" increased in 16. Among other indicators of deprivation, UNESCO estimates show that the number of illiterate adults was upped from 700 millions in 1960 to 760 millions in 1970. The problem of poverty is also the problem of inequality. In most developing countries, the richest 10 percent of the households typically receive about 40 percent of personal income whereas the poorest 40 percent receive 15 percent or less and the poorest 20 percent receive about 5 percent.

Basic human needs have to be satisfied by a new development strategy to help redress the most glaring inequalities that included these two elements: first, certain

minimum requirements of a family for private consumption such as adequate food, shelter and clothing, household equipment and furniture; second, essential services provided by and for the community at large, such as safe drinking water, sanitation, public transport and health and educational facilities.

World Bank statistics also show that the growth in per capita incomes in the world rich countries was continuing to outpace that in the poor nations. According to year old figures (1975) of the World Bank Atlas in only five of the 16 oil exporting countries has per capita gross national product exceeded 3000 dollars. The Atlas also highlighted the fact that economic growth during the years 1965-73 has been negative in several developing countries including four in the Sahelian zone, hard hit by droughts earlier in the decade. Preliminary gross national product per capita estimates for 1974, also show that among countries with the population of over 1 million, the United States has been surpassed by both Sweden and Switzerland as the world's richest (per capita) nation. The figure for the United States is estimated at 6,200 dollars whilst Sweden's and Switzerland's are set at 6,720 dollars and 6,650 dollars respectively.

Two sets of figures for the oil exporting countries are provided in this year's Atlas. Using the 1972-74 base alone, GNP data for the oil exporters would only partially reflect increased prices for oil which were initiated in late 1973. A separate table, therefore, based on 1974 prices and exchange rates alone, has been printed in the Atlas for OPEC members.

Among oil exporting countries and using as a base period, 1974 the Atlas shows the United Arab Emirates, with a population of only 283,000, to be the per capita GNP grant at 22,060 dollars. The per capita GNP figure for Saudi Arabia, on the other hand, is estimated by the Atlas at only 3,090 dollars, or slightly less than the United Kingdom. The Atlas also reveals that the per capita GNP figure for the largest of all the oil exporting countries, Indonesia, rose by only 60 dollars to 180 dollars in the past year. All 1974 figures are termed "preliminary" in the Atlas.



## The Poor World

The World Bank Atlas not only estimates each country's GNP per capita, but also provides estimates of the growth in population and in real output for every country. Though the figures vary greatly from country to country, some general trends can be discerned:

\* In the industrialised countries, with an average per capita GNP of 4,550 dollars or more output per person is growing at around 4 per cent a year, while population is growing at about 1 per cent. Total product is increasing by approximately 4 per cent yearly.

\* In the poorer countries—those with per capita GNPs of less than 200 dollars—output per person has practically stagnated in the period 1968-74, while population and total product increased only by about 2.5 per cent.

The figures point to one inescapable fact. The rich countries are growing faster economically than the poorer countries both in total GNP and especially in per capita GNP.

*TO SUM UP, it is clear that the rich nations are getting richer while the poor nations are getting poorer.*

The danger of this unbalanced development has dawned on many western politicians: that this kind of dis-equilibrium cannot be permitted to go on. In a speech by Mr. John Grant, when he was Parliamentary Under Secretary of State, Ministry of Overseas Development, at a public meeting of the Christian Citizenship Council and the World Development Movement in London, had stated: "any rise in living standards for countries like Britain in the years ahead must be curtailed by the crucial need to give more help to the developing nations to avoid world wide tragedy on an unprecedented scale. . . we cannot go on mounting pious hopes and platitudes about the future of the developing world. Only last week the Cabinet Office published an objective and detached assessment which made it plain that without far greater resource transfers from the rich nations to the poor the only effective check on a staggering growth of world population will be war, famine and disease. That is a grim prospect for our children and their children. They will not be insulated from the

consequences, not least because of our dependence on imported food and raw materials. No one should delude themselves into thinking otherwise. The best way out is to ensure that a worthwhile share of the increased growth of the developed nations is switched to the worst off. Even that though will be inadequate. There is no guarantee that growth in the years ahead will be sufficient for it to make a meaningful contribution. We have to plan in the years ahead on the basis that any rise in our living standards must be curtailed by the crucial need to redistribute more of the existing resources of countries like ours to the developing world if an appalling crisis is to be avoided. This is not a popular time for such plain speaking. Our domestic problems are great. But those of us who do believe, not only in building a better Britain but also a better world, must try to make our own people far more aware of just what is really at stake. We cannot take the necessary action unless we carry the bulk of the people with us. We must make them recognise that the most likely alternative is indeed a world-wide tragedy on an unprecedented scale. The knowledge that it is largely avoidable by our own efforts and our own will should spur us in a fight in which time is on no one's side."

MANY WESTERN COUNTRIES still believe that "aid" will help to breach the gap between the rich and poor nations. And the West has, over the years, formulated different development policies to funnel aid and technology to the third world countries. All these policies have now come up against a blank wall and third world countries have begun to ask for a new international economic order. In this connection, comments in the *German Tribune* are worthy of record: "No mention is made either of the growing disinclination of many developing countries to accept technological aid, which is considered to constitute tutelage. Western aid policies continue to be based on the convenient illusion that loans, advice, trade aid, food supplies that are generally provided once disaster has struck and a modicum of private investment will prove sufficient to ensure fundamental

changes in the economic and social set-up of the Third World. If prospects of success are strictly limited in the economic sector, the bounds are set even closer as regards the social sector. Assuming that social development is aimed first and foremost at improving the position of the poorer classes in a country, the opportunities of effecting change in this sector are virtually non-existent.

"The principle of non-intervention in the domestic affairs of other countries, not to mention acknowledgement of their sovereignty, renders impossible development policies aimed at bringing about appropriate changes in the developing world. It is at times argued that concentrating aid on agricultural development projects serves this purpose, but this is only true in part. Improvements in the living standards of poorer sections of the rural population, the declared aim, are only effected in the vicinity of subsistence level. As soon as farm produce is marketed or, indeed, exported, higher incomes mainly benefit middlemen, exporters, civil servants and landowners.

"Promotion of agriculture as a means of furthering social objectives in accordance with World Bank policy holds as little hope of success as the emphasis on industrialisation in the past. Development policy alone cannot change the world. But when disaster strikes it can lend a hand. It can help to meet basic requirements and provide a stimulus for further development provided the developing countries themselves pursue the right objectives. More cannot be asked. As long as the Third World insists on aid from without and blames setbacks solely on the industrialised countries rather than concentrating on its own opportunities, it is destined to remain a continual source of frustration."

In this depressing economic situation in the developing world, it is difficult to imagine how Sri Lanka can solve her current economic problems. Tall claims that a 1000 million rupees will be found to put the entire educated unemployed on the dole (public relief works) is of little help. One has to look forward for the next budget to see what the government proposes to do, to minimise



some of these problems. What is important is not ultra-radical reform to dazzle the vociferous but concrete and pragmatic policies to ensure increased production.

## INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

BY TAMBAPPANI

# Indian Ocean

THE SEYCHELLES became an independent republic on June 28. The ninety odd islands of the Seychelles are among the most strategically placed islands in the Indian Ocean. A paradise with bougainvillea, orchids and gardenias, these coral isles teem with coconut palms. Vegetation is lush, while 800 species of fish abound in their emerald waters. "You can dip a hat and catch a fish," writes one visitor. "God sows, the Seychelles reap", is a local proverb.

The 90 islands of the Seychelles were uninhabited till the late 18th century. Earlier pirates used them to hide their booty under the drooping—if not watchful—eyes of the giant tortoises for which the area is renowned. The Portuguese chartered the islands but did not occupy them. In the 1740s the French surveyed them and in 1756 the French governor of Mauritius occupied the islands with a small force in the name of the King of France. The islands were named after the Controller of Finance to Louis XIV—Seychelles.

In the early 1880s the population of 2,000 consisted of French and also African slaves who were brought in as labourers. In 1810 Seychelles was surrendered to the British, but French influence continued to predominate, and in 1878 the British Governor had reported that the 12,000 inhabitants were "still very French". Today there are about 68,000 on the islands consisting of people of French, English, African, Chinese or Indian extraction. There are also many Creoles. The common spoken language is Creole which is a mixture of Archaic French and the languages of the others who settled in the island. Indians comprise only 2 percent of the population. They are called Malabarais because

they came from Kerala and like Indians in other places they have tended to keep themselves socially aloof and remit their money home rather than invest in the island.

Almost half the area consists of the island of Mahe and most of the population also live there. Mahe now has an air strip capable of taking jumbos, and tourism is a growing industry. The Prime Minister, James Mancham, is of Chinese Creole ancestry. In 1973 he declared his party's (Seychelles Democratic Party—SDP) intention to keep the Seychelles under the British. He said he was concerned about the "security" of his country in the context of the growing "power rivalry" in the Indian ocean. The O.A.U.—its Liberation Committee—supported the rival party leader, Dr. Albert Rene, of the Seychelles Peoples United Party—SPUP—to campaign for independence. Mancham decided that as he could not defeat Rene's party (with the backing and the resources of the OAU) it would be better to join hands with SPUP. He too asked for independence. With independence came a coalition government with Mancham as President and Rene as Prime Minister.

President James Mancham and Prime Minister Albert Rene, both London-educated barristers, assumed their titles of office on June 28 in a warm embrace watched by thousands of Seychellois and delegates from 61 countries. The President, in his inaugural speech, said the Seychelles would seek membership of the United Nations and would join the bloc of non-aligned nations. The new Republic also is a full member of the Commonwealth. At Port Louis (Mauritius) it was announced that Seychelles had been admitted as the 48th member of the Organisation of African Unity.

THE FACT that the forthcoming non-aligned conference will take place in Colombo will make a debate on the Indian Ocean much more lively than it would anywhere else in the world. Sri Lanka, which had sponsored the resolution in the U.N. to make the Indian Ocean "a zone of peace" will no doubt seek to press for a declaration on the Indian Ocean and the dangers which stem from the development of the Diego Garcia are in the middle of the Indian Ocean.

In fact, the situation in the Indian Ocean has become very heated in recent times. There has been a great deal of talk that the most important matter to consider "was the rivalry of the great powers." Many observers believe that the over-emphasis on this "super-power rivalry" was only a propagandist trick to divert attention from the more important question of the military bases located in the Indian ocean.

The USA has argued that it was the presence of Soviet vessels in the Indian Ocean that had compelled it to build a base on Diego Garcia and that this was necessary to defend sea routes which brought oil and other raw materials to America. It would be pertinent to point out that if a general war should break out between America and Russia, Diego Garcia would be of little importance. It is clear that Diego Garcia is not intended to check the presence of Russian ships in the Indian ocean; it is more to check the growth of liberation and emancipation movement in Asia and Africa.

One can refer to a statement made by the US Secretary of Defence last year in answer to a question whether the Indian Ocean should be included in the sphere of vital US interests. He had answered that the Western world was dependent on oil supplies from the Persian Gulf area, and that was why that the US had to make secure the Indian Ocean to ensure supplies of oil. It will be remembered that at the time of acute confrontation between the US and OPEC countries in 1973, the American aircraft carrier *Constellation*, of 80,000 (eighty thousand) tons displacement, escorted by smaller vessels, had entered the Persian Gulf for the first time in 25 years. It is also on record that the United States had actively contemplated military intervention in Saudi Arabia and other oil sheikdoms in the Persian Gulf. In fact, all US Marine and Air forces in Europe and Asia were placed on the alert for possible action in the Arab East.

Diego Garcia and other US installations in the Indian Ocean are directed not merely against the Arab countries. Overall US invest-



ments in the countries of the Indian ocean region were estimated to exceed 10 million dollars. Washington no doubt believes that such interests and investments are best protected by pro-US dictatorship regimes in the littoral states of the Indian ocean. In this connection it is well to remember that the independent foreign policy of many countries surrounding the Indian ocean do not appeal to the U.S. India is one such country. Sri Lanka is another. More and more countries in Africa are adopting independent policies. Most of them subscribe to non-alignment in order to underscore their independent foreign policies. The US is interested in ensuring that these countries do not develop an anti-imperialist and anti-neo-colonialist thrust to the point which would effect the economic domination of the United States.

At the Colombo Conference it is likely that this theory of the "rivalry of great powers" will be trotted out to draw a red herring to divert the attention of the non-aligned countries. More important than the "rivalry of great powers" are the bases still held and controlled by western nations. It is said that Britain has quit from Gan Island in the Maldives, from the Mauritius and now from the Seychelles. France is said to have lost its base in Malagasy and that she has been asked to quit from Djibouti at the strategic entrance to the Red Sea. In Somalia US has a base at Berbera.

The Russians are said to have a missile station in the Gulf of Eden in Somalia, but they deny it. So does Somalia.

The littoral states of the Indian Ocean do not have navies of any consequence. Iran has a navy which can patrol the Persian Gulf but cannot do much more. The Indian navy is small but a growing unit. Pakistan has a smaller navy. No other littoral power has a navy worth the name, except South Africa and Australia at the two ends of the Indian ocean. Indonesia's navy is not a power to reckon with. In these circumstances, the desire of western defence planners is to maintain a presence that will keep countries like Mozambique, Somalia, India, and all the newly independent countries under check. What concerns the West more than the growing

power of the USSR are the wars of liberation in Asia and Africa which constitute a direct threat to the economic power of the advanced industrialised countries. MANY BELIEVE that the problem of the Peace Zone in the Indian Ocean is something which concerned only countries like India, Sri Lanka and the Soviet Union. But the fact is that the Western bases like Diego Garcia are, at the moment, directed against the Arab countries in OPEC and the African countries which are determined to end white rule in Rhodesia and South Africa. The situation in the whole of southern Africa, especially after Soweto (just outside Johannesburg) has become very critical. US Secretary of State Kissinger's efforts to effect a compromise solution in Africa has not met with any success. After a long period of inactivity, the United States sought to intervene in Africa by proclaiming that it was against apartheid and white minority rule, but had suggested a slow and gradual process for the Whites to hand over power to the Blacks. But even this solution was not acceptable either to Dr. Vorster or Mr. Ian Smith. South Africa does not want to end apartheid. It only wants to sophisticate apartheid by creating little black African pockets to enable the Whites to continue to live as before.

For a time the western world believed that it had come to terms with the racial and political problems of southern Africa. There was a growing conviction that if the western powers were committed to meet the communist challenge in South Africa, the race war could be avoided. After the recent Kissinger-Vorster talks in West Germany, White South-Africans and Rhodesians were jubilant that the western powers had at long last realised that it was more urgent to meet the Russian communist challenge rather than be concerned with the racial confrontations.

There is no doubt that if this continues to be the attitude of the western powers, the disappointment which must follow will be great. The western powers also seem to think that because the OAU and the third world countries are in a state of disarray owing to deep divisions of power

politics, the western world can continue to have its own way in Southern Africa for a few more years. But if one followed the proceedings at the OAU Foreign Ministers' conference in Port Louis in Mauritius it is not difficult to understand the new mood of Black Africa. Whatever divisions and quarrels there are amongst African states, there is a rare determination among them to isolate South Africa and countries linked with it in any way. The OAU has decided to call on Black African states not to trade with Western companies which have links with Africa. All planes bound for South Africa will be refused landing rights in the OAU nations. Ghana has called for the launching of an armed struggle against South Africa and the strengthening of front line states.

It is now fashionable in the West to scoff at OAU resolutions because "they have no teeth in them" but the same people had thought that the Portuguese power in Africa could not collapse in a matter of months, so disastrously for the west and the white man in Southern Africa. There are many who believe that Vorster, who has sought a detente with moderate African leaders, is the only person in South Africa who is capable of averting a racial war—if he could only contain the rightwing challenge in his own nationalist party. Commentators have pointed out that Dr. Vorster is a shrewd man who had made the best of Dr. Kissinger's personal and public shortcomings. His real dilemma is the right wing faction of his own party. Neither Dr. Kissinger nor the West seem to have the understanding, will power or prestige, to resolve the growing crisis in Southern Africa. It is a gloomy prospect, but there seems to be little that anyone can do about the matter.

EQUALLY FRUSTRATING seems to be the situation in the United Kingdom. Racial tensions have kept mounting and the day is not far off when coloured people will find life difficult and intolerable in England. Whilst British industry, administration and transport cannot do without cheap coloured labour, the virus of race discrimination seems to have infected increasingly larger sections of the British population.



The inability of the West to understand the sentiments and feelings of the coloured world (and the third world) contributes greatly to the growing tensions in a large number of places in the world. One case in point is the Israeli rescue of Jewish hostages from a hijack plane which was parked at Entebbe airport in Uganda. This action has been condemned by all non-aligned and third world countries. The Prime Minister of Ceylon denounced Israeli action in no uncertain terms. This is what she said: "The Government of Sri Lanka expresses its condemnation of the attack by Israeli military forces on Entebbe Airport in Uganda. It considers the attack an act of aggression and a flagrant violation of the sovereignty of Uganda and other neighbouring States as well as a contravention of the norms of conduct between nations. The Government fully endorses the position taken on this matter by and expresses its solidarity with, the Summit Conference of the Organisation of African Unity. The Government of Sri Lanka has consistently supported the cause of the Arabs and the national rights of the Palestine people. It will resolutely continue to do so. It will be recalled that when the present Government took office in 1970, one of its first acts was to break diplomatic relations with Israel. The Government wishes to make it clear at the same time that it condemns acts of piracy or the holding of hostages for political gain fraught as they are with risk to innocent human lives. It is the earnest hope of the Government of Sri Lanka that the action taken by the international community particularly the Non-Aligned will make Israel conform to the norms of international good behaviour."

The Deputy Minister, Mr. Lakshman Jayakody, had earlier stated that Sri Lanka did not condone with the hijacking of plane; but he did not mince his words in regard to Israeli action. This is what he said: "We do not condone the hijacking of planes or the holding of hostages for political gains with consequent risk to innocent human lives. At the same time we wish to express once again our support for the cause of the Palestinian people. Sri Lanka has time and again declared her

support for the legitimate national aspirations of the Palestinian people and will continue to do so. We condemn the Israeli attack on Entebbe airport in Uganda. We consider it an act of aggression and a grave violation of the sovereignty of Uganda and neighbouring states. We fully support the position taken up on this matter by the Summit conference of the Organisation of African Unity."

The sentiments expressed by the Prime Minister and the Deputy Minister are not mere political lip service to soothe to African and Arabian feelings. It is a true reflection of what people feel in the entire non-aligned and developing world. As against this President Ford expressed the "greatest satisfaction" in the way the Israelis had conducted the raid on the Ugandan airport. There is no doubt that Israeli raid was a superb military operation but the reactions in the Western countries show how far they are from the rest of the world.

In most western countries, if not all, there was unalloyed joy over Israel's extraordinary feat of courage and resourcefulness and most commentators stated that it was an act worthy of adoption by others placed in a similar predicament. By implication western opinion has rejected the charge made by many third world countries that the Israeli raid constituted an act of aggression on the territory of another sovereign state. American public opinion seems to regard the Israeli action as "less a matter of violating the national sovereignty "of Uganda" than responding to an act of international piracy.

It is interesting to note that the U.S. has never before commented on Israeli military exploits, but on this occasion, President Ford on behalf of the American nation, expressed great "satisfaction" with the successful outcome of the rescue operation. The West also seems to derive great pleasure from the fact that the Israelis have shown up Ugandan President Field Marshall Idi Amin's weakness as well as his isolation from the rest of Africa. Great stress has been laid on the fact that though the OAU meeting in Mombasa had condemned the Israeli invasion of a sister African republic, countries like Kenya

(a recent recipient of US arm supplies which also permitted the Israelis to use Nairobi airport during its operations against Uganda and the hijackers) were only paying lip service sympathy. The Israeli raid is also being compared to the Mayaguez incident of Cambodia which had helped the US to regain self confidence after the Vietnam war. This raid on Entebbe airport is said to have resorted Israeli morale after the setbacks suffered in the 1973 war.

In the final analysis all matters of international importance are judged by the self-interest of the parties concerned. The Africans see the Israeli raid as an insult to the continent by the white man. The Arabs view it as further evidence of Israeli might. President Ford took the opportunity to woo Jewish voters for the coming elections. But many sober commentators believe that "the act was a genuine blow aimed at international political terrorism in its most cowardly form."



## ENROL AS A SUBSCRIBER

*to ensure your copy  
of*

## TRIBUNE

*every week*

**One Year —Rs. 50.00**

**Three Years —Rs. 120.00**

*Subscription Rates,  
Airmail and Surfemail,  
to*

*foreign countries on  
application*

**TRIBUNE,**

**43, Dawson Street,**

**Colombo-2.**

**Tel: 33172**



## July 10 — July 16

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

**SATURDAY, JULY 10:** The Ministry of Finance will provide the necessary funds to the Ministry of Local Government to set up 10,000 pre-schools all over the island: newly appointed women teachers will be appointed in these schools and will be paid a monthly salary of Rs. 150—CDN. The Opposition yesterday released to the press the reply by the Prime Minister regarding the holding of general elections in the year 1977: according to the Premier's reply she will hold elections according to the Constitution of the country—CDN. Answering a question by Mr. V. Dharmalingam, MP for Uduvil, Mr. Felix Dias Bandaranaike, Minister of Finance, told the NSA on Wednesday that his crash program was intended to solve the cost of living and unemployment and also with the general elections in mind which the government was certain of winning—CDN. Mr. Pieter Keuneman, Minister of Housing and Construction, told a public meeting in Nawalapitiya that only 11 more months were left for the Government's term to expire and the most important thing before the government was to unite all progressive forces in the country to defeat capitalism and imperialism—CDM. Government will take over the Ramakrishna Mission House in Kataragama on July 17—VK. Police recovered instruments worth several lakhs of rupees systematically robbed from the Colombo General Hospital: these included several surgical instruments, wall clocks, bandages and other items: a number of suspects too were arrested by the Police—DM. All leading hotels in Colombo were ordered not to purchase local meat from August 1: this has been done to avoid shortage in the open market: meanwhile arrangements have been made to import 40,000 lbs of beef, 20,000 lbs of chicken and 3,000 lbs of sheep meat for use in these hotels during the Non-aligned conference—LD. The Railway Department has called for tenders to purchase ten more power-set trains for use in Colombo and suburban areas—ATH. Prime Minister and the President sent messages of condolences to Chairman Mao-Tse Tung on the death of Marshal Chu Teh—CDN. The NSA was adjourned at 11.50 am yesterday owing lack of quorum—CDN.

**SUNDAY, JULY 11:** Police will set up a special unit to provide protection to the diplomatic community serving various diplomatic missions in and around Colombo: the present squad which is very small will be expanded: the protection to these DPLs will be mainly against violence—CO. The Railway Department urged the government to help replace all its engines, tankers, carriages and goods wagons which are now between 30 and 50 years old: the department has asked the Ministry of Planning and Economic Affairs

to provide the necessary foreign exchange to purchase new wagons in order to provide a better service—CO. The SLFP picked Mr. Lakshman Rajapakse, brother of late Mr. George Rajapakse, as its candidate for the Mulkirigala by-election: the UNP which met in Sri Kottha has yet to decide on its candidate. Mr. Anura Bandaranaike, Chief Organiser of the SLFP Youth Leagues, told a meeting in Attanagala that the recent meeting of the UNP held in Veyangoda was a colossal failure: Mr. Bandaranaike further said that instead of tackling problems of unemployment and cost of living the UNP speakers indulged in abusing the Prime Minister and himself: he accused the UNP of indulging in loose talk about SLFP MPs and Ministers—TOCSI. Mr. Felix Dias Bandaranaike, Minister of Finance and Justice, has designed a new Extradition Law which will be presented in the NSA soon: according to this law offenders of exchange laws will be extradited to the country—TOCSI. According to the *Virakesari* the agenda for the forthcoming Non-aligned nation's conference to be held in Colombo has been drawn up in such a way that countries like Uganda, Kenya, Sudan, Libya, India and Bangladesh which have differences among them will not get an opportunity to attack each other and make the conference a verbal battle field. Dearth of teachers will be over once appointments to 7,500 graduate teachers and 12,500 G.C.E. qualified teachers are made in September: the graduates are already selected and interviews for GCE qualified youths will be held shortly—SM. According to the *Sri Lankadipa*, the Department for the Registrations of Persons has issued national identity cards to several Indians who were to be repatriated to India under the Sirima Shastri Pact: this was revealed when Customs authorities discovered such identity cards from repatriates at the Talaimannar pier.

**MONDAY, JULY 12:** The task force units setup by the Competent Authority for Price Control will go into operation from this week: the force will go into each and every complaint from the public and will work in close liaison with information units set up in kachcheris, AGAs and DROs offices throughout the country—CDN. According to the *Daily News* government has taken steps to issue several consumer items off ration and make it freely available in the open market: quantity of sugar on ration will be increased: this was announced by Mr. Felix Dias Bandaranaike, Minister of Finance, in a speech at his constituency Friday—CDN. Colombo Municipal Council will launch a massive slum clearance campaign this month and before the end of the month 930 families will be moved into alternative quarters within or outside the Municipal area—CDN. On the first day of the Tamil United Front's special conference held in Trincomalee Mr. S. J. V. Chelvanayakam, leader of the Federal Party and MP for Kankesanthurai, appealed to the Tamils to join together to oppose the planned colonisation of outsiders in the Northern and Eastern provinces: Mr. Chelvanayakam in his speech further said that late Mr. S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike made genuine attempts to solve the problems of the Tamils and though his wife and the present Prime Minister, Mrs. Sirima Bandaranaike, too says that she would solve the problems facing the Tamil speaking people this cannot be achieved by her: nearly one lakh of people from all over the island watched the convention in Trincomalee: the TULF will observe a "Release Tamil Youth In



Detention Week" commencing on July 23—VK & CDN. According to the *Daily Mirror*, the Opposition in the Parliament was divided on the proposal by the Government to pay pensions to all MPs who have served the Parliament for over 5 years: Dr. W. Dahanayake, MP for Galle, said that the pension scheme should be only for MPs who have put in at least 10 years of service in the Parliament and not 5 years: Mr. Maithripala Senanayake, Leader of the House, told the Opposition that unless the Opposition reached unanimity in this regard the Government will not go ahead with the proposal. Mr. Cyril Mathew has been selected by the UNP to contest the Kelaniya seat in the NSA at the next general elections—LD. Raids by Price Control Units to check profiteering will commence all over the island today—DM. 127 liquor taverns will be taken over by the State Distillery Corporation from January next year: this will be done in an effort to provide better quality liquor to consumers—DM. Nominations for the by-election of Mulikirigala seat in the NSA will be accepted on July 29 at the Hambantota Kachcheri—DM. According to the *Aththa* the stalls at the Jathika Pola run by the Marketing Department has sustained a loss of over two lakhs during the year 1975. According to the *Daily News* there was shortage of bread in the city following price cuts on flour and bread by the Government last week.

**TUESDAY, JULY 13:** Mr. G. G. Ponnambalam, appearing on behalf of the four TULF leaders at the Trial-at-Bar which commenced yesterday, argued that the case against the accused and the Court appointed to inquire are both not valid: he also said that even the Constitution of Sri Lanka is not valid: Mr. Siva Pasupathy, Attorney General, said that the validity of the constitutions of the Republic of Sri Lanka was not a matter on which the court was empowered to rule on: the four accused in the case are Messrs. A. Amirthalingam, ex-MP for Vadducoddai, Mr. V. N. Navaratnam, MP for Chavakachcheri, Mr. K. P. Ratnam, MP for Kayts and Mr. K. Thurairatnam, MP for Point Pedro: they are charged with possession and distribution of seditious literature: the three judges hearing the case are Mr. J. F. A. Soza (Chairman) Mr. Ananda G. de Silva and Mr. Siva Selliah: Mr. G. G. Ponnambalam Senior Counsel for the accused, further said that in view of certain submissions that were to be made the accused was compelled not to plead to the indictment—CDM & VK. The Ministry of Public Administration in a directive to all Secretaries and Heads of Departments said that youths who have been arrested and released on suspended sentences for their involvement in the 1971 insurgency will be entitled to apply for government jobs—CDM. According to the *Dinamina* nearly 2400 District Development Councils will be open within the next few months at a cost of Rs. 150 million and over a lakh of unemployed youth will be provided with jobs in these Councils. Mr. Felix Dias Bandaranaike, Minister of Finance and Justice, informed all heads of Departments under his Ministry that in future no appointments should be made under his Ministry without his approval: this direction follows complaints that several appointments have been made in departments under his Ministry to unsuitable persons—DM. There are 11,460 new voters in the Mulikirigala electorate: nominations for the by-election to this seat will be accepted on July 29—ATH. According to the *Virakesari* Mr. K. B. Ratnayake, Minister of Trans-

port, has said in Anuradhapura that if the Opposition annoys the Prime Minister she may resort to what the Indian Prime Minister did and might postpone the elections: Mr. Ratnayake referred to the Opposition's demand for a categorical statement from the Premier about the holding of the general elections in 1977. The Annual Vel festival will be held in Colombo from August 8 to 11—VK. Several million rupees of money collected by estate managements as provident fund from employees of estates have been now handed over to the Public Trustee following the take over of estates—CDN. According to the *Lankadipa* the quality of the head has deteriorated badly since the reduction of the price of bread and flour.

**WEDNESDAY, JULY 14:** Following complaints from Members of Parliament and the public that there was a shortage of bread after the price reduction, the Department of Price Control will deploy, from today onwards, an army of officers to check shortage: government instructed the department to cancel the licences of bakers who failed to produce the maximum quantity of bread according to the quota of flour issued to them: meanwhile, action is being taken to control the prices of foods made out of flour—CDN. According to the *Daily News* Sri Lanka has so far received Rs. 47 million as aid for the holding of the forthcoming Non-aligned conference next month: this aid has been granted by Iraq, Algeria, North Korea, Kuwait and Libya: Yugoslavia, India, Guyana and Cuba has helped with necessary equipment and other material while Rumania is expected to send 10 tons of newsprint and other materials: Pakistan will send rice and fruits: it will also send ten horses for traffic control duties. Mr. R. S. Perera, Minister of Information and Broadcasting, attending the Non-aligned news agency pool conference in New Delhi told the press that Sri Lanka believed that the establishment of the news agencies pool was an important prerequisite for the success of the Non-aligned movement: speaking at the conference: Mr. Perera requested the participating countries to send the names of press personnel assigned for the conference without delay.—CDN. Mr. G. G. Ponnambalam appearing for the accused in the Trial-at-Bar took his oaths as an Attorney-at-Law pledging allegiance to the Republic of Sri Lanka and the Constitution—CDN. The Civil Aviation Fire Brigade at the Katunayake International Airport was attempting last night to control a fire that broke out at the catering section of the airport—CDN. Mr. T. B. Ilangaratne, Minister of Trade, Public Administration and Home Affairs, will open a branch of the Insurance Corporation in the Maldives Islands next Saturday—CDM. The Nurses' Trade Union put off its intended token strike for July 23 following an assurance by Mrs. Siva Obeyesekera Minister of Health, that she would within one week get Cabinet approval of the recommendations made by the Salary Anomalies Committee which suggested better pay and promotional prospects for nurses—CDM. The Commissioner of Prisons informed the *Virakesari* that he would take appropriate action regarding the fast threatened by Tamil youths remanded for alleged anti-government activities: these youths have informed the government that if no action is taken by the 5th of August either to release them or to bring them before a court they would start a fast unto death in the prisons—VK. Government has decided to



commence work on the Gin Ganga project in August—DM. Production of paddy in various parts of the island dropped by 20 million bushels owing the drought—LD. Government will soon import 3 million yards of printed cotton textiles from the People's Republic of China to ease the expected shortage of printed cotton textiles locally produced: since the beginning of 1975 government banned the import of textiles to the country—ATH.

**THURSDAY, JULY 15:** Mr. Rukman Senanayake, MP for Dedigama, addressing a mass gathering of the Dudley Front at the Hyde Park yesterday said that he had never been a tool in the hands of the Government nor would he do so in the future: Mr. Senanayake further said that Mr. J. R. Jayewardene, President of the UNP had been a tool in the hands of the Government even when Mr. Dudley Senanayake was alive—CDM. The special committee appointed by the Government to examine the possibilities of profit sharing by workers in private and public sector enterprises has now been asked only to study the possibilities of profit sharing and not workers participation: Mr. Felix Dias Bandaranaike, Minister of Finance and Justice, has sent a directive to this effect to the Chairman of the Committee, Mr. Lakshman de Mel who is also the Secretary to the Ministry of Labour—CDM. The Department of Civil Aviation announced that the fire which broke-out at the kitchen of the restaurant of the Bandaranaike International Airport was put out within an hour and normal work was resumed within two hours: according to the *Daily Mirror* two planes, a SIA and PIA, did not land owing to the fire and instead flew direct to Madras and Karachi respectively: passengers who were to board these flights were later sent in a KLM flight—CDM. The Yugoslav Radio Television will televise the proceedings of the forthcoming Non-aligned conference throughout the world—CDM. The Public Trustee informed the government that arrangements should be made to ensure the continuance of services performed by viharas and devales in the event of the abolition of the Rajakariya system—CDN. The Milk Board in one of its investigations carried out against an agent said that this particular agent of the Milk Board sold liquidized milk powder and condensed milk as products of the Board during the last four years: this agent has sold his products in bottles belonging to the Board—CDN. A Soviet delegation will arrive in the island today to participate in the ceremonial unveiling of the bronze statue of late Mr. S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike at the Galle Face green on the 17th of this month—CDN. According to a government order all tourists in the country have to leave by today unless they stay with special permission of the government: this has been decided by the government in view of the Non-aligned Summit conference starting next month—VK. The Sri Lanka State Trading (Tractor) Corporation will import 1000 Kubota hand tractors to be distributed to farmers—ATH. The Department of Official Languages started a scheme to train all Tamil new entrants to Government service for a period of three months before they take up the appointments—LD.

**FRIDAY, JULY 16:** Mr. T. B. Illangaratne, Minister of Trade, Public Administration and Home Affairs, requested members of the Government Parliamentary Group to mix with the public in enforcing the price

control laws: in a letter to each of the MP in the Group Mr. Illangaratne said that unless the MPs give leadership to the enforcement this cannot be done effectively—CDN. At compensation talks held between the Government and representatives of Shell Company it was decided to grant 5.3 million rupees as compensation for the Company for the assets vested in the Ceylon Petroleum Corporation when the Company's bunkering and civil aviation fuel services were nationalised: the company would be allowed to repatriate its compensation—CDN. Japan agreed to provide the government with a stock of gift fertilizer valued at Rs. 6.9 million—CDN. Pakistan Government gifted 600 yards of canopy cloth to Sri Lanka to put up a canopy outside the BMICH during the Non-aligned conference—CDN. According to the *Daily News* Sri Lanka's earnings by the export of garments will top the Rs. 40 million mark this year if the present level of demand continues. Mr. Anura Bandaranaike, Chief Organiser of the SLFP Youth Leagues, will leave for Libya to-night on an invitation of President Muammar Gaddafi to read a paper on Zionism—CDM. Mr. Siva Pasupathi, Attorney General continuing his submissions in the trial-at-bar yesterday in which four leaders of the TULF are charged said that any faults in the Republican Constitution is a matter to be rectified by political decisions and law courts cannot do anything about this: he further said that this court is not empowered to pass judgement against what is contained in the Republican Constitution—VK. The case in which Mr. R. Premadasa, first MP for Colombo Central (UNP), claimed damages in a sum of Rs. 150,000 from Mr. Anura Bandaranaike for certain alleged defamatory statements was postponed yesterday by a District Court to the 23rd of this month—LD. The Customs yesterday raided a Maldivian ship about to leave for Pakistan with a consignment of timber and confiscated same: the exporter of the timber was fined Rs. 72,000: the timber is believed to be one that is used in the manufacture of tea chests but the connected documents showed the timber to be of a different variety—DM. Mr. S. K. K. Suriarachchi, Minister of Co-operatives and Small Industries, yesterday said that in future his Ministry would provide all raw materials necessary for the manufacture of handloom textiles and would also buy up the entire produce of the industry—DM. *The Aththa* in a front page lead story alleged that certain high officials of the Tractor Corporation have selected one particular foreign company to buy their requirements and posed the question whether this is being done in order to obtain commissions.



## INTERNATIONAL DIARY

### July 6 - July 11

**TUESDAY, JULY 6:** In a broadcast over Ugandan Radio President Idi Amin said 20 soldiers of his country were killed and wounded in the Israeli raid on Entebbe airport: the Organisation of African Unity condemned the Israeli attack. President Amin said that the launch on Entebbe airport has been from Kenya and despite this Uganda would not attack Kenya: Mr. Amin also



said that Uganda reserves the right to retaliate in whatever way it can to redress the aggression against Uganda: UN Secretary General, Kurt Waldheim, speaking at the Cairo airport described the attack as "a flagrant aggression against the sovereignty of a member state of the United Nations": Mr. Shimon Peres, Israeli Defence Minister, condemned the action of the Ugandan President: he said Mr. Amin should take personal responsibility for aiding the guerrillas killed during the attack: he accused Amin for allowing two more guerrillas to join the hijackers after the hijacking: Soviet news agency, Tass, described the attack by Israel as "an act of piracy". Britain recognised the new Socialist Republic of Vietnam. Australia gave an aid of A £ 190,000 to the Asian Development Bank. over 8,000, including immigrants and trade unionists marched through the streets of London to handover a petition to Prime Minister, Mr. James Callaghan, demanding a government inquiry into racialism in Britain. When questioned in Berlin Indian Premier, Mrs. Indira Gandhi, said the importance of the non-aligned unity is because these countries face identical problems and they could help each other: she said their main task was the strengthening of mutual co-operation. Sudan accused Libya of last Friday's coup attempt against President Nimeiri. President Ford led the ringing of bells across the nation in the bicentennial celebrations currently celebrated in the USA. Thirty seven people in Madras died and 55 others were admitted to the hospital after consuming methylated spirits.

**WEDNESDAY, JULY 7:** A Tunisian who attempted to hijack a Libyan airliner surrendered to the Police when the aircraft landed in Palma, Majorca: there were 86 passengers in the plane. The Organisation of African Unity decided at its recent meeting held in Mauritius that participation at the forthcoming Non-aligned conference to be held in Colombo should be at the highest level to ensure its success: 48 of the 85 Non-aligned nations are members of the OAU. China's most famous military hero, Chu Teh, died aged 90 years: Chu Teh was Chairman of the National People's Congress. A Soviet spacecraft, Soyuz-21, was launched into space yesterday with 2 men aboard in accordance with a program for exploration of near-earth space. President Idi Amin of Uganda said that Israel will pay heavily either inside Israel or elsewhere for their action in attacking the Entebbe airport last Sunday. Sudan accusing Libya for last Friday's coup urged an immediate meeting of the United Nations Security Council: meanwhile Libya denied the charges by Sudan. President Ford in his bicentennial address delivered in Monticello said that unless Americans resisted conformity, in the third century of the United States they could become a totalitarian society. The Commonwealth Secretary General, Mr. Shripath Ramphal, yesterday had talks with President Makarios of Cyprus over the Cyprus issue. West German and French leaders met in West Germany for talks on a proposed international anti-terrorist convention. Common Market developments and economic issues. Further peace talks in Lebanon were postponed yesterday owing to heavy fighting in a Christian industrial town.

**THURSDAY, JULY 8:** The Organisation of African Unity formally requested a meeting of the United Nations Security Council to consider the "wanton act of aggression" by Israel against Uganda: Mr. Jumba Magagazi, Uganda's delegate to a meeting of the UN

Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC) in Abidjan accused Israel of "the savage massacre of poor innocents", during its commando raids on Entebbe airport: British Prime Minister, James Callaghan, answering questions in the Parliament welcomed the fact that the hostages were freed but said the MPs need not embroil any further than that at present. US Secretary of State, Dr. Henry Kissinger, called for a new foreign policy consensus that will enable the United States to lead the world towards new heights of economic and political co-operation. Mr. K. R. Narayanan arrived in Peking as the first Indian envoy to China since the 1962 border conflict. Sudan broke its DPL ties with Libya. Government officials in Cairo said that Egypt has no intention to break off ties with Libya in spite of the propaganda war between the two countries. Pakistan Prime Minister, Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, arrived in Teheran on a three-day official tour and had talks with the Shah of Iran. The death toll in last Sunday's illicit liquor consumption raised to 118 in Madras and Tamil Nadu Government of Madras State severely warned those who indulge in the sale of illicit liquor. The Soviet made Soyuz-21 headed for a link-up with the unmanned space laboratory and the two cosmonauts in the Soyuz-21 began their first full-working day since the launching of the ferry. Philippines is reported to be eager to avoid the political conditions laid down by America on any new agreement between Manila and Washington on the future deployment of American troops on bases in Philippines.

**FRIDAY, JULY 9:** Uganda yesterday placed its armed forces on alert following reports that nearly thirty enemy aircraft were approaching the country from neighbouring Kenya: a military spokesman said that the aircraft believed to be Israeli or American were detected by radar: the country also urged the public not to panic and warned to keep a close eye for Western spies: UN Security Council will meet today to discuss the attack by Israel on the Entebbe airport last Sunday in which 100 hostages were freed: meanwhile Kenya denied that enemy aircraft were approaching Uganda from Kenya. Mrs Indira Gandhi, Prime Minister of India, yesterday opened the Non-aligned News Agency Co-operation meeting in New Delhi: she in her opening speech attacked the Western news agencies and said "powerful countries wanted to depict the governments of their former colonies as inept and corrupt and the people were yearning for the old regime". In a joint communique issued at the end of the visit of Prime Minister of India to Afghanistan both countries called for a ban on the use of nuclear weapons. Former President of West Germany, Gustav Heinemann, died aged 76. Tass reported that the two members of the Soyuz 21 ferry linked with the unmanned orbital station Salyut-5 and both astronauts transferred to it. Indonesia feared the death toll in the recent earthquake in the New Guinea as over 9,000. Over 20,000 people were affected by the floods in Bangladesh which swept through north and north eastern parts of the country. Right wing forces gained more control in Lebanon in the fight against left-wing and Palestinian forces. Libyan diplomats left Khartoum yesterday after their country was accused of masterminding last week's coup in Sudan which failed. David Steel was elected leader of the British Liberal Party. Japan and Cambodia are having talks for exchange of Ambassadors.



**SATURDAY, JULY 10:** In his Presidential address to the ministerial conference of non-aligned countries on the press agencies pool Mr. V. dya Charan Shukla, Indian Minister of Information and Broadcasting, said by the year 1977-78 an Asian tele link will be established: he further said that this tele link will connect fifteen countries. India will receive a loan of 80 million dollars from the World Bank to finance its telecommunication system. On the eve of the UN Security Council debate regarding the attack by Israel on Uganda Secretary General Kurt Waldheim called for effective action to deal with international terrorism: the debate was scheduled to begin yesterday afternoon. Head of the PLO bureau in Paris told a new conference that Syria is trying to destroy Palesinian resistance in Lebanon and divide up the Palesinian people among different Arab countries. Pakistan Prime Minister, Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, told in Teheran that if the Arabs chose the Lebanese crisis as a crisis within the Arab land no outside state could intervene into this. The Israeli Chief of Staff, Lt. General Mordechai Gur, told a press conference in Tel Aviv that the attack on Entebbe air port was well rehearsed in Israel the day before: he also told that the attack was so sudden the hijackers did not know what was happening and they were killed in less than half a minute. In Nairobi the British High Commissioner said that he did not receive any news from the Ugandans on the whereabouts of the missing hostage Mrs. Dora Bloch who was left behind after the rescue operation: the High Commissioner, Mr. Hennessy, met President Amin to discuss about Mrs. Bloch.

**SUNDAY, JULY 11:** American Republicans will meet on August 16 in Kansas City for a delegates voting to elect the presidential candidate for the November elections: President Ford and Ronald Reagan are running neck and neck in a bid to get the 1300 delegate votes needed for the nomination: meanwhile, barring major upheaval, Jimmy Carter, former Governor of Georgia, will be an automatic selection for the Democratic Party to contest the Presidential elections. At the meeting of the Information Ministers of the Non-aligned Countries in New Delhi India presented a draft declaration calling for an international code on the function and use of satellite communications. Prime Minister Ian Smith of Rhodesia told Parliament in Salisbury that there was no point in reopening Rhodesian settlement talks with the African National Council (ANC) until the ANC showed a realistic and reasonable attitude. Kenya said that it has now stopped road or rail traffic to and from Uganda despite the accusation by Uganda over the recent attack by Israel on Entebbe airport. Leftist and Palesinian forces fighting on Lebanon are hit by petrol crisis. President Agostinho Neto of Angola has ruled that the four white mercenaries must die for their involvement in the February civil war and turned down the request for clemency by Britain. Sudanese security forces used helicopters to capture "mercenaries" trying to escape after the failure of last week's coup against the regime of President Jaafar Nimeri. The ashes of Marshal Chu Teh who died in Peking recently was enshrined in a pagoda-roofed temple.

LETTERS

• Prof Jayatilke's Articles

Sir,

Readers of the *Tribune* will undoubtedly appreciate very much the second instalment of Professor Jayatilke's article published in the *Tribune* of 3.7.76. In my letters to the now defunct *Sun* I stated that the vestiges of colonial rule will remain as long as the nine provinces into which the colonial ruler divided the Island for administrative purposes are extant and that we should revert to the three original provinces. If this were given effect to the minorities will be better placed particularly in the event of regional autonomy. At present the so-called obsolete Kandyan Provinces have created dichotomy of the Sinhala people.

The major portion of Ruhuna is still called Lower Uva whereas as a matter of fact even Upper Uva and almost the entirety of Sabaragamuwa are segments of

Ruhuna. The British granted independence of the entire Island alike and not for only the now obsolete Kandyan provinces.

Regional autonomy for the nine colonial provinces or the present 22 administrative districts is no better than regional autonomy for every square mile of land in the Island.

Mt. Lavinia.  
5.7.76

R.W.W.

\* Fascists

Sir,

The latest tactic of GUNDU politicians is to call one another Fascists. This bogey appears to have some influence on the unsophisticated gullible voter. A top politician and tactician, held in very high esteem has let the cat out of the bag. He has pinpointed who the Facists are in an article appearing in a very popular Sunday Sinhala paper. In addition to exhorting voters to be very wary in the use of the franchise, he has said

that the facists are those who shed tears and make promises during elections—such as, good employment, two measures of rice, white sugar at 8 cents etc. etc. We have also the statement made in Parliament on 14.6.70 on the implementation of promises made immediately prior to elections—They are:—restoration of the measure of rice cut earlier, milk foods for infants at cheap rates, reduction of the price of textiles, Masoor dhal to be freely imported and distributed, goods in every day use to be made available at reasonable rates all laws restricting democratic rights to be repealed freedom of speech, processions etc. to be guaranteed in law, freedom of the press and independent news papers to be encouraged etc. etc. Now Sir we all know that these promises have not been kept. Therefore according to the reasoning of this respected politician, those who made the promises are "ipso facto" the facists.

Richard Wickremeratne  
Teliawala.  
7.7.76

\* \* \*



## RESOLUTIONS

## Fifth Ministerial Conference On Non-aligned Countries

— Lima, August 25 - 30, 1975 —

In recent issues of *Tribune*, we published the most important materials from the Fifth Ministerial Conference of Nonaligned Countries in Lima. This issue contains the complete texts of the thirteen resolutions adopted at the Lima Conference.

## RESOLUTION I

### THE SO-CALLED FRENCH SOMALILAND (DJIBOUTI)

The Conference of Ministers of Foreign Affairs of Non-Aligned Countries, meeting in Lima from 25 to 30 August 1975.

Bearing in mind the struggle of the people of the so-called French Somaliland (Djibouti) for their national independence;

Recalling the resolutions, recommendations and declarations adopted by the United Nations General Assembly, in particular General of 14 December 1960, containing Assembly Resolution 1514 (XV) the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples;

Recalling further the Declaration on the struggle for national liberation and Resolution Number 7 on the so-called French Somaliland (Djibouti) adopted by the Fourth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries;

Taking into consideration in this respect the resolutions of the Organization of African Unity;

1. Regrets to note that the Government of France has not complied with these resolutions and continues to suppress the legitimate aspirations of the people of the so-called French Somaliland (Djibouti) for self-determination and independence.

2. Strongly reaffirms its support to the people of the so-called French Somaliland (Djibouti) for immediate and unconditional independence;

3. Calls upon all states to renounce any claims that they may have to the so-called French Somaliland (Djibouti);

4. Decides to call upon France to grant immediate and unconditional independence to the people of the so-called French Somaliland (Djibouti).

## RESOLUTION II

### PERU

The Conference of Ministers of Foreign Affairs of Non-Aligned Countries, meeting in Lima from 25 to 30 August 1975.

Notes with great respect the friendly and frank atmosphere in which the work and deliberations of the Conference have taken place;

Express its pleasure at having had the opportunity to meet in the Republic of Peru, a country which actively participates in the work of the movement of Non-Aligned Countries, makes an important contribution to the liberation of Latin America and the Third World, and is waging a revolution aimed at changing the old social and economic structures, affirming its sovereignty and promoting political, economic and social changes in the benefit of the people;

Confirms that the excellent preparation and the facilities provided by the Host Government, as well as the warm welcome and friendly attitude of the Peruvian people, have greatly contributed to the success of the Conference;

Expresses its profound gratitude and admiration to the Armed Forces Revolutionary Government of Peru and stresses the excellence of the opening address given by General Juan Velasco Alvarado, in which he referred to several matters of importance to the movement of Non-Aligned Countries.

Expresses, further, its thanks to the Chairman of the Conference, Major General Miguel Angel de la Flor, Minister for Foreign Affairs of Peru, for his democratic and efficient guidance of the deliberations of the Conference.

## RESOLUTION III

### THE INDIAN OCEAN AS A ZONE OF PEACE

The Conference of Foreign Ministers of the Non-Aligned Countries

held in Lima from 25 to 30 August 1975.

Recalling the Lusaka Declaration adopted at the Third Conference of Heads of State or Government of the Non-Aligned Countries held in September 1970, wherein all states were asked to consider the Indian Ocean as a peace zone, and to respect it as such; and also that it recommended joint action to guarantee the full observance of the principles of Non-Aligned;

Reaffirming Resolution 2832 (XXVI) dated December 16, 1971, of the General Assembly of the United Nations, declaring the Indian Ocean to be a zone of peace; and Resolution 2992 (XXVII) dated December 13, 1972, asking the States of the region, the permanent members of the Security Council and other major users of the Indian Ocean to support the concept of the Indian Ocean as a zone of peace;

Bearing in mind the recommendations of the ad-hoc Committee on the Indian Ocean, adopted by the General Assembly of the United Nations at its twenty-ninth session;

Deeply concerned with the expansion of the military base in Diego Garcia and the military deployment carried out by the great powers in the region, which threatens peace and security in this area and in the world;

Welcoming the efforts of the States of the region in the United Nations to make the Indian Ocean a peace zone;

Convinced that continuous efforts are necessary to dissolve the military alliances conceived within the context of great power rivalry;

1. Notes with satisfaction the consultations under way for summoning, as a first step, a conference of littoral and hinterland States of the Indian Ocean with a view to implementing the Declaration of the Indian Ocean as a zone of peace through concerned efforts directed towards the elimination of great power and foreign and imperialist military rivalry and bases from the Indian Ocean, as well as the littoral and hinterland States.

2. Condemns the maintenance and expansion of foreign and imperialist military bases such as Diego Garcia, as well as the continuing escalation of great power military rivalry and tension in the Indian Ocean, contrary to the expressed wishes of the



littoral and hinterland States and of the international community.

3. Calls upon all littoral and hinterland States belonging to multi-lateral military alliances conceived in the context of great power rivalry to withdraw from them as soon as possible and also to secure the removal of all foreign military bases established in furtherance of those alliances.

4. Urges that facilities not be used by warships and military aircraft, especially of the great powers, for purposes incompatible with the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the States of the region or that may endanger peace and security in the area.

5. Regrets the refusal of certain great powers to cooperate with the ad-hoc Committee on the Indian Ocean and calls upon them to reconsider their position.

6. Invites the great powers and major maritime users of the Indian Ocean to refrain from all actions incompatible with the objectives of the Declaration of the Indian Ocean as a zone of peace, including further escalation and expansion of their military presence in the Indian Ocean and the maintenance of all great power military bases, installations, facilities as well as disposition of nuclear weapons and weapons of mass destruction.

7. Decides to request the General Assembly of the United Nations to increase the membership of the ad-hoc Committee on the Indian Ocean in order to increase representation of the Non-Aligned States of the region.

#### RESOLUTION IV

#### ACTS OF WAR AND/OR AGGRESSION CARRIED OUT BY COLONIALIST AND RACIST POWERS

The Conference of Ministers of Foreign Affairs of Non-Aligned Countries, meeting in Lima from 25 to 30 August 1975.

Noting with deep concern that the countries and peoples of the Third World that have suffered or are suffering great losses in human lives and property as a result of colonialist wars and aggression and of wars waged on their territories between colonialist States;

Noting that the economic development programmes of these countries have been impeded by the

material remnants of these wars and acts of aggression, such as mines, explosives and destruction of installations, etc.;

Deploring that the States at war and/or the colonialist powers and/or the aggressors have not removed the material remnants of their military operations and/or given indications as to their whereabouts;

In keeping with the principles of the United Nations Charter condemning all wars and acts of aggression;

1. Condemns acts of war and/or aggression carried out by colonialist and racist powers in countries of the Third World.

2. Condemns the colonialist powers and/or aggressors that have neglected to remove the material remnants of these wars and/or acts of aggression such as mines, explosives, destruction of installations, etc. and denounces their failure to remove them or give any indication as to their whereabouts;

3. Demands that all States that have carried out acts of war and/or aggression remove the material remnants of their acts such as mines, explosives, etc. and indicate their whereabouts, for their removal and bear full responsibility for all damages incurred;

4. Considers that it is the right of all countries of the Third World and all national liberation movements that have been the object of or are still being subjected to such acts to be given full compensation for the losses sustained in human lives and/or property and/or resources.

#### RESOLUTION V

#### COORDINATION AND HARMONIZATION OF THE ACTIVITIES OF THE NON-ALIGNED COUNTRIES

This Conference

Recognizing the importance of promoting the coordination and harmonization of policies by all Non-Aligned Governments without exception;

Deeply conscious of the important role played in this regard by the Group of 77, within which discussions amongst the Non-Aligned on subjects of vital economic interest frequently take place;

Considering that Malta is one of the very few developing and

Non-Aligned Countries which are not yet members of the Group of 77.

Aware of Malta's keen desire, supported by concrete action and a formal application, to join the Group of 77;

1. Expresses the conviction that Malta's admission to the Group of 77 would strengthen the unity of purpose of the Non-Aligned Movement;

2. Calls upon Non-Aligned members of the Group of 77 to actively support Malta's application to join that Group;

3. Considers that pending such admission all Non-Aligned members of the Group of 77 should strive to ensure Malta's participation in all discussions and/or meetings organized by the Group of 77.

#### RESOLUTION VI

#### COOPERATION IN THE FIELD OF DIFFUSION OF INFORMATION AND MASS COMMUNICATIONS MEDIA

1. The Conference notes with satisfaction the results achieved in promoting cooperation among Non-Aligned Countries in the field of mass communication, including the commencement of a Pool of news agencies of Non-Aligned Countries which started operating in January 1975. A meeting of representatives of Governments and press agencies of Non-Aligned Countries should be convened to draw up a draft constitution for the Non-Aligned press Agencies Pool, which would include elements such as its organizational, structural and operational arrangements and financial participation for consideration and adoption by the Summit at Colombo. The participants accepted with satisfaction the offer of the Government of India to host this meeting at New Delhi in 1976.

2. In order to further stimulate the encouraging results already obtained, Tunisia is appointed as coordinating country in this area. The Conference supports the convening of the symposium on mass media in Tunis in 1976.

3. These coordinating countries shall also implement the means of concerted action in questions of mass communications and cultural exchanges in the framework of the Algiers Programme of Action, in particular.



— To revise the cable tariffs for the press and to facilitate more economical and faster inter-communications;

— To cooperate in the re-organization of communications channels which are still dependent or which constitute a colonial inheritance and obstruct direct and rapid communications among Non-Aligned Countries;

— To exchange and disseminate information on mutual national achievements through newspapers, radio, television and news communications media.

— To share experiences in connection with information media by organizing reciprocal visits of delegations of experts in information media, exchange radio and television programmes, films and books, organize cultural exhibits and artistic festivals.

— To adopt urgent measures to accelerate the process of collective acquisition of communications satellite and to prepare a code of conduct which regulates their utilization.

— To programme a joint action before the Secretary-General of the United Nations so that a special chair on the Policy of Non-Alignment within the proposed United Nations University might be created and, in the same manner, to foster similar studies in the universities and institutions of the Non-Aligned Countries.

## RESOLUTION VII SOUTH AFRICA

The Conference of Ministers of Foreign Affairs,

Taking note of the resolution adopted at the 9th Extraordinary Session of the O.A.U. Council of Ministers held in Dar-es-Salaam, Tanzania.

Considering that the Pretoria regime, a product of colonial conquest, is now operating as a full-fledged fascist power bent on perpetuating the ruthless domination of the indigenous people;

Considering that the tribal fragmentation of South Africa through the creation and arming of the Bantustan so-called states is designed to create labour and buffer zones as well as Trojan horses in the United Nations.

Convinced that the envisaged plot to present the Transkei and other

Bantustans so-called states for recognition as independent and economically viable is an urgent challenge to the OAU's and Non-Aligned Countries' sacred principle of preserving the national unity and territorial integrity of South Africa,

Gravely concerned that some Western countries, particularly France, the United States, the Federal Republic of Germany and the United Kingdom, in their anti-African role as allies of the Pretoria regime have stepped up their activities aimed at increasing the repressive and aggressive potential of the Pretoria regime.

Convinced that the repeated triple veto exercised by the United States, France and United Kingdom in the Security Council to save the South African regime from expulsion, an action contrary to their proclaimed commitment to the ideals enshrined in the UN Charter, testify to their well-known commitment to the side of the South African racist regime.

Concerned with the stepping up of maneuvers and activities of the Pretoria regime in attempting to legitimize perpetual enslavement, the oppression and exploitation of the South African people through the so-called detente.

Gravely concerned by the policy pursued by some West European countries which are heavily investing in the Bantustan with the view to help consolidate these tribal micro-states.

Noting with concern that some Member Countries continue secret and public contacts with the Pretoria regime despite the Dar-es-Salaam resolutions calling on the cessation of such activities.

Noting with satisfaction the growing militancy of the African people, whose determination to intensify the armed struggle is currently manifesting itself in various forms.

1. Reaffirms the resolution adopted by the 9th Extraordinary Session of the OAU Council of Ministers and calls for its strict observance and implementation.

2. Appeals to all Member States to instruct their Ambassadors accredited in West European countries to spare no effort in opposing the Pretoria regime's maneuvers aimed at whitewashing the apartheid regime.

3. Calls on Member States to ensure that the Indian Ocean is a zone of peace.

4. Appeals to Member States to render maximum support to the People of South Africa for the intensification of the armed struggle, especially the implementation of the Declaration on the struggle for liberation by the Fourth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries in Algiers which *inter alia* called for the creation of a support and solidarity fund to increase the effectiveness of national liberation movement.

5. Calls on all Member States intending to exchange visits with the Pretoria regime to renounce these in keeping with the resolutions adopted by the Non-Aligned Countries calling for the isolation of South Africa.

6. Vehemently condemns France, the United States, the United Kingdom and the Republic of Germany for their steeped-up military alliance with the Pretoria regime in its frantic armament race designed for international repression and aggression against independent Africa.

7. Appeals to Member States to instruct their Ambassadors accredited in Western countries to intensify their diplomatic action in opposing "detente" or dialogue with the Pretoria regime as well as in exerting pressure on these countries to observe the arms and economic embargo.

8. Reaffirms the legitimacy of the armed struggle for the seizure of power by the people of South Africa.

9. Categorically rejects the policy of Bantustan being carried out by the apartheid regime, which is calculated to entrench the inhuman system of apartheid, and declares that the so-called homelands should under no circumstances be given international recognition.

10. Calls on the Non-Aligned Group at the United Nations to work for the expulsion of the Pretoria regime and the granting of the permanent observer status for the Liberation Movements recognized by the OAU and the United Nations.

To Be Concluded





COLOMBO SUMMIT

## Tussle Over Invitations To Certain Countries

Colombo,

World-wide interest in the forthcoming Non-aligned Summit Conference in Colombo has now begun to focus particular attention on certain important issues. One of them concerns the admission of new members through their relaxation of the 1961 Belgrade Rules which have been held to be the criteria for admission. At the moment the problem has narrowed down to granting the status of an observer or a guest to three or four countries, Rumania, Portugal, Australia and the Philippines. It was thought that the matter had been temporarily settled at the meeting of the non-aligned Bureau of seventeen Foreign Ministers held in Algiers at the end of May this year. It was decided there to defer a decision on this delicate issue until the Foreign Ministers of the entire community met in Colombo in plenary session on the eve of the summit conference. It will be recalled that the Algerian Foreign Minister who had presided over the Bureau meeting had announced at the concluding session that, in the absence of a clear consensus over the criteria question, the issue would be kept in abeyance until the Foreign Ministers met in Colombo in Plenary Session.

But the Algerian Chairman of the Co-ordination Committee of Permanent Representatives of the Non-aligned community at the United Nations, which functions as a consultative body on policy matters as they arise when Foreign Ministers or Heads of Governments are not in session, was persuaded to convene a meeting of the group to review the criteria question and interpret the Bureau decision. The Algerian Chairman, at this meeting, put forward the extraordinary theory that since a decision to invite countries like Rumania, Portugal, Australia and the Philippines to the Lima Conference was taken by a plenary session of the Foreign Ministers, it could not be revised or reversed by the seventeen-

member Bureau that met in Algiers to prepare for the Colombo summit. What this meant is that the Consultative Committee of the permanent representatives of the U.N. was called upon to adjudicate upon a decision made by the Ministerial level meeting of the Bureau on the specious plea that as these countries had been granted guest status by the last plenary session of Foreign Ministers at Lima such status should continue to prevail until it was formally revoked by the next plenary session in Colombo. A number of countries, including India, have rejected this strange interpretation by insisting on the decision taken by the Bureau at Algiers was clear and unambiguous.

The countries opposed to such dilution of the criteria argue that there was no such category as permanent guests who are automatically entitled to attend all future conferences as a matter of right. It was stressed that the fact that they were allowed to attend the Lima conference was no reason to entitle them to such a right. It will be interesting to recall that when the Foreign Ministers of the non-aligned countries arrived in Lima they found that the Peruvian hosts had on their own invited a number of countries which were not members of the community to attend the conference. The Foreign Ministers, presented with this *fait accompli*, had reluctantly agreed to regularise their presence by granting them guest status, and this had enabled them to attend the open sessions without the right to participate. The Foreign Ministers did this simply to save themselves the embarrassment of having to refuse permission to those who had already arrived in Lima at the invitation of the host country. But, many countries at Lima had stressed that these "invitations" to Lima should not be considered as a precedent.

It is therefore disconcerting to find some countries, which strongly support the claims of Rumania, Portugal, Australia and the Philippines, seeking to cite the Lima precedent to obtain permanent guest status for these countries to attend non-aligned conferences. What is even more disconcerting is that these countries should seek to put pressure on Sri Lanka to

extend invitations to them on the basis of the Lima decision, which in their view must continue to prevail so long as it was not reversed by the Foreign Ministers in plenary session.

It will be noted that there are two categories of countries which desire to attend the forthcoming summit as guests. The first group consist of countries like Austria, Sweden, Finland and even Switzerland: They are "non-aligned" in the sense that they are not members of any collective military pacts. In the second category are countries like Rumania, Portugal, Australia and the Philippines: they are participants in military alliances. There is no controversy at all about inviting the first group as guests and the invitations have been issued from Colombo. But in the case of the second group, opinion sharply divided not only about their eligibility but the need to dilute the criteria to accommodate them.

It will be remembered that Rumania had applied for full membership at one stage although it was a member of the Warsaw Pact. Later Rumania had indicated that if membership was not possible it would be satisfied with observer status. Today, reports indicate that Rumania is anxious to attend the Colombo summit even as a guest. Rumania, like its sponsors, has taken the position that what was conceded at Lima should not be taken away now.

What has begun to disturb political circles in Colombo is that this attempt to resort to legalistic manipulation to secure invitation to countries like Rumania, Portugal, and the Philippines is being done under the threat that there could be a split in the non aligned movement if the criteria for admission was not relaxed. Sri Lanka, however, has temporarily by-passed the problem by agreeing to issue "visas" to these countries to enable them to be present in Colombo and to take their chance with regard to the decision by the Foreign Ministers. Sri Lanka has very correctly and very wisely decided not to submit to the pressure exerted by countries like Algeria and Yugoslavia to issue invitations to these countries to be valid until they were revoked by the Foreign Ministers.

This confrontation in regard to admissions is only a reflection



tion of a much larger problem that underlies non-aligned movement. Today the non aligned movement has become a major force in the world and even countries which had ignored it or opposed it earlier are seeking to get close to it or infiltrate it by getting admission for their satellites.

It will be remembered that the United States, under the late John Foster Dulles' dispensation, regarded non-alignment as "immoral" and had insisted that States dependent on it to keep out of the movement. Today there is enough evidence to show that the United States is pressing its supporters to join the non-aligned community. China which had also exhibited a hot and cold (or a love and hate) attitude to the non-aligned movement now seems anxious to influence the non-aligned movement through various members. China has developed the theory that the two super powers, the U.S.A. and the USSR, were seeking to dominate the non-aligned movement and, has called upon the non-aligned countries, with the help of China, to resist this super power rivalry and more especially the hegemonism of the USSR.

The conditions in the world today enable major developed countries to bring pressure on developing countries which are in dire need of getting favourable terms of trade and aid from the industrially advanced countries of the capitalist world. These advanced countries have sought to utilise aid and trade to influence the non-aligned movement to blunt all possible thrust against the western policies of neo-colonialism, imperialism and economic domination. There is no doubt that advanced industrialised countries would be satisfied if the attention of the conference is diverted from a struggle against neo-colonialism to a denunciation of super powers. In other words, they would like to get the Soviet Union bracketed with the United States, and the non-aligned movement to dissipate its energies in negative shadow-boxing without adopting concrete measures to establish a new international order.

It is in this context that many observers see the pressure on Sri Lanka to secure invitation for certain

States which will lay emphasis on the struggle against the super powers rather than against imperialism and neo-colonialism. The application of countries like Philippines and Turkey which are members of military pact, to participate in the Colombo summit is a case in point. Rumania, which is a member of the Warsaw pact is seeking to join the non-aligned movement is another instance

Admission of such countries, even if some think that they will weaken military blocs, will tend in reality to weaken the non-aligned movement. It would be another matter if these countries repudiated the military alliances and quit them before seeking admission to the non-aligned movement. During the last summit conference some Arab countries had lobbied for Pakistan's admission though Pakistan had not sought membership. It is not clear whether a new attempt will be made at the Colombo summit by some Islamic countries to secure an invitation for Pakistan to attend the summit as a guest or an observer. The application of Portugal is no different from the applications of countries which are members of military alliances—even though a democratic revolution has recently taken place in Portugal.

Industrially advanced western countries, led by the United States, seem to have yet another angle towards the non-aligned movement. It has been stressed that mutual co-operation among non-aligned developing countries, especially in organising "cartels" like OPEC, would come in the way of Western countries offering aid, technology and capital. This is tantamount to black-mail and is intended to blunt opposition to multinational corporations and schemes to nationalise foreign undertakings. The former US Ambassador to the UN, Mr. Patrick Daniel Moynihan, had bluntly told Third World countries that they would lose US aid if they persisted in voting and working against US interests. Moynihan is no longer at the UN but his logic and his way of thinking still seems to dominate influential ruling circles in the United States. There is not the slightest doubt that non-aligned countries are genuinely opposed to all attempts by advanced industrialised countries to weaken their united efforts

to bring a new international political and economic order into existence.

—Spartacus

## ABOUT COLOMBO

# The City Named After A Ferry

By T. M. G. Samat

Colombo, playing host to the Non-Aligned Summit, will very soon be wearing the rare garb of a leading world capital. Wantga and Ibunu Battuta in their travels—both famous world travellers—speak of this city named after a ferry. According to the historian Father S. G. Perera, Colombo is believed to derive its name from mangle tree which bore no fruit. The Dutch he says "playfully adopted this and made a leafy tree, the coat-of-arms of Colombo. They even perpetrated another pun by perching a dove on the tree because the Latin for dove is Columba".

There is more justification, however for the conclusion that the old Sinhalese township of Kolomba or Kolantota was so called because it was at the mouth of a rivulet, a flood outlet of the Kelani that entered the sea in what is now Pettah, in those days largely part of the Beira lake. The word also means a ferry. Via the corruption of this word by the Europeans, the city ultimately became Colombo.

One thing is certain the Portuguese did not to honour Christopher Columbus and call this city Colombo.

Today Colombo reflects the past joint efforts of generations of Dutch and Britons who both continuously occupied the city for 3 centuries one after the other. The city in fact still retains much of the Hollander and staid British flavour.

In the centre of Pettah is the old solid structure which housed the Pettah Post Office for close on half a century. A Dutch architectural specimen it is the only Dutch building outside Holland other than the one in Java to have the Royal crest of Holland inscribed in the original masonry.



## Colombo, City

The main attraction in this building is that it represents an epitome of Dutch architecture in the island.

Kayman's Gate, not far away, is another reminder of the Dutch. It derives its name from the Cros teeming the broad moat here in those days. An American word, Kayman means alligator, a word in common use by the Portuguese and Dutch in Sri Lanka those days. The belfrey here rang a bell in British times for taverns to close; but before that it rang at the Franciscan Church at Kotte from where the Dutch had removed it. The road that runs from Kayman's Gate to Hulstsdorp is called Dam's Street which kept back the waters of the Dutch Beira.

Koning Straat (King's Street), present day Main Street, Market Straat now first Cross Street and several others bring life to Dutch days as also the stone coat-of-arms of Amsterdam lodged in the walls of the YMCA and what remains of the bastions of the Dutch Fort of Colombo. The Petrah (derived from the Tamil) the Old Stad where the Dutch citizens resided in their houses of high verandahs and fan lights and heavy pane doors and slim and round pillars (specimens still stand in Hulstsdorp) is now a commercial quarter, Reclamation in British times changed much of the face of Dutch Colombo and one of these changes is the very much abridged Beira.

The British redeveloped Colombo by converting the Fort into a centre of business. The little mosque in Chatham Street of Dutch days is still there however, overshadowed by a Clock Tower built by a Churchill, a forbear of Winston Churchill, and designed by a Governor's wife and now older than London's Big Ben. In the Fort, are also St. Peter's Church, at one time the site of the banqueting Hall and Ball Room of the British, the Imperial army's Ceylon Head quarters, the British Governor's residence, now the President's residence and many other constructions of British times.

In Queen's Street here where the Central Bank is located the British during their stay of over 150 years built many mercantile offices beside Government offices.

Colombo's growth resulted directly from its ability to shelter and handle the ships that sailed

to its waters. The fine natural harbour in Fort was a fine British achievement of the days when there was no electric lights, no steam winches no wireless. Masters once they sailed from the harbour were complete in their authority. No one could send them word. They were out of reach of family and friends but best of all the ship agents of owners could not get them. Some liked it. It was a comfortable life. Gradually progress, invention ingenuity caught up with them.

Koppi Kadda Palia in Pettah a large commercial area bonded the cargoes and here functioned the warehouses for mostly coffee transported from Up country in bullock bandies that had among other contingencies the bandit Sardieli to contend with.

Colombo's leadership in amenities for its citizens is the evidence of its transport services sporting fields and parks practically all introduced in British times. Out of concern for the ladies of Colombo and children, a marine drive originated One of the big lungs of the city it still functions as a popular place of resort for the inhabitants.

One of the quirks of British days may be seen here alongside the marine. The English built what was called the Colombo Club with the idea of giving the European male population "a sure and certain place of retirement from the disturbing influence of feminine society". The Club maintained reading, billiard, card and refreshment rooms for the benefit of members. The entrance fee was £ 6 and the quarterly subscription £ 1. The Club does not function now the building having been converted to the hotel school but the city blaze at night lights up the reminder recalling the quirk of an age that has gone.

Side streets of Colombo like Canal Row make you linger a while. This water way once flowed from Lotus Pond the waters of which flowed along Lotus road branching off at Maccallum Road and Parson's road junction until it curved into York Street. Sailing craft sailing under foot-bridges landed at the flight of masonry steps (now considerably abridged) between the Hemas buildings and the R.G.O. When the British in 1871 started measuring the com-

mercial possibilities of the Beira and pulled down the pleasing Dutch features by demolishing the ramps in Fort and with the debris filled up the Canal, the Fort gained in fresh air and light.

Colombo offers more than one diversion. There are miles of ocean beaches in the suburb, golf links in the city itself this city which takes its name from a ferry can at a footfall echo over three centuries.



## BUILDING A VILLAGE HOUSE—85

### What's In A Name?

By Herbert Keuneman

Idly leafing through old magazines I came this morning (in the 'Wraparound' section of *Harper's* for January '76) upon an item that startled and delighted me: the clear echo of a Ceylon sound from the very heart country of anything-but-Ceylonese America. 'Wraparound' in this issue had, I see I have only just seen; for I had not thought earlier to look—the same obvious title I have chosen for this article and for the same reason: names was its subject; and amongst readers' miscellaneous contributions was this.....

*'In April 1974, when reading some legal notices, I saw that Pothuvillage Babyhamy had asked the Montgomery County (Maryland) Court to change her name to Ramya Briget (sic) Pothuvillage.'*

The item appeared amongst others whose interest was distinctly the strangeness of some name-sounds. But to me, of course the name—either version of it—was not strange in the least; or would not have been, had I found it in a Ceylon newspaper; even the cavalier misspelling of 'Briget' and the wistful self-appellation Ramya, The Beautiful, to say nothing of the delightful and unmistakable modern-Sinhaleseness of Babyhamy, are typical; all that was strange was to find it, commented on for only its sound, not its non-Americanness; in *Harper's*. It was like another Ceylon name, which I found in a steamship Passenger List, that was rendered noteworthy only because of the context it had become placed in: Mrs Manchinona Tippin. Mrs Manchinona Pothuvillage (for inst-



ance) would have read perfectly normal and occasioned no more notice in a Passenger List than a Mrs Elizabeth Jones; it was the Tippin tipped the balance with the uncompromising Ceylonese-ness of Manchi-Nona linked with the uncompromising foreignness of Tippin.

And yet, I don't know. For some reason, any sound ending in-in seems a perfectly acceptable denominative in Sri Lanka. Or did, amongst the more-or-less detribalized of our people, especially until we became Sri Lanka and developed more elegant ideas. I have had amongst my own domestic staff a cook named Ov-in (though he was the heaviest hand with pie-crust I have ever known) a kitchen assistant called (none too libellously) Eat-in, and (a railway-man's son) believe it or not, Sid-in. I even knew — you have to believe this, for it is true — a Suit-in (only, he spelt it Sootin) who was a tailor's son!

Now, Owen and Eaton are etymologically plain enough: as are Baran's (Barnes), Girigoris (Gregory), Magilin (Magdalene), Engeltina (Angelina) or even Brumpy which was, I believe, Brownrigg. All auspicious in their associations: the baby boys named for 'good' Governors — good, anyway, so far as the common man was aware — and the girls given august appellations borrowed from the ruling class. It is significant that nearly all such names are typical of the Low Country, where the process of detribalization was farthest advanced, though the rot eventually began to spread even into more stringent strongholds. Around Kandy, for instance, the name Kovin Menika is not uncommon: if Ran (Golden) Menika and Mutu (Pearl) Menika — to say nothing of the very associations of the title Manika itself — were conservative and respectable, why not Kovin (Coin) Menika: which added to the auspiciousness of a suggestion of wealth and value the further auspiciousness of a term couched in the ruling tongue? But then what of names, like Manchi, that as far as one can trace convey no special connotation at all? They could only have been euphonious inventions (euphonious in their inventors' ears) of which the first syllable may have been dictated by a planetary auspice, while the whole achieved an air of authenticity by ending with an accepted — or

acceptable sound. If Mart-in, why not any other-in? If it happened to be consonant with what the planets suggested. The ending man, even when it did not retain any suggestion of 'person' or 'practitioner', or the end -in though implying no such relationship, is — or was — another such favourite sound. I once has a pupil, aptly named, named Demon! (But — afterthought — might this have been Dutch: (van) Dieman?)

(Yet this still does not explain Manchi: the only semantic I can ascribe to which is not one any fond parent might wish to enshrine!)

Although I was set off on this tack by the discovery I have recounted, it happens that I have lately been thinking somewhat about village names and the changes taking place in regard to them. The main reason: trying to account for a comparatively recent phenomenon, the determination of village Menika to be called Menikes.

Now, Menika is, of course, not a name but a title, corresponding to the masculine Banda: it betokens belonging to a particular caste — or a social stratum within a caste — as Kumari an Bandara or Hamy (both genders) et al do. Ideally, either should be qualified on an age basis as Loku: Major, Madduma: Minor, and Punchi: Minimus (or Minima, I suppose, outlandish as the last may sound).

Here I must digress! Mauge all the efforts of the Family Planners, Minimus (or Minima) is the rub. It is sad to contemplate the number of synonyms for Punchi: Dingiri, Heen, Kiri, Kuda, Podi, Tiri, Ukku are those that leap to the mind; however persistent the miscalculation, there is, so to speak, another shot in the locker! I knew a South Indian pastor who outfaced a similar embarrassment. He named his first son Emmanuel Das. He then conceived that it would be a pretty plan to establish a sort of filiation of suitably-named Das-es and went on to have Messiah Das, Hosannah Das, Glory Das.... at a given point he decided to call it a day: these things can be carried too far. For several years the birth-rate was static. But suddenly something went wrong and another little Das mockingly appeared. Cast down, maybe, the Pastor was no white demoralized, and with a faith

still sublime named the latest Amen Das!)

To get back: Menika, then, is no name, but a title. How, in that case, may it be aggrandized? For many generations this has been achieved by linking the title not with the classical epithet proper to the child's age-status but with some complementary or ambitious expression: Coin Menika! One day, when my wife and I were first in Ehetuwewa we decided, on a whim, to see how many Bandara Menikas we could rustle up within an arbitrary period: we made it half an hour. (bandara is a word equivalent in Sinhalese usage to 'princely'.) We announced a free group photograph of all the women and girls answering to that name who should present themselves at our house within the stipulated time. We entrusted six small boys who knew the village and its close environs with spreading news of the offer. Twenty-three Bandara Menikas turned up! And — something that was noteworthy — all of them were young: none above the middle twenties. It seemed reasonable to conclude that the determination to make oneself great by merely naming oneself great was a comparatively new departure, at least in conservative and respectable communities. (We did not forget that older Bandara Menikas might not have come: we knew that they would have come, had there been many to do so, for we had found always that the prospect of being photographed and receiving a copy was an irresistible draw.)

THIS METHOD of securing greatness by merely assuming the name of greatness — so still less by assuming names simply auspicious or fashionable — no longer, however, cuts any ice. Now that there is no efficacious public opinion to hold the trend in check at least by reserving it to the 'good' castes — now that even the *rodi* name their Bandara Menikas — some new conceit must be found. And I think it is not accidental that the women have found it. It is the women, above all, in this village society (and perhaps not only there) that particularly constitute themselves the jealous guardians of honour already actually achieved and the avaricious to gather whatever is appropriable whether earned or not. Banda may think it idle to



ask to be called Bandare; but to his Menika it makes all the difference to be, now, Menike. Whyever?

I hardly know even any colloquial Sinhalese (so it ill behoves me to pontificate) but I imagine the usages of grammar hold universally good however the usages of inflexion may vary, and I think—though I could well be wrong—that Menike is a Vocative form: just as Srimavo for Srīma seems to be, though of older establishment. Clearly it puts the speaker in an inferior position to have to *abjure* instead of having merely to denominate. I can't see what other significance the change—so jealously insisted upon—could possibly have. I don't think any scholar of the subject has ever suggested that there was, before, a difference of dignity between Menika and Menike as (for instance) there has always been between Menika and Etana though both are of the *govī* caste.

Now that, ignorant, I have nevertheless gone out on one limb I may as well, whilst I am about it, go out on another. The 'Ge' Name. This has always been translated as: 'of the House of', as though the bearer was a Montague or a Capulet. But might it not, rather, be not *ge* (as is presently spelt) but *ge*, denoting a sort of Genitive of Origin. Certainly, amongst the lower castes in Ehetuwewa a man will sign Singappuliya-*ge* Wijewardana, where Singappuliya denotes only his father's name and carries no suggestion of a dynasty! (Needless to say, Wijewardana would be under-30: Singappuliya's son would otherwise be Angappuliya, or some name like that, instead of an Increaser of fictitious Victories!)

Besides, in these times at any rate, the word *ge* is never used to denote a House or even a house. It is neither an ancestral establishment nor even a separate building. It is an apartment within a *gedara* (which is the proper word for house). The Ge Name, I am trying to say, was originally no more than a -*ge* Name. Or so I should think. But I should be grateful to be made to think more correctly if I ought. As I say, I am not daring to pronounce: I am proposing, and very humbly and tentatively, a question. Someone, tell me.

It strikes me that for official purposes a -*ge* name is probably more useful than a Ge Name. It is comparatively easy, if need be,

to check on who someone's father is or was. On the other hand, in these days of assumed honorifics it could call for some research to ascertain whether in the days of Raja Sinha II or Raja Sinha I, some yet more distant king there really was an ancestor who exercised the office of Senior and handed down the name Loku Hewa-*ge* to his descendants. There is, of course, today, the Birth Certificate; but that could be rendered valid without any reference to ancient ancestry at all.

As a matter of convenience it has become a present convention to adopt the name of one's village as a surname (it Pothuvila-*ge* a 'transitional' example?) justifiable enough, maybe, when every village was familial and a reference to one's village implied membership in the kinship that constituted it. But now? when anybody may live in any village and may, if he wishes, simple decision make the name of that village his 'surname'? I know of cases that have done just that. Nothing nefarious, of course: just misleading and therefore sad. And I confess to a snobbish nostalgia for the times when a place-name name meant that the place was once that in which an honoured ancestor ruled however small a fief. Better snobbery than cheating!



#### ON A TEA ESTATE—4

### First Morning In Brae

By Ina Trimmer

When at last we reached home and the chair finally laid down it was close on eight o'clock. Was I tired, were my bones aching after the long weary jolting journey? But my chair coolies were as fresh as new paint. They rolled up the dhori, salaamed with smiles irradiating their faces and walked jauntily away.

"Come on old lady", said my husband taking my arm and helping me up the steps. "Old lady" was one of his stranger terms of endearment. When he called his old lady, I could get anything out of him.

"Tired are you?"

I couldn't speak. Whenever I am very tired I have a mad desire to cry. I was very near tears at

that moment, and I am sure he saw it. Forcefully he almost lifted me up the steps.

"Now for a brandy; a real stiff one".

I knew he didn't touch "a drop": so I was surprised to hear him speak of a brandy. I realized later that he kept a very good cellar indeed. "Why impose my poison on others," he said. "A guest must be able to choose his drink". So he was ready for all contingencies. He brought me a bumper that night. I needed it; but I was quite unused to such a hefty drink. I have no clear idea of that first evening.

All I remember is a little black and white dog flinging itself rapturously on my husband; a servant who came forward salaaming low as we entered, with a funny little "thalappa" on his head and a very serious face, and an enormous hanging oil lamp the largest I have ever seen with a deep pink silk shade over the dining table.

"Down Kuli! Down my girl! There! There! I knew you you are glad to see me," to the dog. And to the servant: Well Palanimuthu, how are things?" Then turning to me, "Palanimuttu's my dressing boy. Fine chap! Faithful to the marrow! I sometimes call him Kiriki."

"What's that?"

"Kiriki? Madman"

"Funny kind of pet names you have."

I didn't even need a suggestion to retire that night. I went straight from the dining table into the bedroom, unpacked my overnight case and was ready for bed. The open window revealed a mighty peak, a lone sentinel, against the skyline. There and then I called it the Hump and Hump it was always to me despite its euphonious name, Tunisgalla, which I learnt later, is one of the highest mountains in the district.

It was delightfully cool; the silence of the night in lonely places enfolded me. I slept. In the darkness of early dawn I was rudely awakened by a compelling insistent reveille. I wondered what it could be. It sounded like a tattoo played in very quick time with a kind of dancing tilt to it. There was a gay abandon in the beat which had the effect even on me of driving all sleep away. "Come on, Come on!



Get up! Get up! it seemed to say with emphasis on each second word followed by a roulade. I lay in bed and listened. My husband was fast asleep, evidently quite used to the sound. Now far; now near; comes the call. The tympañist was indeed a finished performer. No blurring! No slurring! Each pulsation cut through the stillness outside with unerring precision.

Nevertheless it was a rattle of tea cups that woke me a second time! Palanimittu had come in with the early tea tray and my husband was seated smoking a cigarette and stirring his cup contemplatively, every now and again slipping it quietly as if savouring some nectar under his tongue. I could never watch him drinking his tea without being struck afresh each time at the evident pleasure it gave him. I asked him once:

"Teddie, all planters like their sundowners, at least. How's it you never acquired the habit?"

"No credit at all to me. I just didn't like it. I have tried whiskies and other strong drinks at various times but finished off with such a head that I never felt inclined to repeat the performance."

I joined him at the low, round tea table. The morning chill was still in the air so I wore the silk kimono he had given me. It was a beautiful thing of pure heavy silk crepe-de-chine, apple green with a design of tulips in all colours and lined with white silk of the same quality patterned in green. It was really two kims in one.

He began to pour a cup for me.

"No! No! I said. "I don't like tea. Coffee's my drink."

"Real continental taste. Funny How did you acquire it?"

"I don't know I think all Burghers drink coffee in the morning."

"Let's order some for you. But stay—I don't think we have any. Unless some tinned stuff's there, I sometimes have it after dinner."

"Never mind the coffee. Tell me what was that sound in the very early morning?"

"What sound? I didn't hear anything."

"You were fast asleep it went something like this", and I beat a tattoo on the table. "Ta-ta-e! Ta-te-te-te-te. I can't quite get it but it was most inspiring—no, that's not the right word. There

was nothing war-like about it. It was gay, lively, allegro."

"My word! What a description of Thappu!"

"Thappu!"

"It means literally "strike". Cooly Tamil is a most unimaginative tongue. I cannot call it a language. Dialect would be a better term. A chair is nakali. It means four legs. A stable is matu petti, a box for the cattle. But to return to Thappu. It's the call to the coolies to wake up and get ready for the day's work."

"What's it played on?"

"A little drum covered with thin goat skin is struck with two little sticks. The man carries it on his hips, in the crook of his arm, and uses both sticks on one drum head."

"He's a wonderful performer."

"Ought to be considering the practice he has had. I pay him ten rupees a month."

"Only that!"

"If I paid him any more there'd be such a scramble for the job that I wouldn't know what to do. Mari-muttu's all right. Besides it's only about an hour's work."

"Well he certainly knows how to put verve into it. I nearly got up and danced out of the window."

My husband laughed.

"Get up and dance out of this and let me plan my day's work. It's here, while I drink my morning cup of tea."

"Cups", I interjected.

"Have it your way. It's here that I decide my plan of action. I've had a hard row to hoe at Brae. I'll tell you all about it some day. My lot seems to be cleaning out Augean Stables."

"One stable or many?"

"Many, I go from one to the other."

"But Teddie, aren't they feathers in your cap?"

"I can do without some feathers now."

"But Brae looks fine."

"Now. Five years of slogging. Five years R.I."

"What's that?"

Rigorous Imprisonment. For months I don't move out of this place except to collect cooly pay. I have slept in that factory, night after night, on a camp bed just

dozing watching the wither, watching the firing. And the coolies, the kanganyes, waiting to catch me; waiting for the smallest slip."

"But Teddie, they seem to love you. The crowds that salaamed as we passed by the kanganyes who came forward with their garlands".

"They are not a bad crowd. Easily led astray but once you get their trust and confidence there isn't a labourer in the world to touch them. They have stood by me to a man since that first year. Brae would not be what it is but for them. Thank God for the estate cooly, the planters' friend".

(To be continued)

## AN EVALUATION

# Grow More Food Or Rape Of The Land?

By Bryan de Kretser

It is not easy for me to write this evaluation. One fears there might be repercussions which could bear heavily on friends and associates in the work with which I have been identified for some many years. It must be made clear that this evaluation is mine alone and that none of my friends know of my decision to write. I must make it clear also that always my own relations with Government officials and Politicians have been most cordial. I have hesitated to write for these and other reasons. I have decided to write because I have become convinced that to be silent is a disservice to the nation. Whether I get into trouble or not, if by speaking the people can be helped, then to be silent is to be false to all that makes life truly human.

Now what is all this about? As I write I am in immediate association with one particular locality where the following events have taken place during the past few years. Five years ago the Government established a colony on 190 acres of old rubber land. 90 families were given two acres each, 51 of these families with Government assistance, came and settled on the land. Today there are only 18 families left on the land, the others have returned back to where they came from. The land



## Food Or Rape?

itself once filled with massive rubber trees, is a vast discouraging rock, frighthening in its arid heat and naked hostility to man.

Has any evaluation for the total failure of the project been made? Is this one isolated agricultural failure and elsewhere are there manifest stories of success? One clear reason for the failure concerns the water problem. In the earlier estate structure a group of perhaps fifty families worked the same extent of land but they were not scattered over the entire land area, they stayed together in one residential unit and were supplied with water for their household needs from a central and reliable source. The Colonization scheme broadcast fifty families over the entirety of the property. The more fortunate ones got allotments near to a regular water supply point, access to which was usually denied to the others, and which was in any event too far away from where they stayed. Result, the majority cut down the stand of trees on their two acres and then abandoned the place.

Closely to this colony is one of the much advertised Co-operative Farms started about four years back. Five hundred acres of land, three hundred in rubber, was released to two hundred young people. A horde of Government officials were in constant attendance. Freedom from Hunger food supplies were made available, foreign agricultural experts visited the farm frequently, and a large sum of money was poured into the project. Today the project is being abandoned. Hardly a dozen chaps stay on the Co-operative. The land is now to be parcelled out in two acre blocks among villagers. Whether the history of the 90 family project will be repeated only time can tell.

Again is this one isolated instance of failure or are there other areas in which similar failures are taking place? Who is to blame for this ghastly mess? What I do know is that the man in charge of the co-operative is the most important single person in the undertaking. If he is honest, if he can inspire others, if he is competent and identifies with his fellow-workers, success is assured.

In this case, the manager previous to this appointment had worked in an MPSC where a large

sum of money disappeared. He was consequently promoted to be Manager of the Co-operative farm! The foreign experts soon realise that the project was failing because of unreliable leadership. They urged the chaps on the land to speak up and get things changed. Poor chaps, the foreign experts, did not appreciate how hard it is for natives to follow this good advice.

**We are living today in a land where in each district, politicians have more effective power than God Almighty Himself. To court their disfavour is to risk life itself. None therefore speak openly though obviously many nurture hopes of revenge some day.**

It is a fear dominated society we are establishing. Intelligent Government officials often act as though morons could take their place equally well. In each district the greatest need is for a group of independent concerned and informed men who can bring meaningful pressure to bear on chaps at the top in the interests of true development. No such group exists. The land is sacrificed again and again to enable an individual to take revenge or to secure political gain.

Nothing is more vicious than the right politicians enjoy to nominate chaps for land, for jobs, etc. The practice is spoken of openly and unashamedly. It is the done thing. So the man who is the best bum sucker gets the job, gets power. Any nation where this is taking place on a large scale is rapidly becoming a nation of worms, mice, non-men. I say that this is taking place.

I confess that even as I write this I suffer from fear. I do not believe this is only because of an innate timidity. (A week before the last General Elections I participated in a debate in the company of Mr. Felix Dias Bandaranaike, Mr. Pieter Keuneman and Mr. Nath Amarakone, on the subject "World Bank, Friend or Foe" and criticised the UNP policy). To be silent is more comfortable. One can get more things done. But can one easily agree to exist-

tence as a worm? More, can one be silent when one believes that what is happening has dire consequences for the future of our peoples?

It is admitted that the gravest threat to human existence in Sri Lanka today is that we may not be able to feed all our peoples. Yet where I live I do not see much to assure me that we are taking the road to economic well-being. Rather is it frighteningly clear that the Land is being raped in the interests of political power.

Our land is not as fertile as politicians affirm repeatedly from public platforms. It will need to be loved, nourished, cared for very specially if we are to triumph, and all around one sees devastation, destruction, abandonment.

Despite the two clear cases of failure I have mentioned, Politicians and Government officials alike cheerfully plan one new venture after another. No one is punished, no lessons are learnt. Some folks certainly know what ought to be done to improve matters. They do not speak. They cannot. The chaps who know to flatter, meekly to mutter "Yes, Sir," cluster around the fellows with paramount power and whisper what they love to hear "All is well."

If this is a free nation-why am I afraid to sign this letter?

**Inania** of this, that and the other

## The Stately Tree

By INNA

THE Sri Lanka Daily News of April 29th 1976 carried a warning banner headline: "Check tree-felling in Mahaveli area"—said the Forests conservator, Mr. W. R. H. Perera in his Administrative Report for 1975. Then came the bombshell, so soon after the Mahaveli diversion: "any further deforestation of this region would be tantamount to spiking the Mahaveli at its source". Forests do play an important role in shaping the environment: so said the front-page main news' item. Tucked away in column 2 of the same page was a quiet but related news item:



"Month-long pirith to bless sacred Sri Maha Bodhi tree to invoke the blessings of the Triple Gem on the 2500-year old sacred Bo-Tree."

The Buddhist, the Jew, the Christian, drink deep of arboreal symbolism, (the Christian: from the trees in the Garden of Eden, right up to the arboretum in the book of Revelation). The Christian's and his zest for living are healthily shadowed by the Tree of Life, the wood of the Cross, called the *arbor una nobilis*. In fact man's whole life has its roots on earth, its crown or fronds in heaven. The Kingdom is compared to a mustard tree (Daniel too) which has its branches spreading out in a universal refuge. Hope stirs when good trees bring forth good fruit, and well-nigh despair when the fruit is bad. The deduction is inevitable: the tree is bad.

Trees are the symbol and reality life's basic form of existence: absorption, assimilation, growth: vegetal life. Buddhist enlightenment history began at that pipal tree (*ficus religiosa*) under which Siddhartha Gautama reached supreme Enlightenment or self-realization. The Tree had its share in sheltering the Buddha at that moment. Buddhists and other enlightened men must honour and revere trees as symbols of life, trees which have such ecological significance in relation to the preservation of life, of soil (which produces food, for life).

The *dhamma* is *sacca*: the teaching of Truth is the Truth and truth can never die. It is beyond darkness, light (*tad'amatage*, *Digha Nikaya* i, 100): it is beyond death, life (*Sutta nipata*).

Then again, there is a massive roadway across the Amazon Forest, called the Transamazonian. By the end of 1972, there were 15,000 new settlers, for the love of Multinationals which, when they open up new areas, find ample scope to sell their soap—and other goods. Ecologists and agronomists warn them, but who's going to stop them making hell on earth? The thick forest cover shelters the soil from scorching sunlight of the equatorial region, keeps the pelting downpours (average 80 inches) from eroding the soil: this is also done by the rotting humus and the roots of the trees.

Amazonia is no miraculous solution for enormously complex problems. But, by cutting the road, the Brazilian government has optimistic

goals of setting 5 million people by 1980, but by 1980, the population would have increased by almost 10 million, twice the number of new settlers in Amazonia! One third of the world's lumber grows in Amazonia, and its forests provide one-fifth of the world's Oxygen. Fifteen percent of the world's sweet water flows through Amazonia and 1500 kinds of fish live in its rivers.

Praise and work. Our country surrounded the Bo-tree with its care and concern because of its symbolic, religious value: the island-wide *seth pirith* was like a paean of protection: the scientific work done by the University team was the human-team contribution. The tree sprouted giving new hope of life, to those who live by the truth of Dhamma. *Bhavana* on the significance of that Tree may help us in our approach to all tree.

## LETTERS

### \* Packing Tea

Sir,

Flour is packed in jute, linen or plastic bags and sugar in jute bags. Dates are packed in coarse mat bags woven roughly from date palm leaves. Dates are eaten raw without washing, steaming or cooking. Sugar too is consumed similarly. Our imports of these commodities aggregate several hundred millions of rupees annually. Although liable to contamination the producers and shippers are content to pack them in this manner knowing fully well that these will not be rejected by the buyers and consumers and as it is not a practical proposition to use a better packing material like chests and tin or aluminium foil.

Why cannot tea be similarly packed or packed in paper bags in which cement is packed? More than fifty years ago cement was imported packed in wooden barrels only. There would not have been a single tree left today if this old practice had continued in cement exporting countries. Besides jute, linen and plastic, tea can be packed in mat (*pung*) or coir bags. Unlike the coarse mat bags in which dates are packed, *pung* and coir bags can be very daintily

produced by our village craftsmen if there is a demand. Unlike our invaluable forest trees and other material involving foreign exchange hitherto used for packing tea, *pung* and coir with tissue paper lining inside if desired can be locally produced easily out of raw material that can be easily grown. Furthermore it will give rise to an extensive cottage craft or small scale industry.

I know that letters of this nature are more appropriate for publication in the news papers but what am I to do when the daily news papers in Sri Lanka today reject or suppress sensible suggestions and articles? For example recently letters of researchers in Vidyalanakara Campus and a Catholic priest on the subject of a cheap weedicide for eradicating or for biological control of salvinia appeared recently in the Lake House paper. I too addressed a letter stating that biological control was possible by the introduction into salvinia infested waters the dugong, a herbivorous marine mammal. As expected the Lake House press suppressed my letter.

R. W. W.

Mt. Lavinia.  
2.6.76

### \* Prof Jayatilleke's Articles

Sir,

Anyone with a modicum of political intelligence could have foreseen without any difficulty the future of this country when the 1970 elections announced that the motley crowd of opportunists who called themselves the United Front were elected by a huge majority. So it should come as no surprise except to the native to witness this nation in its present parlous state characterized by a corrupt and inefficient government who can claim to only one uncontested fact, namely that during its tenure there occurred a blood bath in which thousands (or is it tens of thousands) of its supporters who were responsible for its victory at the elections were killed. (It may be no more than a coincidence that the one and only



uncontestable eventful fact is the late S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike's premiership was an earlier blood-bath).

To help this government reach this unique position were a large number of stalwarts from various fields including the University. (Some of them came into the ruling government power along with the gullible L.S.S.P. and when they—the L.S.S.P.—were unceremoniously ditched they managed to disentangle their allegiance to the L.S.S.P. and continue to wax rightly as Chairman of various corporations etc.) One such person on his own admission it would seem is Prof. A. D. P. Jayatilleke who has now given his version of recent political history in potted form in two articles in the *Tribune*. Even so his slant is obvious in such phrases as the description of Bandaranaike's assassin as a "man in yellow robes". But it is the mock humility of Prof. Jayatilleke that is so striking. He now claims to be nothing more than a "Human Anatomist". But it was not so long ago that he was striding "the corridors of power" holding high positions as this Government's appointee and laying down the law on every subject under the sun. It is difficult to picture the Prof. Jayatilleke of this article as the arrogant brow-beating bullying dictator of a few years ago. Woe betide the person who earned his displeasure. The same papers which I presume refused to publish the articles which *Tribune* has now published had earlier published with alacrity his earlier effusions. Why this change of heart? Could it be because the Professor was only concerned with the unnecessary but trifling expenditure spent on Republic Day and did not mention anything about the extravaganza currently going on. Soon afterwards he made the usual mission that so many of his kind had to make—the arduous journey on a Fellowship to the U.S.A.

Prof. Jayatilleke complains of the indiscipline in this country including the University. He would have done better if in these articles he had traced the origins of this indiscipline, when they occurred and identified the people who were behind the students and instigated open acts of defiance. Also he might have told us what measures he adopted to control

discipline when he was in authority.

Prof. Jayatilleke like any other human has the capacity to change. But we require evidence of any change. For can a leopard especially a "kottiya" change his spots?

Chandra

Colombo.  
13.7.76

\* \*

## Management

Sir

Inaugurating a three-day education course for Senior Management Officers in the Corporation sector at the Labour Secretariat, our Labour Minister had referred to the distinct role Senior Managers had to play especially in the industrial sector. He believed that it was very imperative that top managers in any vast organisation kept themselves abreast of changing situations and adapted themselves to such changes for the improvement of living standards of the people and the development of the country as a whole. In this connection, it must also be emphasised here, that top managers enjoying higher position in any big industrial sector should first and foremost realise their strength comes from their working people. It is this change in their attitude that paves the way for that sector to grow from strength to strength.

After all in any industrial organisation, everything begins and ends with the top management. It is in what they say, their direction and common-sense are the real factors which decide efficiency and the goodwill, and thus set the whole tone of the industry. Confidence and faith are the main things lacking in the worker—give him faith in top management, make him feel that he is the part and parcel of the organisation, that he is the most important share-holder, for he has invested his skill, his prospects and his future with you. Once a worker feels that he is treated as an essential part of a team, not as part of a machine, and that the manager has confidence in him, then and then only he will be able to see problems through the eyes of

the manager. Efficient management at any level demands a sympathetic understanding of human limitations and human weakness. Unless and until management pays heed to these vital points, it cannot operate effectively. Surely both top management and regular work force are equally interested in the general progress and prosperity of their industry and of the country. So, what is bad for one is bound to be bad for the other, and what is good for one should be equally good for the other. If only the top management should give a patient hearing to problems of the workers, and sit round the conference table as equal partners, the whole future of industry would change. Only by fair and friendly dealings and above all, by convincing the workers that it is in their interests to work well, can good and happier management-worker relations, confidence and prosperity be gained. To remove ignorance and want of understanding which often leads to hostility, friction and embitterment in an organisation, its top management must repose their confidence and faith in the workers their co-partners in industry. For it is said men do not live by bread alone, but by confidence and faith in one another.

N. Sri Kantha

Wattala.  
15.7.76

### 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

## Non-aligned Lobbies?

IS IT NOT TRUE that the unusually strong winds sweeping over this island for some weeks now have taken the lid off over many things in the sovereign and independent Republic of Sri Lanka? That a great many things have been uncovered? That one of the more significant matters of some international significance, which has come to light, is the revelation to local political observers of the first rudimentary understanding of the different lobbies, pressure groups, regional alignments and the like that makes the diversity in the unity of the non-aligned world such an interesting aspect of the contemporary phenomena of third worldism and non-alignment? That lobbies are inevitable in the development of any human movement towards a particular objective? That the great and monolithic Roman Catholic Church, the heir and successor of the mighty Roman Empire, had and has its factions, schisms and blocs of heretics? The Communist monolith has also experienced similar diversity in the unity it had sought to establish among human beings? That this diversity in the non-aligned world has been made to appear as "differences" by the hostile and antagonistic "world" press whereas the same press has sought to "manage" news and comment in such a way as to present cut-throatism and the bitter feuding among capitalist and imperialist countries as something of little consequence in the more-than-monolithic united front such countries maintain against communism, socialism, radicalism, non-alignment and third worldism? That many in the present generation have forgotten that it was imperialist and capitalist rivalries that had led to the first and second world wars? That it was these wars which had made possible the emergence and growth of the communist group of countries? That the world of the newly independent developing nations has grown and is growing from the inner and inherent

contradictions of colonialism? That war in Vietnam has brought into being the third largest socialist country in the world just as the first and second world wars had had given birth to Communist Russia and Communist China (with the socialist bloc of Eastern Europe) respectively? That the delay in the decolonisation of Africa by the capitalist world has led to the creation of many socialist-leaning countries in that continent, like Angola, Mozambique, Guinea, Somalia and others? That if apartheid and white minority rule is not eliminated within a short time, there is no doubt that the world of socialism will make significant gains in Africa? That the management and slanting of news and information by the "world press" had gone so far that there has been growing outcry against the international news agencies and information flow by the developing world of third world countries? That for a long time the capitalist world had pushed the developing world to rely and depend on the news agencies and information flow of the socialist and communist countries? That information media in the socialist world is unfortunately stilted, slanted, amateurish, doctrinaire, and totally subservient to the cold war imperatives against the capitalist world? That is why the non-aligned have now taken concrete steps to set up a news agency pool to present the news and views of the newly independent world in an "objective" manner? That many of the national news agencies set up by the developing countries are immature and amateurish and tend to believe that the only news fit to print is what the Government of the day approved? That this is an understandable reaction to the news and the information twists these countries have suffered at the hands of "world" news agencies? That the creation of a third world and non-aligned media will add to the necessary diversity that must exist to make a happier and better world? That in the meantime, it would be interesting to examine the manner in which the capitalist press has analysed the structure of the non-aligned world? That there is said to be a group of pro-Soviet line countries in the non-aligned movement opposed to the weaker but influential group of pro-US

countries? That the world press regrettably concentrates in exaggerating this "confrontation" to such an extent that China for its own reasons has raised the cry that the non-aligned movement has become a battle ground for the super-powers meaning the USSR and the USA? That this kind of attempt to denigrate the significance and importance of the non-aligned world and to cause divisions within it has aroused the indignation of the large majority in the movement who tilt neither to the USSR nor the USA? That the world capitalist press has also overemphasised the differences between the Arab, the African bloc, Latin American and Asian blocs? That whilst it is true that such groupings exists it gives a wrong perspective to indulge in interpretative analysis which makes these differences more important than the main objectives and strategies of the movement? That this attitude is only a reflection of wishful thinking of the capitalist world that capitalism can continue to thrive and make unconscionable profits by utilising the information flow to emphasise the differences in the non-aligned world? That there is no doubt that differences exist and must exist? That what the western world does not realise is that the third and non-aligned worlds are no longer willing to be blackmailed with the bogey of communism? That the western world can no doubt exercise pressure on some countries through its aid and other ties just as the socialist bloc can do the same in respect of other countries? That whilst this competition goes on, the historical conditions, which result from the over-greed of capitalist multinationals and evangelistic zeal of the socialist countries preaching a new egalitarianism, help to shape the world to come? That the non-aligned movement is a force to contend with in the world of today? That the western world which had ignored, scoffed and spurned non-alignment as something "immoral" now has second thoughts and seems to have changed its views on the subject?





# Antiques

— suitable for export —

Visit

---

Our Museum and Trade Centre

---

## THE TREASURE PALACE

"Baron's Court", 35, Guilford Crescent. Colombo-7.

Branch: 225, Galle Road,  
Mount Lavinia.

PHONE:  
95074



*HANDBOOK  
for the*

# CEYLON TRAVELLER



A Studio Times  
Publication

350 Pages  
24 Black and White  
Photographs  
4 full colour plates

This book is not only for foreigners.  
It will be a companion  
for local people on their travels  
through the Island.

*Available at*

**STUDIO TIMES**

TIMES BUILDING,

**COLOMBO-1**

and at all leading bookshops