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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.

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Letter From The Editor

WHAT CHANCES has the young lady on our cover of becoming the Prime Minister of Sri Lanka or, the President? We ask this question because the western media is full of stories about the chances of a peanut farmer becoming the president of the United States? If a peanut farmer can aspire to be the incumbent of White House, why cannot a village girl working on grinding stone (not seen in the picture) hope to be installed in Temple Trees? This question, we admit, betrays an oversimplification which might falsify realities, but it stems directly from American fables built around the theme: from log cabin to white house, and now from a peanut farmer to president. These fairy tales are centred around the self-delusory myth (at best a half-truth) that America is a land of opportunities enabling the small man to become big and the poor man to become rich—provided he works hard. Very few poor men in the US become rich, but the poor in America are often far richer than the richest in many other countries. It has even been claimed that American enterprise and the profit motive have superceded the laws of karma and that it was truly possible for a peanut farmer to become the president of the world's richest and mightiest country. But a close study of the true realities of the mechanics of how some have moved from a log cabin to white house will show that the thesis is valid only if the lucky one is picked up and backed by rich and mighty forces—but the lucky one must have the natural endowments to charm people and win elections. The Western media and the American press have, in recent weeks, plugged the peanut-farmer-to-president-line about Jimmy Carter so much that it began to wear a little thin and also sound dubiously unreal. We have, published elsewhere in this issue an article portraying another side of the Jimmy Carter story—the way an American communist sees it. Victor Perlo, the author of the article, came into prominence as an economist during Roosevelt's New Deal. He later made his mark as a marxist intellectual. The facts he sets out in the Carter article cannot, in the main, be controverted, even if his comments, inferences and conclusions can be questioned. Jimmy Carter is not peanut farmer in the ordinary sense of the word: he was never a manual worker. The Carter family were and are big landowners in peanut country and had owned a large number of blacks when slavery was legal. Now they have no slaves, but the Carters are rich and among the most-powerful in the County and the State. Jimmy Carter was Governor for a term and in this period was able to snow some giants of American industry and finance that he had the charismatic appeal and the demagogic touch to win a presidential election. Victor Perlo has listed Carter's backers and it is clear that a big powerful group of big business men and even more powerful corporations have decided to make a bid to make Carter the next President. We have also published in this issue an official USIS feature setting out an "official" and conventional view of Jimmy Carter. The Gallup poll organised by the Washington Post has indicated that Carter was now running favourite, 66% to Ford's 28% and 68% to Reagan's 26%. This means landslide victory. And the last landslide in the American presidential elections was when Nixon won his second term in 1972. Landslide victories often bring power that always corrupts. It is no use speculating on the future, but for the present it is enough to note that Jimmy Carter has, like several other American presidential candidates, big business behind him. The latest round of primaries have cost, according to magazines like *Time* and *Newsweek*, over \$ 68 million, a lot of money to weed out aspirants in the presidential race. To come back to the young lady on our front cover, all we can see for her is a dismal future. She has passed her O'level GCE in Sinhala. She has tried her hand at working at one of the Government farming projects, but has returned home disappointed. She is now looking forward to getting a job as an uncertificated teacher—as one of the many thousands the Government hopes to recruit before the next elections. (At the rate the Government proposes to recruit teachers we will soon have more teachers than buildings to accomodate teachers, leave alone students). We cannot see any prospects of the young lady becoming the Prime Minister of Sri Lanka. Or, the President? Unless something very dramatic takes place, she is doomed (or fated) to stick to the grinding stone in her village without much hope of purposeful or remunerative employment or even have opportunities to farm in a way that farming should be done.

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EDITOR'S NOTEBOOK

Before The Summit

THE CITY OF COLOMBO is getting geared up for the non-aligned summit. Very severe security measures have been adopted to ensure that nothing untoward takes place. During the conference no transit passengers will be allowed into the Bandaranaike International Airport terminal buildings unless they have transit visas. Otherwise they will be compelled to stay in the aircraft itself which will be speedily replenished and sent out. Normal passengers and Sri Lanka nationals who arrive at the airport will be subjected to normal airport procedure and will be required to leave the airport immediately through special exits. Nearly 9,000 policemen and 1,500 soldiers will be deployed all over Colombo, in one of the biggest security measures undertaken by the Sri Lanka Government. Hotels, where Heads of State would stay, will be placed out of bounds and only those with special passes will be allowed to go near them. Heads of State are expected to arrive between August 13 and 15.

It is expected that about 600 foreign journalists will cover the nonaligned summit and the Chairman of the Mass-Media Committee of the Conference and Secretary to the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting had stated that adequate arrangements had been made to provide facilities and accommodation for these visiting journalists. At a press conference he had stated that over 500 foreign journalists had already applied for accreditation and more applications were being received. He said nearly 300 of them would be lodged within Colombo city limits and the rest at the big hotel complex at Negombo, 60 km north of the city. Any foreign journalists, who did not obtain accreditation for the conference, would not be allowed to enter the island from Aug. 1 till the conclusion of the conference. Mr. Tillekeratne said the Government would not be able to entertain more than 600 foreign journalists for the summit because of problems like accommodation.

Mr. Tillekeratne had also referred to the proposed National

News Agency. He had said that Sri Lanka will soon set up the nucleus of its proposed national news agency, and according to Mr. Tillekeratne, who led his country's delegation to the New Delhi conference of non-aligned countries on press agency pool. "We are getting closer to forming a national news agency", he told newsmen. To begin with Mr. Tillekeratne said, the agency would be equipped to receive news from the proposed non-aligned news agency pool. But he added it would take time for Sri Lanka to organise an adequate set-up for nation-wide dissemination of domestic news.

Reports from different parts of the nonaligned world indicate that there was enthusiasm over the decision to set up a Nonaligned News Pool. The proposals formulated at the recent New Delhi conference to set up a news agencies pool and promote co-operation in the field of mass media among non-aligned countries have been enthusiastically welcomed by the press in several countries. In the words of the *Baghdad Observer* the proposed pool would enable the non-aligned to get rid of the technological and informational domination of the Western news agencies. The *Kabul Times* editorialised that the pool would play a crucial role in bringing pertinent information on issues of interest to one another. The *Nepali Press* said the pool would prove helpful in promoting contacts and co-operation among the non-aligned countries. The *Gorkhapatra* said it would enable one non-aligned nation to be acquainted with the objective situation in another. It would obviate the need for them to rely solely on Western news agencies and avoid unnecessary misunderstanding or bitterness which distorted or slanted reports of Western news agencies at time generated among them.

Writing under the caption *News Freedom*, the weekly *Holiday of Dacca* said it was always the statements from the developed countries which got prominence and, under the crushing weight of such propaganda, the voice from the Third World was often feebly felt. The proposed news agency pool would thwart any attempt at wilful misreporting of events in the non-aligned countries by

any quarter, the paper said. The Kuala Lumpur daily *Melayang Thung Pau* commented: "It would be a historical event if news agencies of several non-aligned countries could be merged together into one news network. It would be worthwhile to celebrate its formation if it could carry out its objective in the interest of news and people at large." The *Ethiopian Herald* in an editorial said: "Endeavour of the non-aligned nations will go a long way to eradicate, or at least overshadow, the biased and distorted coverage by foreign correspondents."

THERE HAS ALSO BEEN a great deal of preparation in Colombo for the nonaligned summit. The government has sponsored several seminars at the Bandaranaike Institute on various aspects of nonalignment. The SLFP too has convened several such seminars. The UNP has only issued a statement that it welcomed the nonaligned summit but had warned the Government against wasteful expenditure and had raised the question "is all this expenditure necessary?". This question will certainly be an election issue because there is a popular sentiment that adequate control of expenditure by bureaucrats has not been exercised by Government.

The LSSP, which has also raised questions about the amount of money being spent on the non-aligned conference, has taken a positive view of nonalignment unlike the UNP. The LSSP has organised a series of Seminars on the question of "Nonalignment and the Third World", in Sinhala and in English, to explain the Party stand on the nonaligned conference to be held in Colombo this month. The LSSP has welcomed the conference because as a Party it has supported the concept of non-alignment, but it was critical about the way the Conference was being organised (wasteful expenditure, etc). The UNP, on the other hand, has taken only a negative stand: while paying lip service to non-alignment—not long ago the UNP had no use for nonalignment, probably because Bandaranaike had taken the initiative to advocate it in Sri Lanka—the UNP has concentrated on the Government's mis-handling of expenditure. The Government, on its part, has taken an unnecessarily apologetic position in stressing that a large part of the expenditure had already

come as gifts and grants from richer nonaligned countries which were participating in the conference.

Apart from the governmental and party efforts to interest the public in nonalignment and the forthcoming conference, the Sri Lanka-China Friendship Association has been holding a series of public meetings (called seminars) in which leading Pekingwingers have been at pains to explain China's current attitude to non-alignment. These meetings have dealt with various matters which are on the agenda of the Conference. But at all meetings, the one theme that was propounded was the current Peking ideological hobby-horse that the "superpowers" were the global menace which had to be eliminated. The USA and the USSR were bracketed together as the two superpowers menacing the world and special emphasis was laid on exposing the evils emanating from the "social imperialism" now extant in the USSR. This has been Peking's ideological war cry for some years now, and in spite of it, the world, even the nonaligned and third world, have continued to accept and extend the concept of detente which is really the main target of attack in the Chinese thesis.

The general view in Sri Lanka, officially as well among the different political parties (except of course the Maoist Party), is that international detente was something desirable in the interests of world peace and harmony. Detente meant the international recognition of the principles of the peaceful coexistence of states with different political, economic and social systems. There is no doubt that the Soviet Union and some of the socialist countries had been enthusiastically campaigning for such coexistence for many years and have now succeeded in persuading many countries in the capitalist world to accept coexistence and detente as a way of life. There is also no doubt that the acceptance by a large majority of countries of the principles of coexistence and detente has helped to bring a relaxed atmosphere in the world and minimised the threat of a new world war.

China and Maoist ideology have vigorously—in recent times—opposed coexistence and detente. But the nonaligned world has

come to recognise that detente has not in any way hampered the struggle of developing countries to win political and economic emancipation: on the other hand such peaceful conditions which stem from detente have been conducive to the process of emancipation. That is why all non-aligned conferences and summits have welcomed the growth of detente and the consequent relaxation of tensions. The non-aligned world has also refused to accept the Maoist thesis that detente, was, in reality, a collusive effort by the two superpowers to establish their domination over the world at the expense of the developing countries contrary to the interests of the nonaligned movement. Detente, according to political thinking in nonaligned countries and elsewhere, is not a repudiation of the marxist concept of the "class struggle" but that on the contrary it was a condition in which the class struggle could reach purposeful and meaningful culmination.

It has been argued, rightfully perhaps, that Angola could not have won its freedom except for the minimal detente that existed in the world during the critical days when the fate of Angolan independence was in the balance. World opinion, strongly entrenched in the concept of detente, had compelled countries like South Africa and others seeking to use mercenary armies to withdraw from Angola. It is also now realised by nonaligned countries that in reality the detente between the USA and the USSR—and the consequent improvement in the relations between the two countries—helps to bring about relaxation of tension on a global scale and that this was helpful to the economic plans of the developing world. The whole series of US-USSR agreements aimed at reducing the threat of war, including a nuclear war, and which has led to co-operation in many areas of economy, science, technology and culture, had promoted the growth of conditions helpful to all countries.

It is hard to contemplate the consequences of a reversal of detente and the growth of new tensions in the world that would stem from worsening relations especially between the USA and the USSR. The first consequence would be a new arms race. This would

upset the existing parity of deterrent conventional and nuclear military power as between the USA and the USSR and the current balancing of forces of NATO and the WARSAW countries—and this would lead to a whole series of other disturbing developments. And it must be remembered that any new arms race would be at the expense of the economic development plans of developing countries. Peace, harmony and detente generated, by the principles of peaceful co-existence, are essential for developing and newly independent countries to consolidate their positions. Experience has shown that international upheaval and conflict detract from the process of peaceful construction and reconstruction in the developing countries whose economies have been stagnating for many many years.

If one is to sum up opinion in the non-aligned world, there is no doubt that there is wide acceptance that detente created a climate of confidence in the future of the world and that it enabled the developing countries to attend to the needs in regard to economic development. Detente also helps developing countries to change the old and essentially colonial structure of their relationship with the capitalist world. In an atmosphere, developing countries have been able to persuade developed and industrialised capitalist countries to support the efforts of developing countries to build their economy.

IN THIS SITUATION, the Chinese attempt to denigrate the concept of detente is only regarded as a propaganda stick in the ideological war Peking is carrying on against Moscow. But this refusal to accept the current Chinese thesis on detente—it can change overnight as so many things have change overnight in China and in every other country in the contemporary era—does not mean that China has no friends in the nonaligned world. It is known that China has many friends among developing countries and such friendship has been concretised and cemented by the aid which China has extended to these countries to reconstruct their economy.

There has been a great deal of speculation about the position of North Korea which has still not

been allowed to open a mission in Colombo. The North Korean Ambassador accredited to India in New Delhi overlooks Sri Lanka. At a recent press conference, Deputy Minister Lakshman Jayakody had stated that no decision has been taken about permitting North Korea (DPRK) to reopen their diplomatic mission in Colombo. The status quo remained, he had explained. This answer was in reply to a question whether North Korea would be permitted to re-open the embassy before the Nonaligned Summit in August. At this conference, Mr. Jayakody had also confirmed that the Conference will not debate any bilateral or multilateral issues between member countries as this had been the practice in previous conferences. (But this did not mean that there would not be attempts by individual member countries or groups of coun-

tries to settle some of these disputes).

These two pronouncements are important because it is known that North Korea has been pressing for the establishment of their mission in Colombo and interested parties had gone so far as to hint that Kim Il Sung would find it difficult to attend the Conference unless his country had a fully fledged mission in Colombo. Now these same parties have hinted that the North Korean leader might come to Colombo by boat and make it his extra-territorial home in the Colombo harbour to participate in the Conference. In the same way, there is confidence in official circles in Colombo that no major disputes were likely to mar the conduct and progress of the nonaligned summit. The problems in the Middle East, especially in Lebanon,

would be the subject of private negotiations between parties able to help just as the latest squabble between Kenya and Uganda would be resolved in the same way.

But what has perturbed political circles is that an American fleet should have sailed towards the coast of Kenya because irrepressible and irresponsible Idi Amin had threatened to march his army into Kenya. Nairobi had called the bluff of Idi Amin (who was brought to power, strangely enough, by a coup masterminded by the Israeli army chief Bar Lev who was then in Uganda helping to build the army). There was no need to wave the big stick. This action on the part of the US Navy has strengthened the belief that Diego Garcia existed more to contain the problems of liberation and emancipation in African, Arabian and Asian countries rather than to fight the Soviet Union.

SRI LANKA CHRONICLE

July 17 — July 21

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—Achtha; SM—Silumina; SLD—Sri Lankadipa; JS—Janasahiya.

SATURDAY, JULY 17: Several Sri Lanka Missions in Western countries have reported to the Government that many Sri Lankan youths leaving the country in search of jobs were either stranded without employment or engaged in menial jobs which bring discredit to the country; these missions have pointed out to the government that a strict check should be enforced before these youths leave the country and if they are not in possession of a valid job voucher they should not be allowed to leave the country—CDN. Reference to a news item published in the *Daily Mirror* of 15th July, the Ministry of Finance and the Ministry of Labour in a joint communique stated that the news which referred "out-workers participation in ownership of capital" was incorrect; however the paper maintained its source of information and published a photostat of the letter containing the minutes of the Committee of Inquiry on Profit Sharing presided over by its Chairman, Mr. Lakshman de Mel, which read that the Minister had informed the Committee that it need not go into the aspect of worker participation in the ownership of capital—CDM. At the election of office bearers of the Government Clerical Service Union, the LSSP group captured power—CDM. According to a price revision by the National Pricing Commission the prices of three synthetic materials—plain saree materials, printed saree materials and dress fabrics—

were increased by 50 cents per yard—CDN. The Trial-at-Bar against TULF leaders has been transferred to a court in Bullers Road from the 19th of this month—VK. The Ministry of Education has called applications for 12,300 teaching posts from the GCE qualified youths; the applications should be sent to the Regional Director of Education with a copy to the Director of Education before the 5th of August—ATH. The *Aththa* in an editorial criticised the decision of the government to import 3 million yards of printed fabrics from China: the paper pointed out to the government the availability of machinery and the number of people employed on this industry and said if everything fails the government should import only white cloth from abroad to be printed locally. The Secretary to the Ministry of Public Administration and Home Affairs was informed all heads of departments and Chairman of state corporations that they should see to it that day to day businesses in their institutions are carried out in the official language; the Secretary further said that they are held responsible for any lapse regarding this—LD. St. John's Market the central fish market in the city at Reclamation Road, has been demolished by the Colombo Municipality and the business has been transferred to a place near the Central Bus Stand—DM.

SUNDAY, JULY 18: According to the *Sunday Times* the government is considering a proposal to do away with the requirement that a person should obtain an exit permit to leave the country; authorities are of the view instead of Police granting permission for people to leave the country passports of people wanted by the Police could be impounded eliminating the necessity of obtaining exit permits. A committee set by the Department of Health to report on tuberculosis said there was an increase of 25 per cent in the incidence of tuberculosis in Sri Lanka last year—TOCSI. According to the *Observer* the CJC (Insurgency) has disposed of all the cases against persons arrested up to last month: more persons are being now arrested at the rate of eight per month and they will be tried by the CJC: most of the arrests are of persons who had been

absconding since 1971. The water-cut in Colombo and the suburbs will continue for some more time as there weren't any marked improvement in the level of water at the Kalatuwewa and Labugama reservoirs—CO. All security arrangements in connexion with the forthcoming Non-aligned nations conference to be held in Colombo in August are now nearing completion: 85 heads of states or their representatives will participate at the conference: already nearly 200 body-guards of several leaders of states have arrived in the island to get used to the routes and other places through which the heads of states will travel—VK. The Prime Minister, President, several Ministers, MPs and diplomats participated at the unveiling ceremony of a statue of late Mr. S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike at the Galle Face Green yesterday: this 17 foot statue was made in the USSR and gifted to Sri Lanka—VK. The Marketing Department has made arrangements to provide guaranteed prices for products of farmers engaged in fruit growing: as a inducement to these farmers the departments has planned on a loan scheme—SM. The Department of Wild Life has decided to close down the Yala and Vilpattu national parks for tourists owing to severe drought prevailing in these parks—SLD. According to the *Aitha* attempts by Mr. J. R. Jayewardene, leader of the UNP, to appoint Mr. Amara Vellapili as candidate to contest the Mulikirigala by-election has met with opposition from his own party supporters in the area: supporters of the UNP in the Mulikirigala seat are of the view that Mr. Don Francisku should be allowed to contest the seat as UNP candidate at the forthcoming by-election.

MONDAY, JULY 19: A Deputy Controller of Prices told the *Daily News* that 90 per cent of the complaints to price control authorities during the first stage of the efforts to enforce emergency pricing regulations have been against the co-operative sector: according to the Price Control Department, this week a nationwide campaign will be launched by state personnel and non-government men who have been vested with powers under the emergency laws, to combat corruption and malpractices in state—organised consumer retail outlets. Government decided that state organisations must first consult the National Pricing Commission before fixing the prices for their services or products—CDN. Iraq has put forward a proposal to be discussed at the forthcoming non-aligned summit conference regarding the establishment of a central library for the non-aligned movement—CDN. Hand-picked policemen numbering nearly 8000 will be posted for duties connected with the non-aligned conference work from August 5 to August 30: this was decided at a conference of top Police officials presided by the Inspector General of Police—CDN. A peon of the Department of Inland Revenue who took a bribe of Rs. 29,500 from an income tax payee was sentenced to three years rigorous imprisonment and fined Rs. 750: the accused was also asked to pay a fine of Rs. 29,500, the amount he obtained as bribe—CDM. Mr. T. B. Ilangaratne was present at a ceremony in Male, capital of the Republic of Maldives, in connection with the first overseas branch of the Insurance Corporation: the branch was declared open by Mr. Sadat, Vice President of the Republic of Maldives—VK. Ministry of Planning and Economic Affairs had made arrangements to open 22 ayurvedic hospitals in all 22 districts of the island: these hospitals will function

under the District Development Councils—DM. Department of National Housing informed all those who have unpaid housing loans that if they fail to pay up these arrears by the end of this month their houses would be taken over and auctioned to recover the dues—LD. The Ceylon Federation of Trade Unions requested the government to take over M/S. Lever Bros: the union said the management of the firm has not taken any positive step to settle the strike by the employees of the Company which enters its fourth week today—ATH. The *Aitha* in an editorial supported the request of the Ceylon Federation of Trade Unions.

TUESDAY, JULY 20: The export order of a firm was suspended by the Government yesterday when it was discovered at the last moment the firm had diverted a ship to the Colombo harbour to take 75 tons of coffee at rates much below the prevailing world market prices: government has started a probe to know under what circumstances permission was granted to the firm to export this order much below the current prices—CDN. Mr. S. K. K. Suriarachchi, Minister of Co-operatives and Small Industries, told a seminar at the Co-operative House, Kollupitiya, that Prime Minister has sanctioned the import of yarn to enable all hand looms to function smoothly: the seminar was organised to discuss the problems of hand-loom textile industries after the recent re-organisation—CDN. The Ministry of Education will shortly introduce a scheme to provide loans through the People's Bank to all school leavers who are technically qualified to set up self-employed projects—CDN. Education Ministry sources said only 7,200 graduates have applied for 7,500 vacancies for teachers and appointments will be made effective from September—CDM. Mr. G. G. Ponnambalam continuing his arguments at the Trial-at-Bar against four TULF leaders said yesterday that the appointment of the Trial-at-Bar under Emergency Regulations was illegal and the three judge appointed to the Trial-at-Bar have the powers to examine his objection—VK. Five of the Tamil youths arrested and detained under Emergency Regulations will be released soon from Bogambara and Welikada prisons on the orders of the Secretary to the Ministry of Justice: it is understood there are no charges against these five youths—VK. To expedite the repatriation of persons of Indian origin under the Sirima Shastri Pact it has been decided to dispose all applications of EPF and other claims by these repatriates within one month—DM. The annual Kataragama festival will start on the 27th of this month: CTB and the CGR have made special arrangements for the transport of pilgrims—DM. *Aitha* editorially quoted a recent speech by Mr. T. B. Subasinghe, Minister of Industries and Scientific Affairs, in which he emphasized the necessity to carry forward the struggle started in 1956 to make this country a socialist one: the Minister in his speech further said that unless action is taken to carry forward the struggles of 1956 all efforts hitherto taken would be of no use: the *Aitha* praising the Minister's statement said government should take this very seriously for the future welfare of the nation.

WEDNESDAY, JULY 21: On an order by Mr. Felix Dias Bandaranaike, Minister of Finance, 43 firms in the gem trade will lose tax concessions hitherto granted to them: these firms will lose concessions such as exemption from income tax and business turnover tax: it was found these 43 gem export firms have utilised their

CRA benefits mainly to import luxury items to the country and had contributed very little towards development: officials sources said in addition to these discoveries about the imports by these firms the order of the Minister was in keeping with his budget proposals—CDN. Mr. A. Aziz, appointed MP and General Secretary of the Afro-Asian Solidarity Association of Sri Lanka, in a statement said that the Western Press distorted the news about the recent hijacking of a French Airbus: Mr. Aziz said the French Airbus was given permission to land at the Entebbe airport because the French Ambassador in Kampala approached President Amin and informed him that the plane was running out of fuel: he further said permission to land was granted on humanitarian grounds but this piece of important news has been blacked-out by Western media: Mr. Aziz said this fact has been revealed by the Indian representative in the UN who reported this matter to the Security Council—CDN. The Konrad Adenauer Stiftung of West Germany will sign an agreement with the government today granting Rs. 900,000 to be used for rural development work—CDN. According to the Daily News during the past decade every 1000 tons of gingelly exported from the country had 150 tons of sand in it. Mr. K. B. Ratnayake, Minister of Transport, ordered the CTB that no new bus routes should be opened except in developing rural areas and that too should be with the approval of the Ministry—CDM. All-Ceylon United Textile Weavers' Association appealed to the Government to stop the intended import of three million yards of printed textiles from abroad and instead import the necessary yarn to enable textile weavers to produce the stuff locally—CDM. According to the Virakesari a summit conference between leaders of the SLFP and the CP will take place at the end of August to plan the next course of action of the government—VK. Students of the Vidyalankara Campus of the University boycotted lectures yesterday protesting against the transfer of nearly 250 Tamil students to other campuses: Virakesari said all Sinhala students including Buddhist monks participated in the boycott and they were of the opinion that all facilities provided to Sinhala students should also be provided for students of other nationalities—VK. Ministry of Health has taken all necessary action to stop doctors leaving the country for jobs abroad before the completion of the compulsory period of service—DM. The case filed by M/S. Independent Newspapers Ltd, publishers of Sun and Dawasa papers, claiming damages for the 809 tons of newsprint taken over by the state was dismissed with costs by a District Court yesterday—ATH. Mr. Felix Dias Bandaranaike, Minister of Finance, addressing a meeting in Dompe referred to the assurance sought by the leader of the Opposition regarding the holding of General elections next year: the Minister said it is a legal matter to be decided by the NSA—LD.

INTERNATIONAL DIARY

July 12 — July 21

MONDAY, JULY 12: Angola yesterday executed by firing squad in Luanda the four white mercenaries found guilty for their acts during the Angolan civil war

in February: the executions took place in the presence of officials of the MPLA including the Minister of Justice of Angola: the execution came within 24 hours of President Agostinho Neto's decision to confirm the death sentences: soon after the sentences were carried out, Angola gave eight days time for relations to claim the bodies: Mr. James Callaghan, Prime Minister of Britain, commenting on the executions said that Britain is appalled by these reports and said "British Government can find no justification for such extreme severity". earlier, Britain appealed for clemency on behalf of the three British and one American mercenary. Imperial Chemical Industries has paid out sums ranging from \$ 1000 to \$ 10,000 to each for more than 70 people who claimed damages for side-effects caused after using one of the drugs, meraldin, manufactured by the firm: several more claims have come up before courts against the firm. Following reports that a hostess of the hijacked Air France airbus, Mrs. Dora Bloch, as missing the British Government called back its Ambassador to Uganda to report to the Foreign Ministry; meanwhile the Pakistan Government expressed shock and condemned the action of Israel on Entebbe airport. Miss Israel, Rina Messinger, 20 years, was elected Miss Un'verse 1976 at a contest in Hong Kong. Queen Elizabeth was given a warm welcome and was greeted by thousands of people on her current visit to America.

TUESDAY, JULY 13: Mr. Luis de Almeida, Angola's Director General of Information, attending the Non-aligned News Pool meeting in New Delhi referring to the execution of four white mercenaries in his country told the press that Angola was not bothered about Western reaction: he said Justice has been done and Angola was very proud about the presence of Cuba's troops in his country. Mr. Jimmy Carter who arrived in New York yesterday to receive his Democratic Party's Presidential nomination for the November elections ruled out the possibility of a woman as contender for the post of Vice-President. On his return to Vienna after a fifteen-day tour of China, Professor Waleter Birkmayer said that he was sending the Chinese doctors full details of effective Austrian methods of treating Parkinson's disease which "everybody knows" Chairman Mao Tse-tung is suffering from. Mr. Jimmy Carter, Democratic candidate for the Presidential elections said that if elected President he would warn Arab countries that any oil boycott against the United States would be met with a counter embargo on trade. Vietnam News Agency reported the re-naming of Saigon as Ho Chi Minh city. Palestinian troops in Lebanon were driven back by rightist forces and PLO leader Yasser Arafat appealed to Egypt to help solve the Lebanon situation. In a new warning Radio Uganda alerted the public to watch out for air raids. Israeli papers said that Ugandan President Idi Amin telephoned his Israeli friends and congratulated them for the successful attack on Entebbe airport in which 100 Israeli hostages were freed. Over 6000 protest marchers handed over a petition at the official residence of the British Prime Minister against increased racial disturbances in Britain: they said that if Government failed to take appropriate action to check the incidents of racial violence they will be compelled to defend themselves. Foreign Ministers of the Arab League nations met in Cairo yesterday to discuss the situation in Lebanon.

WEDNESDAY, JULY 14: Ministers of Non-aligned countries meeting in New Delhi yesterday decided to set up a Non-aligned News Pool: as a first step towards this a committee will be appointed to organise the work connected with the establishment of this pool. Angola on its first official comment on the expectations of the four mercenaries, said, deaths of these mercenaries "should meet Africa's desire for justice". Democratic Party's would-be candidate for the US November Presidential elections, Mr. Jimmy Carter, named Senator Abraham Ribicoff, Senator Edmund Muskie and Senator Walter Mondale as running mates: the party's convention opened in New York on Monday and is expected to last four days. Britain and US yesterday jointly submitted a resolution to the United Nations Security Council condemning aerial hijacking: the resolution urged punishment for such terrorist acts: in a resolution to the Security Council by Tanzania on behalf also of Libya and Benni, Israel's action on Uganda's Entebbe airport was condemned: the resolution also condemned hijackings. Palestinian leader Yasser Arafat yesterday appealed to Arab league countries to intervene to end the crisis in Lebanon: Mr. Arafat made this appeal through a cable sent to the meeting of Arab league foreign ministers in Cairo. Japanese Foreign Minister, Kiichi Miyazawa, told a US Senator Mr. Mike Mansfield that a drastic change in relations between US and China was not desirable: Mr. Mansfield called on Mr. Miyazawa during the current unofficial visit to Tokyo. Talks between Portugal and the Provisional Government of East Timor concluded in Bangkok: according to a official spokesman the secret talks covered the question of Portuguese prisoners, the resumption of transport between the countries and the status of Timorese civil servants.

THURSDAY, JULY 15: President of the Asian Development Bank announced in Manila that Asia urgently required external finance assistance to sustain development. US Secretary General, Kurt Waldheim, once again sought clarification from Uganda regarding the missing hostage, Mrs. Bloch, who was reported lost since the Israel attack on Entebbe airport. Uganda advised Britain to withdraw its Acting envoy James Horrocks: in a one-hour speech over Radio Uganda President Amin said he was not taking any immediate decision against Britain. Paestine Radio announced that Syrian troops began a pull-out from Sidon area in Libya: meanwhile Arab League meeting in Cairo called for a conference to be held within three days aimed at ending the dispute between Syria and the Palestinians. Thailand's Foreign Ministry announced that Bangkok has accepted an invitation by Vietnam for discussions in Hanoi aimed at re-establishing relations between both countries. Yugoslav Government announced that it is satisfied with preparations now being taken in Colombo to hold the forthcoming Non-aligned conference. President Anwar Sadat of Egypt and Jaafar Nemeiri of Sudan began talks in Egypt regarding future steps to consolidate relations between both countries. Under the new anti-narcotic laws in Singapore for the first time a 25-year old man was sentenced to death by a Singapore High Court for trafficking in 46.38 grammes of morphine. Iranian Prime Minister Amir Abbas Hoveyda arrived in Moscow for a two-day unofficial visit.

FRIDAY, JULY 16: Indonesia passed a special bill in the Parliament incorporating East Timor with

Indonesia Britain announced that it would soon recall its Ambassador in Uganda. United States threatened to quit the Olympic games scheduled to be held in Canada starting Saturday if Taiwan was not allowed to compete in the games under the name "Republic of China". Radio Uganda commenting on the debate at the UN Security Council on the attack at the Entebbe airport said that by supporting the Israeli action US and UK had shown their support for international vandalism and massacre. After a four-day debate by the UN it failed to take any action on the Israeli aid at the Entebbe airport: this debate is said to be the bitterest one since the 1973 Middle East war. Radio Uganda reported yesterday the country asked the military to shoot down any British planes flying over Uganda. As tension between Uganda and Kenya grew, Kenyans in Uganda are said to be fleeing Uganda: according to a Kenyan paper the fleeing began since the accusation by Uganda of Kenyan complicity in the Entebbe attack. On the end of a two-day meeting of Arab League's meeting on the Lebanon crisis Saudi Arabia, Iraq, Kuwait, Libya, Qatar and the United Arab Emirates decided to ship fuel and render other medical aids to Lebanon: the League's main decision was to bring together Syria and the Palestinian Liberation Organisation. Latin American countries are making preparations to make a big contribution to the forthcoming fifth non-aligned summit to be held in Colombo in finding new ways and means for their economic emancipation. The Canadian House of Commons voted by 130 to 124 to abolish death penalty for all civil offences: but under the National Defence Act the sentence is still open for a number of offences.

SATURDAY, JULY 17: West German Chancellor Helmut Schmidt and President Ford of America discussed world economics, NATO defence and initiatives to combat international terrorism: the West German head of State is on a two-day official tour to Washington. President Agostino Neto of Angola will visit Cuba at the end of the month to thank the people of Cuba for their military and other help during the February civil war in Angola: though the visit is not officially announced yet President Neto is expected to be Dr. Fidel Castro's guest at the Cuban National Day celebrations on July 26. Several African countries yesterday threatened to quit the Olympic games scheduled to start on Saturday in Montreal if New Zealand is allowed to participate: Canada allowed Taiwan to participate under two conditions, that is, Taiwan could use the flag of the Republic of China and its national anthem: but refused to allow Taiwan to participate under the name of "Republic of China": meanwhile, US announced that under the present conditions allowed to Taiwan the US would compete in the games. Libyan leader Muammar Gaddafi yesterday denied any involvement by his country in the recent coup in Libya where attempts to overthrow the regime of President Nemeiri was defeated. President Anwar Sadat addressing the Chairman of Egyptian banks said that Egypt has overcome the economic threat prevailed in the country without conceding any right or by offering any concessions. Senator Walter Mondale, a liberal with strong trade union support, was yesterday named as running mate with Jimmy Carter for the November Presidential elections. 220 people died in Bali, Indonesia, following a earth quake on Wednesday. Moscow is reported to have informed Syria that it will stop arms supplies until it withdrew from Lebanon.

SUNDAY, JULY 18: Representatives of 1.7 million coloured people gathered in Birmingham for a two-day conference aimed at uniting various organisations of coloured immigrants in Britain in view of the recent racial tensions: the basic aim of the conference is to set up a "National Council of Afro-Asian-Caribbean People." Egypt announced that President Anwar Sadat and Sudanese President Jaffar Nimiery left Alexandria for talks with King Khalid of Saudi Arabia. Socialist Party leader Mario Soares was named Prime Minister of Portugal. Palestinian delegates put-off their decision to participate in peace talks with Syria until considerable withdrawal by Syrian troops. A 12-nation experts committee was set up at the end of the non-aligned news pool conference in New Delhi to study and ease telecommunication problems in member states. Kenyan Defence Minister, James Gichuru, warned that his army would crush forthwith Ugandan soldiers if they moved even one inch into Kenyan territory. France signed a nuclear accidents pact with USSR in Moscow: the pact will minimise launching of nuclear weapons by accident by either country. An estimated 300,000 people were rendered homeless after floods in Bangladesh. American Police in Cochilla was investigating round the clock to find any clues regarding a kidnap of 26 school children: the missing children were in a school bus when kidnapers took possession: no reason has been so far demanded. President Bongo of Gabon announced in Libreville that he will not attend the Non-aligned summit in Colombo owing to Gabon's independent celebrations on August 16 and 17.

MONDAY, JULY 19: Indian representatives at the UN said that it would be tragic for the Security Council to ignore the Israeli attack on the Entebbe airport and to concentrate only on anti-hijacking measures: Mr Rikki Jaipal, the Indian Ambassador, said, both aspects should be dealt with in the resolution to be adopted by the Council. All 26 children kidnapped in California were recovered from a concrete pit: the driver of the hijacked bus explained to Police the 29-hour ordeal at the hands of three masked hijackers. American spacecraft Viking 1 will land on Mars tomorrow. The Organisation of African Unity (OAU) said dilatory manoeuvres were being employed in the United Nations Security Council to defend Israel over the raid on Entebbe's airport. Radio Uganda yesterday announced that President Idi Amin had sent a message congratulating President Agostino Neto of Angola for authorising the execution of four white mercenaries sentenced to death for their involvement in the February civil war. Riyadh Radio announced that the meeting of leaders of Saudi Arabia, Sudan and Egypt is likely to give a chance to solve the Lebanon crisis: meanwhile latest efforts to end the conflict between the Syrian and Palestinians did not materialise: the Syrian forces pulled back partially from the South of Lebanon but a Palestinian spokesman said that unless the Syrian forces make a further withdrawal the PLO will not send its delegation to the proposed peace talks in Damascus.

TUESDAY, JULY 20: Twenty two African and Arab nationals pulled out of Olympic competitions currently being held in Montreal, Canada, in protest against the participation of New Zealand which they claimed had sports connexions with South Africa: Mr. Kurt Waluheim, Secretary General of the United Nations and Mr. Shridath Ramphal, Secretary General of Commonwealth, appealed to these nations to stop their boycott

of the games: meanwhile New Zealand Prime Minister, Robert Muldoon, said that his country will not stop the aid to African nations though they pulled out of the games protesting against the participation of New Zealand. A military tribunal in Bangladesh sentenced to death Lt. Col. Abu Taher, leader of the National Socialist Party, for his involvement in the attempts to overthrow the Bangladesh Government: two others were given life imprisonment and 14 others were sentenced to terms of imprisonment. When the US Republican convention takes place next month in Kansas city to select the party nominee for the Presidential election, President Ford will be short of 1,100 of the 1,130 votes required for the nomination: Mr. Reagan will trail behind by about 70 votes: this position has been created after the party meetings in Connecticut and Utah: meanwhile Senator Mondale, Democratic Party's Vice Presidential candidate, told the *Time* magazine that he thought President Ford was "not clever enough to be a good President:" he also criticised Mr. Ronald Reagan, Republican candidate in the race for the nomination. British Foreign Ministry announced that Britain would close its last military base in the Middle East next month and also will withdraw an Air Force unit from Southern Oman. In a joint communique issued after the two-day summit conference held among the leaders of Sudan, Saudi Arabia and Egypt in Jeddah an immediate ceasefire in Lebanon and a round-table conference have been urged to end the crisis in Lebanon: meanwhile new Syrian reinforcement arrived in Sofar mountain area in Lebanon and a new round of fighting was in the offing.

WEDNESDAY, JULY 21: Leslie O Harriman, Nigerian Chairman of the UN Committee against apartheid, said that New Zealand government provoked an Arab-African boycott of the Montreal Olympic games by maintaining sport links with South Africa and thereby making this a 'political issue: meanwhile, Egypt has instructed all its athletes in Montreal to return home: the International Olympic Committee met in Montreal and deferred action against nations that walked out of the games: a total of 23 nations have so far pulled out of the games protesting against the participation of New Zealand. An unmanned American spacecraft landed on Mars yesterday and started to send back pictures of the planet: the spacecraft, Viking 1, took several months to travel a distance of 500 million miles before landing on Mars. Egypt signed a defence pact with Sudan: four Arab oil countries Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, UAE and Qatar agreed to set up a special two billion dollar fund to help Egypt to overcome its economic difficulties. Burmese government announced the arrest of a group of army officers who plotted to assassinate President Ne Win. US will continue to sell enriched uranium to India despite earlier evidence that US atomic aid helped India to set off a nuclear explosion. Vietnam rejected American, European and Japanese investors who were willing to invest in the country on various projects. The Archbishop of Canterbury, Dr. Donald Coggan, came under sharp attack for his recent statement calling for "colorly defined limit on the number of immigrants allowed to the country:" a labour MP, Mr. Martin Flannery, said even Jesus Christ had a dark face. Indian government described the situation of floods in the Assam area as "very grim": heavy flows continued in rivers threatening no break embankments.

RESOLUTIONS

Fifth Ministerial Conference Of 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 concluding part of complete text of the thirteen resolutions adopted at the Lima Conference.

RESOLUTION VIII THE MIDDLE EAST AND THE OCCUPIED ARAB TERRITORIES

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

Having heard the statements delivered during the Conference by various delegations.

Noting with deep concern the constant deterioration of the situation in the Middle East as a result of Israel's persistent policy of aggression and refusal to abide by the United Nations resolutions, together with its continued aggression against the Arab people within and outside the occupied Arab territories, and its continued obstruction of every effort to achieve a just and durable peace, with the aim of gaining time and imposing a *fait-accompli* in order to establish aggression and occupation,

Reaffirming that a just and permanent peace in Palestine and the Middle East can only be attained on the basis of a complete Israeli withdrawal from all the occupied Arab territories and the exercise by the Palestinians of their full national rights to sovereignty, national independence and self-determination,

Asserting that continued Israeli occupation of Arab lands by force and violation of the national rights of the Palestinian people are in themselves a continued aggression and a serious threat to the security, the territorial integrity and the sovereignty of Arab countries and peoples,

Deeply concerned by the invalidity and illegitimacy of the measures taken by Israel to alter the human, geographical and cultural features in the occupied Arab

territories with the aim of Judaizing Jerusalem and the other parts of the occupied Arab territories,

Convinced that, in view of Israel's continued violation of the principles of the UN Charter and its continued aggression against Arab countries and the Palestinian people, it was time to apply the sanctions stipulated by the Charter of the United Nations, against Israel.

Further convinced of the necessity for the Non-Aligned Countries to adopt adequate and practical measures to confront the Zionist enemy's continued aggression and violations,

1. Reaffirms its total and effective support for the front Status and the Palestinian people in their legitimate struggle to restore all the occupied territories and usurped rights by every possible means;

2. Condemns Israel's continued policy of aggression, expansion and annexation of Arab territories by force and its attempts to alter their demographic, geographic, economic and cultural features;

3. Condemns Israel's continued refusal to abide by the resolutions of the United Nations, and its deliberate obstruction by all kinds of maneuvers of every effort exerted to establish a just and permanent peace in the area;

4. Further condemns the persistent policy of repression pursued by Israeli occupation authorities against Arab inhabitants in the occupied territories as well as its persistent violations of their human rights and its violations of the 1949 Geneva Conventions, in particular the Fourth Convention on the protection of civilians, and its barbaric attacks and raids on refugee camps and bombard-

ment of civilian targets in the towns and villages of Southern Lebanon, in violation of all principles of international and human laws;

5. Denounces the attitude of the States supplying Israel with assistance, arms and means of killing and destruction and holds that these enormous quantities of weapons are meant to establish it as an advance base for racism and colonialism in the heart of the Arab and African World, and of the Third World in general, and further considers that any aid or support to Israel is actually an encouragement of and participation in the consolidation of Israeli occupation and persistent aggression;

6. Invites all Non-Aligned Countries to extend all available forms of assistance to the Arab confrontation powers so as to reinforce their struggle against the Zionist aggression;

7. Requests Non-Aligned Countries to take the most adequate measures in order to strengthen their pressure on Israel in the UN and its specialized agencies, including the possibility of eventually depriving it of its membership in these institutions;

8. Considers Zionism a danger to world peace and decides to organize an information campaign in which all information media of Non-Aligned Countries should participate to unmask the racist and aggressive nature of the Zionist entity in a continuous and planned manner and to confront and refute all Zionist misleading propaganda campaigns aimed at arousing hostility against the Arab world.

9. Requests the Bureau of the Non-Aligned Conference to closely follow up developments in the Middle East and to report thereon to the Summit Conference and decides to keep the situation in the Middle East as one of the important items on the Agenda of the said conference.

RESOLUTION IX THE QUESTION OF PALESTINE

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

Guided by the principles of Non-Alignment, and noting with pride

and appreciation the heroic sacrifices made by the Palestinian people for the liberation of Palestine in the face of the Zionist aggressors,

Having studied the development of the Palestinian cause and the grave situation arising from the continued occupation by Israel of Arab territories, its usurpation of the rights of the Palestinian people, its refusal to abide by the United Nations resolutions in this respect, particularly General Assembly Resolution No. 3236 adopted at its 29th Session, its denial of the national rights of the Palestinian people in Palestine and their return to their homeland, their right to self-determination without any foreign intervention and to national sovereignty over their territory and, the continued Israeli usurpation of Palestine and the dispersal of its people.

Considering that this situation constitutes a flagrant violation of the United Nations Charter and Resolutions as well as of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, and that its continuation represents a grave threat to international peace and security,

Considering that the Palestinian question is the basic cause and core of the struggle against the Zionist enemy.

Reaffirming the legality of the struggle of the Palestinian people for the restoration of their full national rights,

Considering that the racist regime in occupied Palestine and those of Zimbabwe and South Africa are of one imperialist origin and organically linked in their policies aimed at suppressing the freedom and dignity of man.

Expressing its conviction that the military, economic, political and moral support of Israel by a number of states, notably the US, enables it to persist in its policy of aggression and to further reinforce its usurpation of Palestine,

Considering that maintaining relations with Israel in the political, economic, trade, communications and other domains assists it to reinforce its usurpation of Palestine and to persist in its expansionist policy of aggression,

Considering that the continuation of the membership of Israel in the United Nations contra-

dicts the principles of the Charter of the United Nations and encourages Israel to ignore its resolutions and to collude with various aggressive racist and expansionist regimes,

1. Decides:

(a) To reaffirm total and effective support to the Palestinian people in their legitimate struggle to restore their national rights in Palestine, including:

Their right to return to their homeland and property

Their right to self-determination without any foreign intervention

Exercise of their right to sovereignty over their territory
Establishment of their independent national authority

(b) To work in all domains to concretize recognition of their rights and observance of them. Non-Aligned Countries also undertake to adopt all appropriate measures towards that end.

(c) To coordinate the work of the Non-Aligned Movement and the PLO to lay down a strategy aiming at liberating Palestine, considering the question of Palestine an important one to Non-Aligned Countries.

2. Calls upon all States to support the people of Palestine by every means in their struggle against Zionist and racist colonialism to restore their full national rights, and asserts that restitution of these rights is an essential condition for the establishment of a just and lasting peace in the Middle East.

3. Calls upon the United Nations to work for the application of Resolution 3236 adopted by the General Assembly at its 29th Session.

4. Reasserts that the Palestine Liberation Organization is the sole legal representative of the Palestinian people and their legitimate struggle.

5. Requests all Non-Aligned Countries to abide by all the relevant resolutions of the Non-Aligned Summit and Foreign Ministers' Conferences on the Palestinian Cause and to implement them as soon as possible.

6. Deems it advisable, for the success of the Palestine Liberation Organization in their struggle for the establishment of the future state of the Palestinian

people, that they be given all opportunities to increase their contacts with the Governments of Non-Aligned Countries and that this may take the form of representation in their respective capitals,

7. Condemns Israel's violation of human rights in the occupied Arab territories and its refusal to implement the Geneva Convention of 1949 on the protection of civilians in times of war, and its policy of Judaizing the physical and cultural aspects of the occupied territories, and considers that such acts and behaviour are war crimes and as such are a challenge to mankind at large,

8. Considers that all measures adopted by Israel in the occupied Arab territories designed to alter their demographic, geographical, social, cultural and economic aspects, including those aiming at Judaizing the Holy City of Jerusalem, are null and void and that under no circumstances can these measures or their consequences be recognised.

9. Decides:

(a) To condemn the attempts of the Israeli occupational authorities to Judaize the occupied territories and desecrate the holy sanctuaries, in particular the recent desecration of the sanctity of the Haram al Ibrahim in Hermon and to consider such acts as null and illegal;

(b) To call upon the nations of the world to oppose such violations and to refuse to recognize any geographic, cultural and demographic alterations affected in the occupied territories.

10. Condemns all States that provide military, economic and human support to Israel, and calls upon them to desist from doing so forthwith.

11. Calls upon all those countries that have not severed political, cultural and economic relations with Israel to do so.

12. Requests Non-Aligned Countries to take the most adequate measures in order to strengthen their pressure on Israel in the United Nations and specialized agencies, including the possibility of eventually depriving it of its membership in these institutions,

13. Decides to inscribe the item of the "Question of Palestine" on the Agenda of the Summit

Conference held in Sri Lanka in 1976.

14. Requests the Coordinating Bureau of the Non-Aligned Countries to submit a report on the developments of the question of Palestine to the next Non-Aligned Summit Conference due to be held in Sri Lanka in 1976.

**RESOLUTION X
ESTABLISHMENT OF A SOLIDARITY FUND FOR ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT IN THE NON-ALIGNED COUNTRIES**

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

Recalling economic Resolution No. 4 on the establishment of an Economic and Social Development Fund for Non-Aligned Countries, approved by the Fourth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries held in Algiers from 5 to 9 September 1973.

Taking note, with satisfaction, of the work of the Committee of Economic Experts of Countries Members of the Coordinating Bureau held in Kuwait from 6 to 8 May 1974, and of the work of the Committee of Legal Experts of the same countries held in Kuwait from 14 to 16 January 1975.

Recalling further the recommendations of the Ministerial Meeting of the Coordinating Bureau held in Havana from 7 to 19 March 1975, which referred to this Conference the Draft Convention establishing the solidarity fund for Economic and Social Development in Non-Aligned Countries as prepared by the aforementioned Committees of Experts
Decides:

(1) To approve the text of the Convention Establishing the Solidarity Fund for Economic and Social Development in Non-Aligned Countries, attached to the present Resolution.

(2) To fix the equal subscription of each member of the Fund at the amount of five hundred thousand SDR's to be paid in four annual installments in freely convertible currencies, as provided for in Article 7 of the Convention. The totality of these subscriptions will constitute the initial capital of the Fund and will be supplemented, after the establishment of the Fund, by additional volun-

tary subscriptions as provided for in Article 10 of the Convention.

(3) To appeal to the financially able Member States to effect payment of their initial subscriptions in a shorter period than that provided for in paragraph 2.

(4) To open the Convention for signature by all Non-Aligned Countries at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Kuwait until December 31, 1975, as provided for in Article 58 of the Convention.

(5) To call upon Member States to speed up their ratification or acceptance of the Convention so that the Fund may begin its operations before the forthcoming Summit Conference of Non-Aligned Countries to be held in Colombo in August 1976.

(The Appendix to Resolution X sets out the "Convention Establishing the Solidarity Fund For Economic and Social Development in Non-Aligned Countries" in ten chapters).

**RESOLUTION XI
ESTABLISHMENT OF THE COUNCIL OF ASSOCIATIONS OF DEVELOPING COUNTRIES PRODUCERS-EXPORTERS OF RAW MATERIALS**

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

In accordance with the mandate of the Summit Meeting of Algiers and the recommendations of the Ministerial Coordinating Bureau which met in Havana:

Bearing in mind Resolution Number 6 of the Conference of Developing Countries on Raw Materials held in Dakar in February 1975;

Having considered the Report of the Group of Experts on the Establishment of a Council of Associations of Developing Countries Producers-Exporters of Raw Materials, which met in Geneva in August 1975;

Reaffirming the urgent need to work out a solidarity strategy of mutual support among the developing countries in the field of raw materials which would help to establish the New International Economic Order;

Decides:

1. To establish the Council of Associations of Developing Coun-

tries Producers-Exporters of Raw Materials.

2. To invite the Group of Experts to meet in Geneva before November 30, 1975, to continue its work for the purpose of setting up the organization of the Council, bearing in mind the proposals contained in the Report adopted by the Group at its meeting of August 1975.

3. To call on the Governments of developing countries to give urgent consideration to the need for joining the existing Associations of Producer-Exporters of Raw Materials or for establishing new ones, as a means for effective action for achieving just and remunerative prices for raw materials.

4. To entrust the President of the Fifth Conference of Ministers of Foreign Affairs of Non-Aligned Countries and the President of the Dakar Conference, in coordination with the Bureau of Non-Aligned Countries, with the task of taking the necessary steps to implement this Resolution.

**RESOLUTION XII
ESTABLISHMENT OF THE SPECIAL FUND FOR THE FINANCING OF BUFFER STOCKS OF RAW MATERIALS AND PRIMARY PRODUCTS EXPORTED BY THE DEVELOPING COUNTRIES**

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

In accordance with the mandate of the Summit Meeting of Algiers and the recommendation of the Ministerial Coordinating Bureau which met in Havana;

Bearing in mind Resolution number 4 of the Conference of Developing Countries on Raw Materials held in Dakar in February 1975;

Having considered the report of the Special Inter-Governmental Group on the Establishment of the Special Fund for the Financing of Buffer Stocks of Raw Materials and Primary Products Exported by Developing Countries, which met in Geneva in August 1975;

Reaffirming the urgent need to work out a solidarity strategy of mutual support among the developing countries in the field of raw materials which would help

to establish the New International Economic Order;

Convinced that buffer stock operations should form a key element of an integrated programme for finding solutions to the problems of commodities of interest to the developing countries;

Decides:

1. To establish the Special Fund for the Financing of Buffer Stocks of Raw Materials and Primary Products Exported by the Developing Countries.

2. To request the Inter-Governmental Group to constitute itself into a Preparatory Committee of experts of finance, economics, and business law, open to all developing countries, to draw up the final text of the Agreement creating the Fund, which should be completed not later than February 1976, bearing in mind the proposals presented by the Special Inter-Governmental Group in its Final Report.

3. To invite all developing countries to a Plenipotentiary Conference to take place in Geneva not later than 30 June 1976 to negotiate and conclude the Agreement for the Constitution of the Fund.

RESOLUTION XIII ESTABLISHMENT OF A SOLIDARITY FUND FOR THE RECONSTRUCTION OF CAMBODIA, LAOS AND VIETNAM

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

Recalling the resolution adopted by the Summit Conference of Lusaka, the Georgetown Conference, and the Summit Conference of Algiers;

Especially recalling the Political Declaration of the Algiers Summit Conference, which invites Member States to contribute to the reconstruction of war-devastated Viet-Nam, hails the victory of the Cambodian people in stopping the United States bombing of Cambodia, and calls for the effective and lasting restoration of peace and national harmony in Laos;

Further recalling Resolution 9 of the Summit Conference of Algiers inviting Non-Aligned Countries to contribute materials for the reconstruction of Viet-Nam, and the Final Declaration of the third

meeting of the Ministerial Coordinating Bureau, held in Havana, which urges the Movement to make effective its solidarity with the Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Viet-Nam;

Noting that the peoples of Cambodia, Laos, and Viet-Nam have been the victims of a criminal imperialistic act of aggression of devastating force that has caused great harm to the peoples and the economies of these countries;

Considering the violent destruction of all kinds of natural resources and economic installations suffered by these countries as a result of military operations and especially of the bombing under the United States "scorched earth" policy in Indochina;

Noting with pleasure the remarkable and progressive political changes that have lately taken place in Cambodia, Laos and Viet-Nam, culminating in the victory of the patriotic forces and in the elimination of the puppet regimes in South Viet-Nam and in Cambodia;

Conscious of the urgent need for reconstruction of Cambodia, Laos and Viet-Nam, which have borne the most cruel brunt of imperialistic aggression and which, because of the valuable service they have rendered to all mankind, deserve sympathy as well as effective material assistance in their difficult situation;

Decides:

1. To create a Solidarity Fund for the reconstruction of Cambodia, Laos and Viet-Nam and the other countries in Indochina that have borne the brunt of imperialistic aggression, to be supported by the voluntary contributions of member countries.

2. To establish a working group composed of experts from Cambodia, Laos and Viet-Nam, and other countries willing to contribute to the Fund, for the purpose of drawing up a plan of operations of the Fund, to be submitted to the Summit Conference of Sri Lanka for consideration.

COLOMBO SUMMIT

The Agenda

-Likely Differences ?-

New Delhi, July 25,

IN ABOUT THREE WEEKS TIME ON AUGUST 16, the Colombo Summit of the heads of non-aligned governments begins. By all accounts, this summit, the fifth one to take place since the first summit in 1961 in Belgrade, is going to be a very important session.

The Colombo summit will be preceded by the usual foreign ministers' meet on August 11-14. The foreign ministers' meet will be held in the light of the decisions already taken in their conference in Lima on August 25-30, 1975. It will prepare for the Colombo summit by trying to smoothen the rough edges of the problems that are likely to figure in the summit.

Though the exact agenda of the summit is not made known, it is understood that the main points likely to come up for discussion there will include the following: (1) General review and appraisal of the international political situation and the role of non-alignment; (2) Review of the international economic situation and problems of development; (3) Review of measures to strengthen economic solidarity and co-operation among nonaligned countries, and (4) Consideration of measures promoting co-operation and coordination among the nonaligned countries in the field of education, culture and science and other areas.

It was generally agreed at the meeting of the nonaligned bureau as also during the bilateral meetings between the prime ministers of India, Sri Lanka, Yugoslavia etc., the strength of the members of the non-alignment movement needed no further expansion and that the basic norms of membership did not call for any change. However, the question of membership and/or observer status for several countries may likely be pressed before the summit.

The nonalignment movement since its inception has grown tremendously and attained a great sweep. It is a very important factor in international affairs. The



Conference Agenda

period since the Asian relations conference in New Delhi at the initiative of Jawaharlal Nehru in 1947 to the Bandung conference of 1955, has been the formative period of the nonalignment movement. Since then more and more countries have been freeing themselves from the yoke of colonialism.

The 1961 Belgrade summit was attended by 28 delegations and observers; the 1964 Cairo summit by 56 participating countries, the 1970 Lusaka summit by 63 countries and the 1973 Algiers summit by 84 countries.

AFTER THE END of the second world war, when more and more countries reached out to freedom in a steady process, the imperialists understood that their old methods of rule were coming to an end. Newer methods had to be evolved to keep the newly-free countries tied to their apron strings through military alliances and economic inducements. In Europe, too, they resorted to what has come to be known as the "cold war" policies to "contain" communism which essentially meant curbing the growing influence of the Soviet Union.

After the formation of NATO in Europe, the US Imperialists tried to form a military and political bloc in Asia, too. A conference was convened in Baguio, a small town in Philippines, in 1950, for this purpose. Jawaharlal Nehru who saw through the imperialist design and for whom non-alignment had already become a matter of principle refused to join any bloc and under his influence several other countries too opted out of this military alliance.

However, some countries did not understand the merit of non-alignment and the USA could go ahead to form several alliances, notably Anzus. These, were followed by such pacts as the Seato, Cento, Aspac and so on. Pakistan which had attended the Bandung conference not only entered into an arms agreement with USA but also joined the Seato and Cento in later years.

The last 30 years or so have shown the vitality and correctness of the nonalignment movement. The Soviet Union and other socialist countries, barring China under the Maoists, had no difficulty in recognising the merit of

this movement and support it. But the imperialists all along opposed it, essentially because, it cuts at the root of their main means of ruthless exploitation.

The Soviet Union and other socialist countries affirming the principles of peace and peaceful co-existence between countries with differing social systems treated the developing countries on the basis of mutual respect and equality and assisted them in all possible ways to fight back imperialist domination and exploitation. This is why the nonaligned countries too realise that the socialist community is their dependable ally in the struggle against imperialism and all forms of neocolonialism and racism. The international communist movement attaches great significance to this movement. The CPSU and many other ruling communist and workers parties have lent their full support to it. Even the latest conference of the European communist and workers parties held in Berlin (June 29-30) this year in its document declared: "The movement of nonaligned countries which includes the majority of developing countries, is now one of the most important factors in world politics. It makes an active contribution to the struggle for peace, security, detente and equal co-operation, for the establishment of a just system of international political and economic relations, and to the struggle against imperialism, colonialism, neo-colonialism and all forms of domination and exploitation."

IT IS IN THIS CONTEXT that the question of enlarging the membership of the nonaligned movement has come. But this effort is certainly not divorced from the issue of diluting the principles of membership itself. This principle as defined at the Belgrade summit enjoins that for being eligible to membership, a country should pursue an independent policy based on the principles of peaceful co-existence and nonalignment, it should support the national-liberation struggle; it should not be associated with any multilateral military alliance or join any bilateral military alliance with any great power, and it should not permit the creation of military bases of any foreign power on its territory.

Some countries which did have military bases on their soil before

their independence, like Cuba, Cyprus, Panama, were granted membership of the nonaligned movement. Libya eliminated US and British bases on its soil in 1971 and Ethiopia as undertaken to liquidate the US base in Asmara by August 1976.

Problems of bases also affected countries like Morocco, Senegal and Oman. But there is a distinction between their status and for example, that of Philippines or South Korea. At the Lima conference of foreign ministers, this issue came up and it denied them either membership or observer status on the ground that not only these countries have military alliances with foreign military powers but foreign troops and foreign military bases on their soil have been used against neighbouring countries fighting against USA for national liberation.

The question of Romania and Portugal being admitted to the nonaligned movement was rejected on the ground that they are members of the Warsaw Pact and Nato respectively. There is a bit of confusion also about the observer status. The first summit had allowed Bolivia and El Salvador this status. This was based on certain pragmatic consideration. But the Lima conference was a different proposition altogether. The host government of Peru invited Australia, the Philippines, Guatemala and Honduras as guests. These countries are not only linked with USA through military alliances but are not supporters as such of non-alignment itself. In fact, Australia under its present government, is opposed to it.

This assumed prerogative of the host country to invite guests has been rejected by the Foreign Ministers meet and it was agreed that Lima will not be a precedent in future nonaligned conferences.

HOWEVER, the question of participation is not the major issue. The summit will lend maximum emphasis on economic matters. The question of establishing a new international economic order will dominate the discussion.

This is essential in the context of the Nairobi session of UNCTAD IV where the tactics of imperialism, especially of US imperialism, with regard to question of deve-

lopment of third world countries and trade relations became naked and absolutely clear. It is obvious that the nonaligned countries will have to carry on a continuing battle to reach anywhere near a new international economic order.

The first and foremost part of this continuing battle will be the struggle against transnational corporations which control nearly 50 per cent of the world trade today. The adverse terms of trade eat into the foreign exchange earnings of the developing countries to a very great extent. Their exports to capitalist countries are priced very low while the imports are over-charged.

It is estimated that during the period 1966 to 1970, these transnational corporations have taken away 11,500 million pound sterling from developing countries. This amount is 1.5 times higher than the total "aid" given by the western capitalist countries to developing countries.

The Algiers summit in its declaration had stressed: "The heads of state denounce before the world public the inadmissible policies of multinational companies, which encroach upon the sovereignty of developing nations and violate principles of non-interference and the right of nations to self-determination—principles that are basic for the political, economic and social progress of these countries."

The conference recommended "joint action by the participants in regard to multinational companies within the framework of global strategy designed to modify qualitatively the system of economic and financial relations that has subordinated our countries to the industrialised West."

IN VIEW of the results of the UNCTAD IV, this concerted move has become all the more necessary. It is to be underlined that the developing countries have the consistent support of the socialist countries in this struggle. This has been clearly seen in the Dakar conference on raw materials in February 1975 and in Havana in March the same year. This was also demonstrated at the UNCTAD IV session.

It should also be noted that within the nonaligned move-

ment today, there continues to be certain divergence of views on certain important questions including the issue of relations with imperialist countries. This is taken advantage of by the imperialists.

To be effective against the depredations of western capitalist countries, the nonaligned countries have to evolve a certain move against imperialism, develop their own multilateral co-operation and forge closer links with the socialist world. There is just no other way out. By placating imperialism or by avoiding confrontation with it, the rights of nonaligned countries and their developmental process cannot be safeguarded.

The Colombo summit will also have to finalise the issue of non-aligned newsagencies pool an set up the coordinating council. In the context of virulent reaction of western transnational news media to the nonaligned news agencies pool, as exemplified by the statements of Reuters, AP and UPI bosses, it is not going to be an easy task. However, the non-aligned countries are determined to end their dependence on western news agencies for information.

Other issues that will figure prominently in the discussion will be the question of disarmament and detente, specifically the effort to make the Indian Ocean a zone of peace. It is in this context that the aggressive designs of US imperialism, especially its military bases on Diego Garcia island and elsewhere, will be denounced thoroughly. Attempts may be made to evolve a strategy on how to combat the intransigence of imperialism.

The question of providing much more concrete aid to emerging countries of Africa and to the struggle against apartheid and oppression in South Africa and Rhodesia will also be taken up.

These are some of the issues the Colombo summit will take up for discussion and action thereon.

—Sadhan Mukherjee.

COLOMBO SUMMIT

On Ending Media Colonialism

New Delhi, July 15,

RESURGENT COUNTRIES OF ASIA, AFRICA AND Latin America are reaching out for new levels of "collective self-reliance" to end the media colonisation of western transnational news cartels. They further seek to ensure correct reflection of the news of developing countries in their own media and project to the extent possible their real image to other countries countering the distortions of western news disseminating agencies. This is the crux of the wide-ranging decisions taken by the six-day ministerial conference of nonaligned countries on press agencies pool held here on July 8-13, 1976.

Attended by 60 member-states and seven observer-states and organisations, this conference adopted a historic declaration enunciating the determination of the non-aligned countries to end their dependence on western information sources and simultaneously develop their own alternate arrangements. The tone of the conference was set by Prime Minister Indira Gandhi who in her inaugural speech calling for "more direct exchange among ourselves" and stressed: "self-reliance in sources of information is technological self-reliance".

Besides the declaration, the conference also adopted a constitution for the proposed pool of news agencies of the nonaligned countries; accepted the formation of a 12-nation experts committee to look after the mechanics of operation of the news pool; adopted an action programme on further measures of co-operation in the mass media communications other than press agencies pool; proposed the formation of an inter-governmental coordination council to act as supervisory body on media co-operation among the nonaligned countries; established a 14-nation coordination committee to run the news agencies pool, and a recommendation to

the Colombo summit of nonaligned states to include in its final declaration a specific reference for a new international order in the fields of information and mass communications.

This entire range of decisions will be submitted before the Colombo summit for ratification. The 14-member coordination committee consists of 14 countries: India, Yugoslavia, Peru, Cuba, Mexico, Senegal, Egypt, Ghana, Tunisia, Zaire, Iraq, Indonesia, Mauritius and Vietnam. India has been elected chairman of this committee for the first term. This committee is to be elected every time when the non-aligned summit takes place—that is once in three years. The 12-nation experts committee comprises Algeria, Egypt, Kenya, Nigeria, Senegal, India, Iraq, Malaysia, Qatar, Cuba, Peru and Yugoslavia.

While the 14-nation coordination committee will ensure "the continuity and promotion of a pool of news agencies" and to make it operational as soon as possible, the experts committee will tackle the technical problems and study the possibilities of bilateral and multilateral co-operation among the nonaligned countries in the field of communications. This will include the task of developing mutually beneficial telecommunication facilities and infrastructure as well as a suitable tariff system.

The resolution jointly sponsored by India and Yugoslavia which has been adopted by the conference urges the nonaligned summit to be held in Colombo next month to include it in its final declaration specifying that a "new international order in the fields of information and mass communication is as vital as a new international economic order."

Noting with concern the vast and ever-growing gap between communication capacities of non-aligned and advanced countries which is a legacy of their colonial past, the resolution said that this gap has created a situation of dependence and domination in which the majority of countries are reduced to being passive recipients of biased, inadequate and distorted information. It went on to emphasise that the fuller identification and affirmation of their national and cultural identity thus

requires them to rectify this serious imbalance and to take urgent steps to provide greater momentum in this new areas of mutual co-operation.

It asserted that the emancipation and development of national information media is an integral part of the overall struggle for political, economic and social independence for a large majority of peoples of the world who should not be denied the right to inform and to be informed objectively and correctly.

The resolution urged the summit to take steps for the earliest implementation of the proposals of the New Delhi conference. The action plan adopted at the conference underlined the determination of nonaligned countries to intensify their mutual cooperation in the field of information and mass media and emphasised "the need for creating a determined collective political will" among the governments and peoples of nonaligned countries in order to overcome the present inadequacies and imbalances.

It noted that communications network, including the transnational press agencies, was "created by and in the interests of the colonial powers" and underlined that information and mass communications media are to play an "extremely important role" for safeguarding their "political and economic independence against colonialism, neo-colonialism and imperialism and all other forms of oppression....."

It noted that the "current situation in information matters imposed on the nonaligned countries" was "a consequence of colonial domination" which required to be changed and expressed the conviction that "the dangers inherent in the so-called free but in reality one-way flow of information from a few developed countries to developing countries will result in the continuation of cultural dependence of the latter on the former." THE CO-OPERATION among the nonaligned countries to remedy the situation envisages pooling of information and its interchange; mutual assistance and strengthening of communications systems, greater co-operation in the field of press and publications; research and training of personnel as well as development of equipment.

For overall coordination, it is proposed that the Colombo non-aligned summit will set up an inter-governmental coordinating council "on the basis of equitable geographical distribution" for continually devising specific measures required for co-operation and coordination as well as to decide on all inter-related issues. THE CONSTITUTION of the news pool it makes clear that it will not be a "supernational news agency" and be based on equal rights. It is intended to be the vehicle to achieve "broad and free circulation among themselves of news, informative reports, features and photographs about each other and also provide objective and authentic information relating to non-aligned countries to the rest of the world."

The constitution underlined "the significant gain from a greater dissemination among nonaligned countries of objective information about their economic, socio-political and cultural development." The constitution gives the details of participation, funding and other related aspects of the news agencies pool.

The significance of the decisions of the New Delhi conference is obvious and need not be specially stressed. It is the manifestation of the determination of nonaligned countries to take to the arena of information media their continuing battle to end western domination. Its anti-imperialist content cannot be missed. And it is this aspect that was far more strongly emphasised in the speeches than the written down documents.

Some of the revelations in the conference and in connection with the conference were astounding. For example, Venezuela with a population of 12 million of which, 70 to 80 per cent are literate, has 52 small newspapers with just about 600 journalists. No wonder, the country has to depend almost entirely on foreign news agencies for information. Similarly, only 12 per cent of the population of Mozambique are literate and the MPLA government has attached great importance on radio as a means of mass communication and education. There are just two newspapers in that country.

Laotian minister Sisana Sisane told the conference of the necessity to effectively combat capitalist

propaganda and old and new forms of colonialism, and to strengthen the vigil against "psychological warfare, manoeuvres and propaganda by imperialists." Cuban delegation leader Gustavo Robeno Dolz stressed that 90 per cent of the information circulating in the world was dominated by transnational news media and strongly pleaded for "decolonisation".

Many delegations, like Angola, Mozambique, Iraq and so on, narrated facts showing how western information media deliberately spread lies about their countries.

In this context, one should also not miss another point: a number of nonaligned countries are still very closely connected with the ruling circles of the countries whose colonies they were. It is not easy to cut off these relations despite the knowledge that the colonial countries even now continue to exploit them in many myriad forms. Perhaps, that is why the constitution of the news pool does not in any way disturb the existing arrangements on news that a particular country or a group of countries might have.

Another thing that strikes one is that while the conference discussed at length about the correlation between nonaligned countries and western countries and how to end domination of western news media, it was strangely silent about co-operation with the socialist countries which are the most dependable ally of the developing countries in their struggle against imperialism and neocolonialism. It would almost appear that the socialist world—despite the presence of Vietnam, Cuba, DPRK, Yugoslavia etc., at the conference—has no specific role to play in helping the nonaligned countries.

The exchange of news between the nonaligned countries, development of their media of communications and personnel etc., through common efforts are most welcome. But there is a danger which must not be lost sight of. The arrangements that have been worked out are wholly inter-governmental arrangements. And as is known in many a nonaligned country, it is the bureaucracy, a legacy of the past, that rules the roost. Besides,

other unhealthy trends are also to be taken care of.

If news exchange between non-aligned countries depend wholly on that mechanism, one wonders what type of news will then be exchanged—governmental handouts? That again will be another type of distortion, no less damaging than the present state of affairs. It will then not be exchange of news, of life and development but officialese, the bane of our present day establishment. Perhaps, this aspect will have the attention of the respective governmental leaders at the stage of implementation of the proposals of the New Delhi conference.

—Sadhan Mukherjee



A USIS FEATURE

Jimmy Carter

—from peanut farmer to

presidential candidate—

by Hugh O. Muir

On December 13, 1974, Jimmy Carter, in the last few weeks of his four-year term as Governor of Georgia, came to Washington, D.C., to hold a press conference. To a small group of friends and reporters he announced his candidacy for the Presidency of the United States. A virtual political unknown outside of the deep south, Mr. Carter introduced himself: "my name is Jimmy Carter and I am running for President. I am a farmer, an engineer, a businessman, a planner, a scientist, a governor and a Christian."

The many facets of this soft-voiced Southerner also included "politician, one who had entered public life as a member of his local community school board and who now, 20 years later, aspired to his nation's highest office. I had never seen a president before I was elected governor," Mr. Carter once recalled in an interview, "except Harry Truman in 1952, when we laid the keel of the USS Nautilus the first atomic submarine, in New London. I was a lieutenant working for Admiral Rickover. I saw him at a distance. To me the Presidency was always a very exalted and very revered office. It still is. But after I got to be gov-

ernor I began to meet people who were either President or who expected to be—Richard Nixon, Agnew, McGovern, Wallace, Reagan, Rockefeller, Muskie—and I didn't feel inferior anymore. I feel that I am as qualified to be President as any one of them." Or, to put it as he did at the time he announced he was going to run, "I started comparing my own experience and knowledge of government with the candidates, not against 'The Presidency' and not against Thomas Jefferson and George Washington. It made it a whole lot easier.

JIMMY CARTER first ran for political office in 1962, at the age of 37, after growing up on a farm near Plains, Georgia, serving as an officer in the navy and running the family peanut warehouse business. He wanted to be state senator in the Georgia legislature and he campaigned vigorously across the rural, red clay southwest section of the state that had been his family's home for 200 years. He was up against the candidate of the established political leaders, however, and when the ballots were counted he found he had lost by, literally, a handful of votes. The difference had come from one county where Mr. Carter suspected fraud, suspicious based on the fact that 333 ballots had been issued to the voters and when the box was opened 420 were counted, the majority in his opponent's favor. He enlisted an astute Atlanta attorney, Charles Kirbo, in his cause and won. The courts ordered a new election and Mr. Carter was elected by 1,500 votes. Mr. Kirbo today remains Mr. Carter's closest political adviser.

After two two-year terms in the State Senate he decided to run for the U.S. House of Representatives. But when the incumbent governor was forced to retire by a heart attack, he instead sought his party's nomination for the governorship. Starting as an unknown even in most of his state, he—and his family—conducted an intensive campaign, but he lost the nomination to segregationist restaurant owner Lester Maddox, who went on to become governor. "This entire experience was deeply disappointing to me," Mr. Carter later wrote. "I was deeply in debt and had lost 22 pounds (down to

130). I waited about one month and then began campaigning again for governor. I remembered the admonition: 'You show me a good loser and I will show you a loser.' I did not intend to lose again."

During the four years between elections Jimmy Carter continued to criss-cross the state, building support and recognition as well as supervising the family peanut business in Plains. It also was during this time that he became more intensely involved with his religious faith. Southern Baptist, he had taught Sunday school at his home church off and on since he was 18. He and his family had led a fruitless attempt to desegregate their church in Plains in 1964 (the only six votes in favour came from his family and one other parishioner; the church remains segregated today.) On two occasions, in 1968 and again in 1969, Mr. Carter became one of a six-man missionary team who evangelized house-to-house in cities in Pennsylvania and Massachusetts, in the latter with Spanish-speaking Puerto Rican and Cuban people. The small crusades had a profound religious impact on him and he recalled later that my church life became more meaningful to me". He is remembered by those he visited as "a sincere smiling man, imbued with the spirit of the Lord." He also had long talks with his sister Ruth, a fulltime evangelist herself, and recalled in an interview years later that she asked him if he would give up everything for his faith. "I said I would. Then she asked me if I would be willing to give up politics. I thought for a long time and had to admit I would not."

Mr. Carter estimates he made 1,800 speeches during the four years before the 1970 gubernatorial election and that he and his wife, Rosalynn (they divide the state up between them and thus were rarely able to campaign together) shook 600,000 hands. His major opponent was a former popular liberal governor, Carl Sanders. Some observers have criticized Mr. Carter's campaign for tilting his appeal toward the conservative and segregationist elements of the state and branding his opponent as a captive of the liberals. Mr. Carter has pointed out that he had campaigned heavily among the blacks in the state and that although he did poorly among the

black citizenry in the primary against Mr. Sanders he received a majority of the black vote in the fall election. This time he won and when he made his inaugural address he both startled Georgians and gained his first nationwide recognition when he said: "I believe I know our people as well as anyone. Based on this knowledge, I say to you quite frankly that the time for racial discrimination is over...no poor, rural, weak or black person should ever have to bear the additional burden of being deprived of the opportunity of an education, a job or simple justice." Newspaper reports of the address touted Governor Carter as a representative of the "new south" and propelled him onto the cover of a national news magazine. But he observed: "I don't know why everybody is making such a fuss over this. I've been saying the same thing all summer. Then the 'New York Times' comes along and acts as if nobody down here ever said anything about that."

DURING HIS FOUR YEARS in office (limited by the state constitution to a single term) he points with particular pride to having reorganized the state government (consolidating some 300 agencies and bureaus into two dozen), instituted prison reform, restructured the budget, and introduced blacks widely within the state government. He clashed frequently with his state legislature and developed a reputation as a tough, if stubborn, governor. Much of his program was passed. One notably symbolic act, which attracted a Ku Klux Klan picket line, was his unveiling in the state Capitol of a portrait of Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., six years after the death of the Atlanta Minister who had become a leader and martyr of the Civil Rights Movement.

During his governorship Mr. Carter also made two major trips abroad (he had gone ashore at points in East Asia during submarine duty as a naval officer in the late 1940's but otherwise had not travelled outside the United States). Leading a trade mission for businesses in his state, in April 1972 he visited Merida (the capital of Yucatan in Mexico), Mexico City, Bogota, in Colombia; Buenos Aires; Brasilia, Rio de Janeiro, Sao Paulo and Recife in

Brazil and San Jose, Costa Rica. This was followed in May a year later with a 12-day swing through Britain, Germany, Belgium and Israel, stopping in London Cologne, Bonn, Dusseldorf, Heidelberg, Berlin, Brussels and in Israel Tel Aviv, Haifa, Acre, Safed, Nazareth, Bethlehem and Jerusalem. As an American official travelling abroad Mr. Carter had whatever assistance the US State Department could give him. But on returning home, he wryly noted that "Georgia has a particular advantage over some states in that we have our own built-in state department (its world headquarters are in Atlanta). They provide me with much more penetrating analyses of what the country is, what its problems are, and who its leaders are."

Meanwhile, in 1972 Mr. Carter was becoming involved in national politics. He attended conferences of the 50 State Governors and also found himself being courted by such presidential aspirations as Hubert Humphrey, Edmund Muskie, George McGovern and Henry Jackson. He wound-up opposing Mr. McGovern's nomination at the 1972 Democratic Convention and delivered the nominating speech for Mr. Jackson. At that point, he later recalled, "I decided I knew as much as they did. I started to think about the presidency in human terms, not historical ones." He went home to Plains after the 1972 election to think. One night he paid a visit to his mother, Mrs. Lillian Carter, in bed with a broken arm, and she asked him, "Jimmy, what are you going to do when you're not governor anymore?" His reply, she recalled

TRIBUNE

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

later, was "I'm going to run for President. "President" of what?" was her mystified reply.

Mr. Carter had laid the basis for a nationwide campaign during 1973 and 1974 when he toured the country as chairman of the Democratic Party's 1974 campaign committee in a mid-term effort between presidential years to strengthen and reorganize the party—particularly in the wake of two consecutive losses of the White House to the Republican Party. That December he formally announced his presidential intentions and during 1975 he travelled around the United States building a political organization—frequently alone or with Jody Powell, a young man who had joined him as his driver in 1970 and who has become his press secretary and, to some his "alter ego." Also, during May 1975, he visited Japan for a week, with stop-overs in Tokyo; including lunch with the Prime Minister—and Kyoto. When the actual selection process for the delegates to the party's national nominating convention began in January 1976, he was ready.

JAMES EARL CARTER JR. was born on October 1, 1924, in Plains, Georgia, and was to be the oldest of two sons and two daughters of James Earl Sr. Neither man has ever used the full name; it has always been "Earl" and "Jimmy"—and, indeed, will remain that for Mr. Carter. He even signed legislation when he was governor as "Jimmy Carter" and he expects to do the same if elected president. He grew up in a little community three miles east of Plains (population today: 683) called Archery, a scattering of 30 families, all but two of which were black. His father ran a farm—Jimmy is the fifth generation of Carters to live on the land—and also owned a small general store. Jimmy grew up as any farm boy in the south would, rising at 4.00 a.m. to fetch the mules by lantern-light, helping with the crops, walking to and from school, playing. All his playmates were black. "We hunted, fished, explored, worked, built tree houses, robbed bee trees of honey, rode horses, played cards," he once recalled. "We ground sugar cane, made syrup, plowed mules, pulled corn fodder, pruned water-me-

lons, picked down from geese, sheared sheep, chopped cotton, milked cows, fixed fences, fed chickens, chocked oats and hauled cotton together." He and his black friends did all this in the dusty red clay and along the banks of the Choctawatchee and Kinchatoonee creeks. "But when it was time for church or school," Mr. Carter said recently, "we went our separate ways, without really understanding why. Our lives were dominated by unspoken, unwritten, but powerful rules, rules that were almost never challenged.

One person who challenged the rules, and who moulded Jimmy Carter's modern perception of them, was his mother, a staunchly liberal and independent woman who was also a registered nurse and who tended any who needed help in archery regardless of color. "Miss Lillian," as she is called by friends and casual acquaintances alike, capped a busy professional life at the age of 67 when she joined the Peace Corps and spent two years as a medical worker in India. Now a hale 77, it was she who fought racial prejudice by example, as she would when she would receive the young son of a local black bishop in her front parlor while her conservative husband would shake hands but leave the house.

Jimmy Carter was the first of his line to attend college. Inspired perhaps partly by a sailor uncle captured by the Japanese during World War Two; partly by his father's admiration for the military, having been an army lieutenant in World War One, and partly by the anticipated expense of a private college education, he aspired to the US Naval Academy at Annapolis. In 1942 he took a year of preparatory work at Georgia Tech and in 1943 received an academy appointment from his Congressman. The navy was to be his life for the next ten years. The only variation in the rigorous curriculum of seamanship, gunnery navigation, engineering and naval tactics at the academy was in the choice of foreign language. Midshipman Carter chose Spanish, a facility he retains to this day. He also ran cross-country for navy and played on the under-140-pound football team (standing five-feet-eight-and-a-half inches, at that time he weighed 121 pounds). He and his classmates took summer

training on an obsolete battleship in the midst of a World War Two they never saw, cruising in the Caribbean, to Jamaica, Trinidad, Puerto Rico and the Virgin Islands. He was at sea when President Truman announced, first, the use of the atomic bomb and then, a few days later the end of the war. A year later he received his commission.

The high point of Mr. Carter's naval career came in 1952 when he applied for a job in the Nuclear Submarine Program then being created amidst controversy by Admiral Hyman Rickover. After graduation from Annapolis and two years of routine surface duty, Lieutenant Carter joined the submarine force in 1948 and served on a succession of boats—including duty in East Asian waters—for four years. His most recent assignment had been as executive officer on the USS K-1, an experimental but conventionally-powered craft. Mr. Carter's interview with then-Captain Rickover is often recalled by the Georgian. It left him with an impression—and a slogan—that he still carries. He recalls it this way: "We sat in a large room by ourselves for more than two hours and he let me choose any subject I wished to discuss. Very carefully I chose those about which I knew most at the time—current events, music, literature, naval tactic, electronics, gunnery—and he began to ask me series of questions of increasing difficulty. In each instance, he soon proved that I knew relatively little about the subject I had chosen. He always looked right upto my eyes; he never smiled. I was saturated with cold sweat. Finally he asked me a question and I thought I could redeem myself. He said, 'how did you stand in your class at the naval academy?' I swelled my chest with pride and answered, 'Sir, I stood 59th in a class of 820.' I sat back for the congratulations—which never came. Instead, he asked, 'did you do your best?' I started to say 'Yes, sir,' but then I remembered who this was... I was only human. I finally gulped and said, 'no, sir, I didn't always do my best.' He looked at me for a long time and then turned his chair around to end the interview. He asked one final question, which I have never been able to forget—or to answer. He said, 'why not?'

"Why not the best?" has become one of Mr. Carter's campaign slogans and the title of his autobiography. At the time that question was first raised Lieutenant Carter's responses apparently had been sufficient. He was accepted into the nuclear program and took special graduate courses in advanced technology and nuclear physics with the projected assignment of becoming the engineering officer on the United States second nuclear-powered submarine, the Sea Wolf. But after a year in the program—and three and a half years before the boat was commissioned—his father was fatally stricken with cancer. After much soul-searching—and what he describes as "the first really serious argument in our marriage"—he resigned his commission and took his wife and their three young sons home to Plains to take over the family business after his father's death.

IN THE DECADE between his return to Plains and his first political office as state Senator, Mr. Carter modernized and built up both the peanut warehouse business and the family farm. He also involved himself in community affairs, serving on the school board and later becoming its president. But he remained somewhat of a social maverick in the community. The US Supreme Court's decision barring racial segregation in public schools was handed down in 1954 and one reaction in the south was the formation of "white citizens' councils" to set up private schools. In Plains Mr. Carter was one of the few who refused to join. He turned down an offer to pay his five dollar dues for him. A threatened boycott of his business failed to materialize, however, and eventually that alteration, which seemed so important at the time, faded into insignificance," he later recalled. By 1962 his brother, Billy (11 years his junior) was old enough to take over the day-to-day operations of the business and Jimmy Carter was free to concentrate on politics.

When in January 1974 Jimmy Carter began his formal run for presidential delegates to the Democratic National Convention he was perceived as one of the half dozen strongest candidates for his party's nomination. But he frequently was pointed to by poli-

tical observers as the Democrats' most likely Vice Presidential nominee; his status as a deep south moderate was seen as a balance to almost anybody else's ticket. But from the beginning he proved himself more than a regional candidate, taking pluralities in the first caucus state, Iowa, and the first primary state, New Hampshire then, when he came in first into Florida, defeating fellow southerner George Wallace, he assumed a national prominence and a numerical delegate lead that he never relinquished. Next, in industrial Illinois, he was second only to a favourite son candidacy; in North Carolina he became the first Democrat to take a record majority of any 1976 primary vote; and in Wisconsin he edged his chief liberal rival Morris Udall, and in Pennsylvania he decisively defeated his chief conservative rival Henry Jackson. Late entrance into the contest by liberals Frank Church and Edmund Brown reduced his victories on the "popularity contest" side of the primary ballot but—thanks to his strong organization—did not stop steady accumulation of elected delegates. Victory in Ohio on the last day of the primaries technically brought his delegate count to 1,091, just over 400 shy of the number needed for nomination. But Mr. Udall in second place had only 313 and within 48 hours enough uncommitted or favorite son delegations—led by Illinois—joined Mr Carter to assure his nomination.

The culmination came for the 51-year-old former governor and peanut farmer when he mounted the podium at the Democratic Convention in New York City on July 15 and began his acceptance speech for the Presidential nomination. To the appreciative roar of 20,000 persons in the convention hall he began with the same words that had launched his candidacy 580 days before: "My name is Jimmy Carter," he said, flashing the smile that now was nationally famous, "and I'm running for President."

U. S. COMMUNIST VIEW

Jimmy Carter

—big money, war machine—

by Victor Perlo

JIMMY CARTER has been nominated as the Democratic Party candidate for the post of President of USA. In his acceptance speech at the Democratic Party convention Jimmy Carter pledged that on his election as the president, he would continue such a government that would turn away from "scandal and corruption and official cynicism and is once again as decent and as competent as our people."

But who are the people behind Carter?

General Dynamics was No. 1 armament contractor in fiscal 1974; Lockheed was No. 1 armament contractor in fiscal 1975—both are behind Jimmy Carter in fiscal 1976. So is Admiral Hyman Rickover, who sold Congress and President Ford nuclear submarines made by General Dynamics. And those connections explain why, in private talks with his staff, Carter said a further 20-30 billion dollars rise in the military budget might be necessary.

The military-industrial complex is a key factor in Carter's corner. But there are also the big oil and gas interests; the main Wall Street groupings, including the Rockefeller and Morgan interests; and a significant portion of the pro-zionist forces, which switched from Jackson.

All of these mean money. Big money.

Carter's family is one of the rulers of Sumter county, sandy peanut country in the southwestern Georgia Black Belt. They were slave owners and confederate soldiers, and remain plantation owners and local officials. Carter personally became manager of the family property. With 2,500 acres, 914 square miles, is a lot of peanuts—a warehouse, and capital to buy the crop of small farmers, this amounts to a business well into millions of dollars yearly. It is a business based on the ruthless



exploitation of some of the lowest paid, mainly Black, farm labourers, and on the plundering of poor farmers by buying low and selling high.

This background, and his record and promises, have assured the biggest capitalists and their professional representatives that Carter can most reliably and ruthlessly advance their monopoly class interests as president.

Carter's military connections go way back. An Annapolis graduate, he served in the navy for seven years, becoming a lieutenant commander and working under Admiral Rickover on the nuclear submarine programme. He left the navy in order to manage the family property when his father died. Rickover, whose Washington promotional activities are right up General Dynamic's alley, is now Carter's adviser on military affairs. AS GOVERNOR OF his state, Carter took free rides on the executive jets of the Coca-Cola Company and Lockheed Aircraft, the two biggest companies in Georgia. He did more than take free rides from Lockheed, however, he went along on a three-week South American selling trip of the company, on which he lent his prestige as governor to the sales effort. After his governor's term expired, he went to Brussels, locale of NATO headquarters, to set up a Georgia state sales office of which he appointed a Lockheed executive as director.

Among Carter's published contributors is Mrs. Nathan Cummings, whose husband, a close associate of Chicago financier Henry Crown, is part of the control group, a director and member of the executive committee, of General Dynamics. The key oil and gas endorsement was from Oklahoma Governor David Boren, chief lobbyist among Democratic politicians for deregulation of natural gas prices, which would add billions to the profits of gas and oil companies, and tens of billion to consumer costs. Oklahoma politics are dominated by Kern-McGee and Phillips Petroleum. The state is particularly important in natural gas, ranking third in output of "blue fuel". Following private conversations, Boren said Carter had endorsed "temporary" deregulation of natural gas. Carter could not deny

this although he tried to wiggle around it when he was called on Boren's statement.

Another Carter supporter is Alexander Trowbridge, Jr., formerly an Esso (now Exxon) executive before becoming commerce secretary under President Lyndon Johnson. A number of other Carter supporters and advisers are close to or work for the Rockefeller interests, which are not exactly divorced from oil.

"Senator Jackson and Governor Carter supported the Vietnam war to the bitter end," said New York Times, editorial on April 4. This is hardly surprising considering Carter's militaristic background and the identity of his most prominent foreign policy advisers, Dean Rusk and—most actively—Zbigniew Brzezinski. Rusk gave up the presidency of the Rockefeller Foundation to be secretary of state. Brzezinski is the long-time head of the anti-Soviet research centre at Columbia University, dominated by Rockefeller interests, and is also director of the Trilateral Commission a grouping of the top tycoons of the United States, Western Europe and Japan who are striving to coordinate policy among all imperialists. Carter himself has served on Trilateral Commission bodies.

Brzezinski is a very important, and very sinister, foreign affairs specialist of the United States. He is the son of a diplomat in the pre-war Polish fascist regime and he is married to Emilie Ann Benes, a niece of Eduard Benes, the last bourgeois president of Czechoslovakia, notorious for his capitulation to Hitler in 1938. Brzezinski has the particularly strong hatred of socialist countries that is common to members of expelled former ruling classes. He can never give up the dream of counter-revolution, especially in the two countries with which he and his wife have the closest connections.

CARTER'S KEY FOREIGN POLICY campaign speech, delivered to the Chicago Council on Foreign Relations on March 15, reads like a Brzezinski opus, and may well have been his. Carter said, "it is too much to expect that we can do much more than reduce the areas of irritation and conflict and lessen the danger of war" with socialist countries. This fundamen-

tally repudiates the Helsinki accords, and the trend started in various agreements for co-operation between the USSR and the USA concluded in the early 1970s. He joined the ultra-right pack by accusing the Ford administration of "giving up too much and asking for too little," and in another speech claimed the "Russians" have "gotten the better of us" in every deal, including the joint space flight!

In Chicago he stressed tightening the imperialist alliances covering the Trilateral Commission area, calling these the "strong and stable inner core" of the world. And he gave special stress to Brzezinski's favourite line of seeking to split off sections of the socialist camp with the assistance of Maoists and East European "disidents". "We should remember that Eastern Europe is not an area of stability and will not become such until the Eastern European countries regain their independence and become part of a larger co-operative European framework."

This means the attempt to destabilise them and draw them into the aggressive anti-communist NATO alliance. Mentioning Romania and Yugoslavia as likely prospects, he indulged Brzezinski's most fervent

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date—socialist Poland: "I deplore the recent infliction upon Poland of a constitution that ratifies its status as a Soviet satellite that about a constitution 200 years old and evolution ahead of our own.

The likelihood of Brzezinski as secretary of state in a Carter administration is enough to make one shudder. He has much in common with Kissinger—Harvard, the Rockefeller connection, cold war operations. But Brzezinski, a direct descendant of the old, defeated ruling classes, is even a more fanatical, dangerous promoter of anti-communist intrigues than Kissinger. Behind Brzezinski is a whole phalanx of big business, foreign policy and military specialists the Carter camp.

—Bayles Manning president of the Council of Foreign Relations, the chief foreign policy organisation and other top groups of high finance.

—Thomas K. Finletter, an early NATO organiser and former secretary of the airforce.

—Michael Forrestal, son of James Forrestal, the first Secretary of defence, who started the cold war military buildup, drove himself crazy with his hysterical fear of the Russians and committed suicide. Michael was brought up in the cold war tradition. At the age of 19 he was assistant naval attache in Moscow, quite possibly the source of some of the scare stories that drove his father to jump out of a window. Then he worked as a military and "national security" official in Washington before becoming a partner in Shearman and Sterling, the law firm of Citibank and Dillon Read, the important investment banking firm in which his father had been a partner. Incidentally, Mrs. Phyllis Collins, the daughter of the head of that firm, C. Clarence Dillon, is a Carter contributor. Dillon Read has long been prominent in Democratic Party finance.

—Richard N. Gardner, former state department official and McGraw Hill executive, is now a Columbia University law professor, and active in the Trilateral Commission, the Planned Parenthood Foundation, and Freedom House, all Rockefeller favourites.

—Milton Katz is a Harvard Law School professor who played an

important role in the OSS, predecessor of the CIA, and then was an early organiser of NATO. He is chairman of the board of the Morgan-influenced Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.

The frequent mention of Rockefeller connections does not mean that this group has a monopoly of Carter. Coca Cola, mentioned here as a Carter connection, has long been in the financial orbit of Morgan Guaranty Trust Co.

Burke Marshall, dean of the Yale Law School, is a Carter supporter. He was formerly a partner in the Washington law firm of Covington and Burling, close to Morgan interests, and later senior vice president and general counsel of IBH, also financially affiliated with the Morgan Bank. Reportedly close to Carter is Cyrus R. Vance, a Lehman Brothers partner who is also a director of IMB. Some real estate operators traditionally prominent in Democratic financing are in the Carter camp. One is Arthur G. Cohen, chairman of Arlen Realty and Development Corp., a billion dollar company.

Several known Carter supporters are directors of savings banks, which concentrate on mortgage lending. These are the outfits which set up and profit from redlining and strive to preserve ghettos and allwhite communities.

Carter's "ethnic purity" racism is a signal of his willingness to serve these interests—not that he needed any fresh stimulus, considering the evidence compiled by Steven Brill in Harper's exposing Carter's screened racism, implicit in his family's profiting from the racist pattern of Gocorgin life.

During the peak money-raising season in early spring, New York supporters of Jackson, the zionists' early favourite, complained about the wealthy Jewish people who were attending Carter's fund raising affairs. And soon some of them came out for Carter:

Howard J. Samuels is an upstate capitalist, long powerful in New York State Democratic Party affairs, and one-time gubernatorial candidate. New York finance chairman for Carter, Samuels is a member of the board of governors of the American Jewish Committee and of the executive committee of the American Israel Public

Affairs Committee, among other similar convctions.

Theodore C. Sorensen, prominent associate of the Kennedys, is also raising money for Carter. Sorensen is a member of the law firm of Paul, Weiss, Rifkind, Wharton and Garrison, one of the leading Jewish law firms, and particularly influential, through Simon Rifkind, in New York Democratic Party politics. Lehman Brothers partner Roger C. Altman, along with Vance, supports Carter. In a meeting with 100 Jewish leader on April, Carter supported permanent Israeli occupation of the Golan Heights and Arab Jerusalem, and came out for Israeli settlements in occupied territory.

The mutual admiration between Leonard Woodcock and Henry Ford II has been evidenced before, and now they join in mutual admiration of Jimmy Carter. Well, it's quite a day for the United Automobile workers when its president endorses the man who ran against repeal of Georgia's right-to-work law in 1970 and did nothing to bring about its repeal, or other advances for labour, as Governor.



BUILDING A VILLAGE HOUSE—86

Old Bottles, New Wine

By Herbert Keuneman

IT'S A FUNNY THING that, for as professedly socialistic and capitalism-despising nation as we picture ourselves, we cling so persistently to capitalistic tenets and capitalist practices. To begin with, of course, is the glaring overall contradiction—that, however, nobody any longer so much as thinks of calling in question—of having long accepted what used to be the excoriated capitalist *summum bonum*. Profit! (What happened to the high-minded faith that 'from each according to his ability to each according to his work' would lead by loyal Stakhanovicism—and even less idealistic-isms—ineluctably to the final moral triumph of... to each according to his need?!) But we have gone further on the

road to ideological ruin: beginning with that basic deviation we have even come to the point of idealizing 'managerial skills'. Which, when you come to think of it, can only mean skill in exploiting the Managed—that is, the Worker and the Citizen at large—so as to yield more profit to the Manager, that is, the State. A bad business that now only Good Business should be reckoned relevant?

Never mind! Never shall it be said of me, any more than it dare be said of our progressive politicals, that I was behindhand in falling into line! and, I offer this—quite seriously, I may say—as a suggestion for a necessary, an essential basic study by our new profit-oriented (occident?) Institute of Management, although, strange to say, nobody seems to have begun on such a study before—certainly, nobody has come out with any such thing in print—despite the fundamental importance, one would think, of the subject: **WHAT IS THE CEYLON EMPLOYEE'S ATTITUDE TOWARDS THE FACT OF HIS EMPLOYMENT?**

He ought to regard it, obviously as one half of a contract. But it has long been my conviction—and again I say, quite seriously—that he does not. The more I have to do with the Villager (and I use the term without any suggestion of condescension but only to indicate a certain unsophisticated state of mind) the more I am convinced that I am right. *What the Villager regards the fact of employment as is a sort of public acknowledgement of his worth or deserts, a sort of patabandi honour: the end of a process yielding him reward, NOT the beginning of a relationship involving him in obligation.*

No wonder the newly-elected MP, still more the newly-appointed Minister, regards himself not primarily as a representative of his electors or the servant of his nation but as, say, a Ratemahatmaya, or better yet a Dissava, raised to a place of more or less honour and vested with commensurate dignity, authority—and opportunity—in recognition of distinguished service or of mere innate distinction. For no Ceylonese thinks of himself as undistinguished. As I say, the act or fact of appointment to a job is the end of a process of recognition, not the beginning of an obligation. Never mind

how humbly, beseechingly the job was sought. From here onward the appointee's first loyalty is to himself and that still very potently preserved conception of that extension of himself, his family. That is often his only vividly conceived loyalty in his new place; and it does not make for the kind of employee in which managerialism delights!

I will illustrate this from simple cases—which are all I know—but it does not take managerial skills to extrapolate. Nor, I think, does it require the psychological acromatics insufflated by an Institute of Management to be able to judge the applicability of simple cases—village cases, domestic cases—as arguments in more complicated contexts such as employment in a corporation? The contexts may become complicated; the cases remain simple: **WHAT DOES THE CEYLON EMPLOYEE IDENTIFY AS HIS PRIMARY LOYALTY?**

Not to his employer; not to the work he contracts to do. Not, in other words, to his job.

Take the case of Pema.

I have mentioned Pema before, and always with approval, as my 'boy'. Actually he has only a part-time job with me: chiefly fetching water, attending to the frig and lamps keeping the place (rather desultorily) clean; and sleeping in the house at nights in case I have a heart attack or something. In exchange I pay him Rs. 30 a month in cash, give him a monthly gift (generally of clothing: this to ensure that he personally gets the benefit of at least part of what he earns, or his family might lay claim to all of it) and his dinner which is the same as mine. It isn't high pay; but it isn't sweated labour. I must say that out of the goodness of his heart he often does much more for me: runs errands, works about the garden though not as hard as he once did, and even cooks on occasion, but we have an equal understanding that none of these labours is obligatory. I think he likes me, and I am very fond of him. Yet, on two occasions he has left me flat and with not the least compunction.

The first was when I was trying to help Pinhamy secure that Attanapola land he had applied for (*Tribune* Vol. 19 Nos. 45-8). Bastian

Appu, Pema's father, was a *pandam* *karaya* of the Attanapola exVidana Arachchi, Pinhamy's adversary in this affair, and as a mild piece of coercion teaching me to mind only my business Pema was on some trumped-up pretext withdrawn from my employ, without notice and leaving inevitably to die waterless a small but flourishing 'demonstration' bed of chillis that Pema and I had proudly nourished together. When, turning the other cheek in exemplary fashion! I had succeeded some time later in interfering in Bastian Appu's behalf in a gross miscarriage of minor official justice against him, the hatchet was buried between us and when I needed Pema's services he was made available to me again.

The second time has just taken place. The middle of May we heard to our horror that Bastian Appu had met with a tractor accident—he had begged a lift in the trailer, and the driver showing off had turned too sharply into a lay-by across the ditch, and the trailer had tilted dangerously and Bastian Appu foolishly had put his hand out against a tree, to steady it! and his hand had been crushed between the trailer side and the tree—and the news brought to Pema was that his father's right hand was *kudu-vela*: reduced to splinters (lit.: dust) and that he had been taken to Galgamuwa Hospital and from there sent on in a providentially presented ambulance to the big hospital at Anuradhapura. As it turned out, the report was hardly exaggerated: the hand had had to be immediately amputated above the elbow. This was tragedy indeed; for Bastian Appu made most of his living by quarrying stone and his left

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.

hand was already partially crippled from a quarrying accident.

We did not know the worst at the time; but poor Pema was in tears and it was clearly the only thing to do to release him at once to investigate for himself while I managed, for my part, as best I could with what volunteer assistance I could raise until Pema returned. This I did, giving him a gift to tide him over of half the money I had in the house (it wasn't much) bidding him only return when he was reasonably able. He returned—and that without apology or explanation during or after his absence, although he was often back in the village—only after six weeks! In that time his one communication with me was a request that I pay him as early as possibly his wage for May. (I did)

Now, I must emphasize (in order to justify such indignation as I feel) that Pema was far from being the only available male in his hour's hold at this crisis. There were two younger brothers, 19 and 21, and a brother-in-law with no present employment; but it was considered a reasonable excuse that the younger brother was 'afraid' and the elder was 'bad-tempered' and the brother-in-law just didn't feel like helping out save under family duress when Pema temporarily forsook his place at the hospital. What seemed a bit mean spirited was that none of these unemployed was apparently thought of as possible substitutes to keep Pema's contract with me. Had it not been for P.B., who forewent his O-Level classes (he is taking the examination on spec, for the third time) in order to help me out, I should have been very hard hit indeed. I shall, of course—though I am sure that was not his motivation: on the contrary I think it was done because I am in a sense part of Banders' family—wish to reward him at least equally with Pema; and Pema is surely aware of this; but that makes no part of Pema's calculation of his loyalties and responsibilities. Lost in a rosy haze of contemplation of himself as the family saviour—and the right person to be its saviour because he alone has the status of being employed, be his employment nothing better than domestic service, Pema is cons-

cious only, and gratifyingly of having Risen To The Occasion.

The worst of it is: this pleasure in doing right by your family when you are the right person to do it can rise to the point of positive self-indulgence! You take a trip on the feeling of sheer virtue it imparts! Take the case of Suvarna.

Suvarna (the name but not the case, is an invented one) is a girl of the village who once used to work with my wife and me. She was a lovely child in every way: in looks as in temperament. So when shortly before Christmas she came to me one day in deep distress saying her family was half-starving—her mother was bed-ridden, her father deaf and growing blind, and her elder-brother who was their mainstay had run away with a low-caste woman and repudiated family responsibilities—and that she herself could bear the village no longer, begging me to find her domestic employment since she was unqualified for anything higher, so that she might contribute to the family exchequer on the one hand and on the other situate herself more congenially, there was nothing I could do but promise to look around. It was not going to be easy; for, knowing her and caring for her as I did, would not entrust her but to a place where I knew for myself she would be well-treated and happy.

I did find her such a place: in Kurlnegla, where she was offered Rs. 50 a month and food, and she was about to accept, and that thankfully, when heaven seemed to create for her a special place instead. This was in Colombo with one of the most lovable families I know, where the staff is large completely free of petty jealousies, and thoroughly harmonious; where the work is very light and the responsibilities a sinecure; where her wages would be Rs. 50 in hand and Rs. 50 in her Savings Bank every month, besides food, and clothing affect the fashion she chose; and where she was promised at least two holidays home each year, with travelling paid, and the chance to accompany any member of the family to Ehetuwewa if they happened to be spending a few days with me. Suvarna started work on the 1st of January, and every time I have met her since she has

seemed radiantly happy. As she should be.

But now the Family want her back—and, though she began by rebelling violently and saying she would on no account consider leaving short of two years, she is gradually becoming hypnotized by the vision of Family duteousness and seems to have decided to come back, after six months. She will come back to the same conditions but embittered by the memory of what she has lately, if willfully, left; and I have tried to stir her to a realization that she will be letting her employer, who has already spent generously on her, down, but the ideal of being a family sacrifice has all the perverse attraction of a vocation to martyrdom. If you ask me, I think it is her elder sister jealous of her good fortune that has initiated this trend, and I think Suvarna is aware that it is so. But I think the thing, once started, is bigger than love, loyalty or logic.

So don't be surprised or too put out if to your employee you become as the dust of the balance in any conflict between 'your' job and your employee's exclusive domestic interests. It takes a deal of sophistication to erode that tyrannical tie: every Villager has this tiger by the tail.

Why, it was only the other day one of the Kantalai girls—and you know how delighted with their place and how conscious of their debt to the Corporation they are—wrote to her mother and said: 'Is it very difficult for you there now? Should I come home to help?' And the only change in circumstances since the girls left is that the mother has elected to do Relief Work, *anata vada*, now that that has been revived. A minimum of Rs. 150 a month assured income—and all the future—at Kantalai against a few pounds for a few months of inferior flour, to put the exchange at its lowest level of idiocy! Fishing for that blessed tiger!

* *

Confidentially

Janawegaya, Hsinhua and Nonalignment

IS IT NOT TRUE that D-day (Nonalignment) is not far away? That anxiety among officials has already reached fever pitch? That this understandable? That all those especially charged with the security measures to ensure the safety of the Heads of States, Foreign Ministers and other delegates have become enveloped in a near-frenzy of excitement (and sometimes self-importance)? That many measures adopted by them have been given great prominence in foreign papers? That the DPA (the West German News Agency) had flashed a message from Colombo on July 21 that "Indian radar teams will keep a special watch over flights to and from Sri Lanka during the next month's nonaligned summit conference. At Sri Lanka's request, India's Civil Aviation Department has agreed to use radar facilities at Bombay and Madras airports to maintain a 24-hour surveillance over the flights in the region. The Madras airport has been selected as an alternative emergency airport. The Sri Lanka Government has meanwhile set up a central control room at Colombo's Bandaranaike International airport." That whilst all News Agencies of capitalist and nearly all socialist countries have begun to provide a wide variety of news regarding the forthcoming Nonaligned Summit in Colombo, the New China News Agency (NCNA), popularly also known as Hsinhua, has confined its coverage solely to what the Sinhala weekly Janawegaya has to say about the Conference? That this method of reportage seems to be a speciality of Hsinhua? That it only quotes the views and comments which vigorously echo the current views of Peking? That it is therefore interesting to see what the Janawegaya has to say on Nonalignment? (That many had expected Hsinhua to cite at least the views of the Government-owned and controlled Lake House group of papers?) That Hsinhua had reported from Colombo on

June 3 that the Janawegaya of May 28 had stated that "the task before the nonaligned countries is to carry on the struggle for political and economic liberation without subjecting themselves to either superpower and to work out a suitable strategy and tactics. The nonaligned have not only open enemies but also enemies in the guise of friends. The superpowers who are opposed to the forward march of the world will not hesitate to take any action in pursuit of their aims. Realising that non-alignment is a powerful movement directed against them, they will not hesitate to sabotage efforts of the nonalignment movement. The nonaligned must take this fact into consideration." Hsinhua had continued that the Janawegaya article went on to say that the whole world was undergoing rapid changes in the political economic social and cultural fields. That in place of the old colonialists the superpowers were contending to divide the world between themselves: that the developing countries of the world are carrying on a struggle against the superpowers to free themselves from the superpowers' political and economic control, robbery and hegemony and exploitation and to win independence. That Hsinhua on June 15 cited extracts from an another editorial in the Janawegaya of June 11 in which the paper had warned that different types of imperialist powers were trying to sabotage the Fifth Summit Conference of the Heads of State and Governments of Nonaligned Countries. "The Fifth Nonaligned Summit Conference to be held in Colombo is an important event in the united struggle of the third world countries: that the nonaligned movement was against imperialism, colonialism and hegemonism: that at a time when preparations were busily going on for the meeting, international forces which do not have any friendship either towards the third world or the nonaligned movement were carrying on a subtle campaign pretending to be friends of both. That the different types of imperialist powers have already taken fright as it has been understood that resolutions will be passed and effective actions taken at the conference with regard to struggle of the Third World on the international economic and political fronts: that they have

realised that that this would be detrimental to them: that they have therefore changed their former tactics of attacking the non-aligned movement and adopted an attitude of pretending to be friends of nonaligned countries and attempting to make the conference in a way favourable to them. That Sri Lanka and all other countries are faced with the task of defeating all these tactics, conspiracies, gimmicks and to carry forward policies of the nonaligned nations." That this kind of pontification by the Janawegaya, even though publicised by Hsinhua, has no impact on the general public in Sri Lanka? That only committed Maoists find any comfort or solace in such an analysis? That the Hsinhua should extend the scope of its coverage if it is to receive any kind of acceptance by the press and the reading public in Sri Lanka? That the Janawegaya is not the only newspaper worth citing in Sri Lanka? That Janawegaya's analysis is an oversimplification of a quarter-truth which neither official nor unofficial circles take seriously? That frequent repetition of the formula that superpowers were responsible for all evils in the world today will not convince anyone of the correctness of the analysis? That one would be willing to examine the merits of this Maoist logic regarding superpowers if a national news agency like Hsinhua also presented other points of view extant in a country which it is covering? That the Janawegaya reflects a (very very small) minority view in Sri Lanka? That the Government, the different political parties and the different newspapers have other points of view? That Hsinhua will win universal approbation if it reported all points of view prevailing in Sri Lanka today in regard to the non-aligned movement? That Hsinhua should quote from editorial in the Daily News, Dinamina and other papers in addition to spotlighting the views of Janawegaya? That China cannot complain about slanting and "managing" the news by imperialist news agencies if it does no more than only quote Janawegaya on matters relating to Sri Lanka?





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Say you're flying to New York. You could get a ticket and recommendations on all of the above for the same price you pay for the ticket alone. That's the difference a travel agent can make.

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You may have to pay for exceptions like an unusual itinerary, extended or independent arrangements, late

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

But there are no hidden charges. You'll know about any charges before you're charged. If you are ever charged.

Who pays?

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Unless your Uncle Harold is a travel agent.

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

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

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

And how do Uncle Harold's qualifications stack up?

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

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

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

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

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

How do you choose a travel agent?

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

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

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

And what have you got to lose? Nothing.

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