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**PEOPLE'S PUBLISHING HOUSE,**

124, Kumaran Ratnam Road,  
Colombo 2.

Phone: 36111

# Letter From The Editor

ON THE COVER, this week, we have a peaceful scene where a village lass is seen weaving cadjans from coconut palm leaves. She is the picture of serenity, at peace with the world. The picture was taken some years ago and she therefore does not seem to be disturbed that there will very soon be fewer and fewer coconut palm leaves to weave into cadjans; that before long the poor man's thatching material (and the coolest for the hot months) will be a thing of the past. With the export of felks, the mass cutting down of trees by the new owners of Land Reform fragmented land, the non-use of fertilisers and minimally the drought, (although official propaganda makes it the sole and only cause), the coconut industry in Sri Lanka is doomed—unless there is a revolutionary reappraisal of the policies, plans and implemented programmes towards coconut lands and plantations (and not merely the homilies on paper however loudly relayed by the SLBC and government newspapers). And, what is alarming, is that this calm and peaceful scene, full of serendipity, has already begun to disappear from soil of Sri Lanka, and is being increasingly replaced by tension, strife and conflict. Young village lasses have discarded the graceful cloth and jacket—now sported by portly matrons in Colombo 7—and have donned slacks or miniskirts all eager and ready to battle the evils of capitalism and the corrupt misdeeds of the Establishment (and the Government) which has made life extremely difficult (shortages, high prices, absence of adequate and purposeful employment, etc. etc.) for themselves, their parents and everybody they personally know (they detest the CRA and the new affluent types who only want to buy their bodies by the hour or the day to satisfy carnal lust). Little do the mandarins in Colombo realise that they are living (in utter complacency) on top of a volcano that is ready to explode at any time. There are some ideologues who try to fit the confrontations that exist today in this island into a narrow and mechanically-conceived concept of the "class struggle" envisageable only in capitalistically highly developed nation states of Western Europe. The creation of political parties and trade unions coupled with the teaching of revolutionary dogma have not, by themselves, as many had hoped, transformed the structure of Sri Lankan society to be able to generate the kind of "class struggle" textbook theorists fondly dream about. The contradictions that have arisen in the last forty six years, that is from the time adult franchise was granted under the Donoughmore Consultation, are varied and multifarious: racial, communal, caste, ethnic linguistic, religious, social, economic, cultural and political. Observers, researchers and commentators have focussed on a few of these contradictions to interpret the contemporary history of Sri Lanka, but we still await books and studies which will take all the relevant factors mentioned above into consideration to arrive at evaluations closer to reality than anything now. It is difficult to say whether the actions of Governments from 1931 accentuated the tensions and contradictions or whether they endeavoured to resolve differences and conflicts; but all we can say is that at the moment the socio-economic ferment in Sri Lanka is caught up in the vortex of several political time bombs ready to explode at any moment. The prospects of detente on the domestic front seem remote. There is no talk about a detente in regard to the contradictions within the country. There is only bombastic talk about liquidating political enemies and fighting to the bitter end; and the protagonists are constantly flexing their muscles to engage in battle in the hustings and elsewhere. Far too many people—Army, Police, Insurgents and Desperados—believe only in the power that stems from the barrel of a gun. Far too many people have become enamoured of armed juntas (in kid gloves) to exercise state power, on the one hand, and rural (and urban) guerrillas to secure emancipation, on the other. In Sri Lanka, the term detente is not part of the vocabulary of our political parties so far as the local scene is concerned. Detente, it is believed, is only for the Big Powers, and the Super Powers at that, in the international arena. The Government vigorously supports detente everywhere in the world—except inside Sri Lanka. All political parties proclaim the same belief and refuse to promote detente inside the country—lest they forfeit their chances of coming to power. The older and bigger parties want to play the game in accordance with the rules of parliamentary democracy, but the young have become impatient, restless and desperate. Whilst the elders snipe at each other (with parliamentary loquacity), the young have neared a point of no return.

# TRIBUNE

Founded in 1954

A Journal of Ceylon and  
World Affairs

Editor S. P. Amarasingam

Every Saturday

December 18, 1976

Vol. 21 No. 28

## TRIBUNE

43, DAWSON STREET,

COLOMBO - 2,

Telephone: 33172

### CONTENTS

#### EDITOR'S NOTEBOOK

—Detente, USA, USSR p. 2

#### SRI LANKA CHRONICLE

—Nov. 25—Nov. 29 p. 6

#### INTERNATIONAL DIARY

—Nov. 21—Nov. 26 p. 8

#### LEONID BREZHNEV

—70th Birthday P. 10

#### SOVIET AMERICAN RELATIONS

—Leonid Brezhnev p. 11

#### SOVIET FOREIGN POLICY

—Brezhnev's Initiatives p. 13

#### WESTERN VIEWPOINT

—On Detente P. 14

#### ELECTION PERSPECTIVES

—By R. Kahawita P. 17

#### LETTER

—Carter P. 19

#### CONFIDENTIALLY

—GMOA/AMS P. 20

## EDITOR'S NOTEBOOK

## Detente, USA, USSR

AS THE WORLD NEARS THE END of 1976 there is a sharper focus on a number of matters of international significance. This is partly due to the fact that in two countries—in the USA and China—new leaders and administrations are taking over power whilst in the third—the Soviet Union—there seems to be a major reappraisal of policies and strategies. There has been no change in the leadership or administration in the Soviet Union although many western "kremlogists" had expected such changes based on guesses that with the health of persons like Brezhnev and Kosygin "deteriorating", changes were inevitable. Changes will surely come in the Soviet Union, but as far as present indications go, there do not seem to be any prospects of change in the top leadership or policies.

This weekend, the Soviet Union will celebrate the 70th birthday of Leonid Brezhnev is a big way. We have published some material about him and also some extracts from his latest speech at a Plenary Meeting of the Central Committee of the Communist Party. For over a decade, Brezhnev has been the main force in the top leadership of the Soviet Union and the fact that he is able to continue with acceptance even now is testimony to the remarkable qualities with which he is endowed to enable him to lead one of the strongest nations in the world today during most crucial times. So far as the international arena is concerned, Brezhnev's name has become associated with the concept of *detente*. Lenin had spoken of peaceful co-existence between the embryonic world of socialism and the still overwhelming dominant capitalist world. Whilst Stalin had built the Soviet Union into a monolithically powerful socialist state his concept of peaceful co-existence especially after World War 2 had led to the most acrimonious cold war between the socialist and capitalist states which had the most deleterious effects on the many countries, especially those which were emerging into freedom after centuries of colonial subjection and exploitation.

The developing third world of today would have presented a totally different picture if the cold war of the fifties and sixties had not distracted governments and peoples from more basic needs of economic development. Krushchev took off the sharp edge of Stalin-style cold war and brought in a new period of peaceful co-existence, but his flamboyance, his unpredictability and his melodramatic (but often unrealistic) actions under cover of liberalising the austerities of communism made his few years of power an uneventful one (though dotted with spectacular gimmicks in the UN and elsewhere).

It was Brezhnev, however, who succeeded in bringing a new climate in the theory and practice of peaceful co-existence. He shaped his strategies to suit the times and the disillusionment which had come over the capitalist countries in regard to the unrewarding consequences of the cold war (hot wars in Vietnam, in the Middle East and in Africa and a capitalist world in the throes of chronic crisis with the post-war Bretton Woods monetary system in shambles and the OPEC countries challenging the market supremacy of the West in a way that unsettled the economies of the developed countries and caused unbelievable devastation to the economies of developing third world countries). The ensuing political and economic confusion among the richest capitalist nations brought to the forefront the American Kissinger who has succeeded in pulling some of the chestnuts of the capitalist world out of the fire with his forceful strategies centred around his concept of *detente*. He carried the USA and that the rest of the "free" world behind him into a new *detente* with China and the Soviet Union. His policies had been anticipated by Willy Brandt's *ostpolitik* in which West Germany and other West European states had responded to the patient, persistent and determined pleas for *detente* and co-existence by the Soviet leader Brezhnev. Based on his concept of *detente*, Kissinger had sought to build a new world where peace was maintained, a balance of power among the super powers with nuclear deterrence as the ultimate sanction. This Metetrnichian version of twentieth century diplomacy (and that

in the seventies) had notable successes and failures, but there is no doubt that Kissinger took the world forward into a more peaceful era. Kissinger has now gone because his personal style shuttle-diplomacy, often based on an *amoral* political considerations, had not satisfied the American voters and had also not brought peace either to the Middle East or to Southern Africa. The spokesmen of the new American administration of Carter have stressed about infusing a greater *moral* content into foreign policy. Though Kissinger moves out of the centre stage, there is no doubt that his contribution towards a peaceful world is substantial and that his ideas will continue to influence thinking for a long time to come.

In China, the era of Mao, Chou and others who worked out the *detente* with Kissinger has disappeared and there have been vast and unexpected changes of the most dramatic kind in the top leadership. Though it is not likely that the Hua administration will change any foreign policy postures for a long time to come, it is inevitable that changes will come. Already the Foreign Minister has been changed. Over a dozen Ambassadors, posted to very important countries, have been recalled. Although continuity of policy is still the theme of official Chinese statements, new leaders must bring new policies and new styles of work. The president-elect of the USA has also stressed continuity of policy in regard to foreign matters, but there are already signs that new thinking will influence the actions of the American government.

Brezhnev continues to be in power and he will have the satisfaction that the *detente* and peaceful co-existence he preached from the second half of 1960's has found fruition on an European and even global scale in the 1970's. There is no doubt that he was the chief architect of the Helsinki agreement, and though it is claimed that it is not working in accordance the high ideals which had inspired it, Helsinki had become a landmark that cannot be washed away. It has also become a yardstick by which the actions and practices of governments are being measured. So much so, the Israeli Prime

Minister at the recent conference of the Socialist International suggested that there should be a Helsinki type of agreement for the Middle East. Brezhnev has to meet a new situation in regard to detente and peaceful co-existence with the new administrations in China and the USA, but the extracts we have published from his October speech indicates that the Soviet Union is likely to adopt more flexible policies and more helpfully accommodating strategies to establish greater detente and peace in the troubled world.

Whilst the Carter administration's concept of detente is yet in the melting pot, there are forceful political theorists in the USA whose views on detente are essential for an understanding of the current situation. We have in this issue published an article by hard-hitting hardliner Patrick Moynihan whose aggressive postures in the UN as USA's Ambassador had raised a storm in the Third World countries. He had also championed the cause of the Jews and Israel so forcefully that many regard him as a champion of Zionism. He has now been elected a Senator from New York on the Democratic ticket and there is no doubt that his logic will influence Democratic thinking whatever the attitudes Carter and his Secretary of State will adopt. For Moynihan, detente means the freezing of military confrontation and the upsurge of a new ideological competition and conflict (not dissimilar from some aspects of the cold war in its worst days). Moynihan suggests that the USSR was responsible for the extension of the ideological conflict, but Soviet publicists blame American Rightists for the current version of the cold war (in the era of global detente).

In this situation it is interesting to examine the surfacing trends in the new policies of the oncoming Carter administration. A *Reuter* report from Plains, Georgia, dated December 4 summed up the position succinctly:

*President-elect Jimmy Carter said yesterday he would strive vigorously to seek two additional Strategic Arms Limitation (SALT) agreements with the Soviet Union, with the ultimate goal of a comprehensive commitment to reduce the level of nuclear arms. The Soviet Communist Party Chairman*

*Mr. Brezhnev, earlier this week had urged efforts to break the deadlock on SALT. Mr. Carter, in a television interview said the SALT talks had been stalled since last January or February and added: "I intend to move aggressively to get the talks off dead centre." He spoke of two further agreements he hoped to reach. One would be an interim agreement relating to the terms of the November 1974 Vladivostok conference between Mr. Brezhnev and President Ford and would be called SALT 2. The Vladivostok pact provided for further negotiations on strategic arms limitation.*

*Mr. Carter said he hoped a start could then be made immediately on a much more comprehensive commitment which would probably be called SALT 3 and would begin to reduce the level of nuclear armaments. Mr. Carter also said he was gratified to receive unofficial word from Mr. Brezhnev that the Soviet Union did not intend to test the new administration, which takes office on January 20. Mr. Carter confirmed that he had received messages from Mr. Brezhnev through personal emissaries—an apparent reference to a visit here by veteran US negotiator, Mr. Averell Harriman and the Treasury Secretary, Mr. William Simon, who was in Moscow earlier this week.*

The same report had reported the selection of the new Secretary of State:

*Mr. Carter also announced he had chosen the former Deputy Defence Secretary, Mr. Cyrus Vance, as his Secretary of State. Mr. Carter said he had no plans to retain the Secretary of State, Dr. Kissinger, in any official or semi-official capacity. But, he added, he reserved the right to call on Dr. Kissinger to deal with any specific foreign policy problem.*

The *Newsweek* of December 13 had a scoop: an interview with the Secretary of State Designate, Cyrus Vance, by one of the senior Editors Armand de Borchgrave. The most important content of the interview indicating the major difference in the foreign policy of new administration was set out thus:

*Vance does not believe that a higher level of morality in US Foreign policy—especially if one tries to eliminate the double standard that now prevails as regards leftist and rightist dictators—will lead to a more interventionist foreign policy. He thinks there is an urgent need to be more sensitive to human rights in all countries on both sides of the ideological barrier. But there are no blanket rules and he plans to approach the problem pragmatically on a country-by-country basis.*

It is difficult to envisage what this will mean in practice, but the interview gave some indication in concrete terms by Vance's comments on different matters in the *Newsweek* interview.

On the question of relations with the Soviet Union:

*Cyrus Vance thinks that the most urgent foreign-policy priorities for the new administration will fall into two principal categories—international security matters and global economic problems. There is nothing more important in his judgement than "getting SALT (The Strategic Arms Limitation Talks) out of the doldrums." He believes this is critical because successful SALT negotiations symbolize the kind of relations that ought to be established between the two superpowers. SALT II, Vance feels, will provide the impetus that could set a new tone for the future. But, he cautions, the US must be careful not to convey the impression to its allies that it is more interested in placating its foes than its friends—something that Carter accused Henry Kissinger of doing during the campaign. Close relations with allies must always come ahead of East-West issues. Vance believes the US must not allow the Atlantic alliance to unravel—at least not until there is a corresponding unraveling in Eastern Europe's ties to the Soviet Union. Vance was encouraged by Brezhnev's message to Carter that he would not create a crisis to test the new administration. Brezhnev's communication has now been received through several channels. It appears to be, Vance believes, a serious effort to improve relations between the two countries. Now he thinks, the US in close consultation with its European allies, must see how this message translates into serious issues.*

The main challenge, Vance stresses, is to get the Soviets to define the real meaning of detente. Vance worries that the Soviets may see detente as simply a continuation of the cold war under a different guise. Detente, he argues, must be global—not simply European—in scope, or it isn't really detente. A global detente, Vance concedes, does not preclude political competition, but this should not be a license to send boatloads of arms to push wars of so-called national liberation.

One area where Vance will be looking for signs of Soviet good faith will be in implementing the Helsinki agreements on the free movement of people and ideas between East and West. The Soviet Union and its allies signed the agreements, Vance points out, and they must now live up to their side of the bargain as the western and neutral signatories have done their part with closer economic and technological co-operation. Vance considers preparations for next year's Belgrade Conference to monitor progress or lack of progress on the Helsinki agreements "tremendously important." He feels that the western countries have been much too timid in this area. As for the concern expressed about the rapidly growing debt from East to West—now about 40 billion dollars and the growing volume of technology transfers to communist countries, Vance recognizes that there has been a lack of co-ordination between western countries and says that "we must now pull it all together."

About the Middle East, Vance stated:

The most promising area for resolving conflict, Vance believes, is the Middle East. He says a new "re-entry window appears to be opening." An overall settlement between the Arab confrontation states (Egypt, Syria and Jordan) and Israel "may now be possible, and our diplomatic efforts in this area must be given the highest priority. This quest must be sustained until we get through the window." Vance is buoyed by some of the signals he has received in recent days. Arab moderates are now in control of the situation and appear to be anxious to reach an overall settlement. The uncertain internal political situation in Israel may complicate the negotiations toward a settlement.

Will he avail himself of Kissinger's services in the Mideast? Vance will indeed call upon Kissinger's "invaluable" advice and experience. If a crisis occurs somewhere in the world during Vance's tenure, he would certainly not exclude the possibility of pressing Kissinger into service. But Vance does not see any immediate need for Kissinger in the Mideast.

One significant departure in policy was indicated by Vance when he declared that:

Unlike Kissinger, who opposed the entry of Western Europe's communist parties into coalition governments in Italy and Portugal, Vance thinks Euro-communism is a domestic issue and should be left to the individual countries to deal with as they see fit. He favors a more open policy of communications with Western Europe's communists and does not overlook the possibility that their participation in western governments could upset the Soviet Union's relations with Eastern Europe more than it would destabilize the NATO alliance.

This will be an important shift in strategy rather than policy, but this may have far-reaching repercussions on European and global politics.

In regard to the very controversial question of South Africa, Vance had set out:

South Africa is another area where Vance's policy may be quite different from Kissinger's. For now, Vance is generally noncommittal except to express his advocacy of black majority rule. But he is careful to distinguish between a genuinely representative majority government and the minority dictatorship that have been imposed on some African countries by force of arms. Vance favors a return to the Kennedy-Johnson policy of completely freezing US arms and military hardware sales to South Africa. He has followed closely the activities of US companies operating in South and feels they have been playing a key role in dismantling racial segregation and discrimination and in promoting multiracial evolution. And Vance plans to encourage US business to do more of the same.

The freezing of arms-sales to South Africa is bound to have a major impact in the area and among African nations.

And, about China:

Does Vance plan to normalize relations with China? Yes—but slowly. Establishing diplomatic relations with Peking should be one of the main goals of US policy—and Vance will continue to work toward it. But the pace and mode will depend on the negotiating history that he plans to start reading shortly. He favors another high-level round of negotiations "to feel each other out." He does not believe there is any rush to establish relations with China since it is important to maintain a careful balance in US relations with the Soviets. The US must also ensure the security of Taiwan, which Vance says "is essential."

This is an indication that the USA is not likely to scuttle its treaty and friendship with Taiwan for a long time to come. It is on this basis that the "normalisation" is likely to proceed.

The problem of South Korea was another matter on which Vance made some comments:

On South Korea, Vance believes that the country's intelligence activities in the US have had a bad effect on relations between the two countries and have eroded

### The Dragon's Robe

"When his reign began in 1949, the masses had to be physically restrained from throwing themselves prostrate before the rostrum at Peking's Gate of Heavenly Peace. Whenever Mao Tse-tung appeared in public during his 27 years of mastery of China, the crowds roared *wan sui*—long life—the old imperial greeting which, as Mao himself noted, had become synonymous with the word for emperor. From 1973, the public was deluged with a flood of articles in the national press which explained in minute detail what had happened to the nation at the end of dynasties and on the deaths of famous imperial rulers of history, a bid to reassure the nation it would survive Mao's passing .....

—Insight, September, 1976

Do the crowds still roar "*wan sui*" to greet Hua Kuo-feng?

## Detente

support for South Korea. This is most unfortunate, he adds, but before we judge too severely we must bear in mind that South Korea's very survival still hinges on the US—and the US alone. In principle, Vance favors a gradual phasing out of US troops from South Korea. But he realizes that the US must tread very cautiously and reduce its ground forces only after comprehensive consultations with the South Korea and Japan. Vance wants to make sure that whatever is done in the years ahead is satisfactory to both South Korea and Japan and "compatible with their security interests."

About Latin America, he does not seem to have been asked many questions, but his answers about Panama is a pointer to his attitudes.

Vance favors a continuation of the Panama Canal negotiation begun by Kissinger, as he is convinced that the Panamanians have just as great an interest as the US in the security of the Canal. The Canal is also a very substantial source of income for them. The two sides, therefore, must reach a mutually agreeable treaty. But he believes strongly that the US cannot renege on commitments made by the outgoing administration on the timetable for the gradual reduction of US rights in the canal zone. Latin America, Vance explains, is looking at what we are doing in Panama—and the outcome of the negotiations set the tone for the Carter administration's relations with the area.

And in regard to the problem of the Third World countries, he said:

Vance believes that it is "terribly important" to keep the negotiations between the developed and developing countries that have been under way in Paris for the last year moving forward with fresh ideas. The penalty for failure to come up with a new and mutually fair deal will be confrontation and retaliatory economic actions between the North and South that will have dire consequences for the entire world economy. It is an extremely complex problem, he concedes, complicated by OPEC oil-price hikes and economic recession in some western countries. But a North-South partnership must be established, he argues, because the two sides need each other—raw materials on one side and

western goods and services and technology on the other.

The problem of excessive commodity-price fluctuations is a very real one, but Vance does not believe that "indexation"—or a system of linkage between the prices of the industrialized world's raw-material imports and western exports to the developing world—is the answer. There are no across-the-board solutions, he says, but there are areas of mutual interest, which must be found as quickly as possible.

The following despatch by the Hindu correspondent, Easwar Sagar, from Washington dated December 4 merits attention:

By selecting Mr. Cyrus R. Vance, who is a competent and effective manager, rather than inventor and designer, of foreign policy, the President-elect, Mr. Jimmy Carter has fulfilled one of his main campaign declarations, namely, that it will be he and not some secretive "lone ranger" in the State Department who will be in command of charting America's relations with the rest of the world.

In the wake of Mr. Vance's appointment yesterday, there has been the inevitable comparison between him and the man he will replace, Dr. Henry Kissinger, and the exercise has shown that no two men could be more different in outlook, style, personality and even physical appearance. While the portly Dr. Kissinger was amoral, and a brilliant architect-cum-acrobat of foreign policy, who sought and held the limelight, the lean, tall Mr. Vance is a self-effacing and unobtrusive "team player, who is a level-headed executor of what his boss would propose. He is also a liberal moderate democrat with a streak of moral idealism. The choice of such a man as the Secretary of State is seen as yet another clear indication that in his Government, Mr. Carter will be the principal formulator and exponent of foreign policy.

At his press conference yesterday, Mr. Carter said his choice of Mr. Vance had won universal approval at home (Dr. Kissinger himself called it an exceptional choice) and abroad—it appears that among those countries sounded out on Mr. Vance were the Soviet Union,

Israel and some of the European countries. Though at the same news conference, Mr. Vance declined to go into the specifics and substance of some of the issues which the Carter Administration will have to cope with soon after it is installed—strategic arms talks with the Soviet Union, West Asia, etc., it is possible to visualise the kind of attitude Mr. Vance will bring to bear on certain issues and towards certain countries, on the basis of his past records and pronouncements.

Mr. Vance is said to be strongly in favour of detente and in the last few years he has visited the Soviet Union several times and went to China last year. He is also said to lean towards a balanced but comprehensive settlement in West Asia, rather than the step-by-step process favoured by Dr. Kissinger. At the news session yesterday Mr. Vance said that he for one did not favour either personal diplomacy or shuttle diplomacy, he would rather delegate authority to competent subordinates wherever he could. The Secretary-designate has belonged to several organisations which have expressed serious alarm over the spread of nuclear arms and has called for greater moral leadership in the Government.

Answering a question yesterday, Mr. Vance said that he believed, with Mr. Carter, that "morality would be a fundamental precept" of the American foreign policy and that it would, within the bounds of practical consideration, determine the US relations with countries which, in its view, did not observe human rights. Mr. Vance is also in the record as being opposed to America being the world's arms merchant. In an article written in the "New York Times" earlier this year, he had advocated like Mr. Carter, strong measures to control the sale of American arms to other countries. This could have a bearing on how the Carter Administration disposes of the Pentagon's recommendation that the US permit the sale of a large number of military aircraft to Pakistan.

The present indications are that the Carter presidency is likely to open a new era in American foreign policy.



## SRI LANKA CHRONICLE

Nov. 25 — Nov. 29

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; ST—Sunday Times; DM—Dinamina;  
LD—Lankadipa; VK—Virakesari; ATH—Aththa;  
SM—Silumina; SLD—Sri Lankadipa; JD—Janadina.

**THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 25:** Mr. Felix Dias Bandaranaike, Minister of Finance, told a deputation of Ceylon Bank Employees Union that all foreign banks which are not nationalised in their own countries would be taken over by the Government in late January, 1977: a Bill to takeover these banks will be presented in the NSA in January—CDN. The Ceylon Bank Employees Union announced yesterday that it will call out members on strike tomorrow in support of the strike launched by certain unions to condemn Police action in the Peradeniya Campus—CDN. New Zealand Government will donate 1000 tons of milk powder to the Social Services Department: the whole consignment will arrive in the island before December this year—CDN. Prime Minister, Mrs. Sirima Bandaranaike, told the NSA yesterday that elections would be held at the proper time: referring to the Peradeniya incidents she said the Opposition was exploiting these incidents to their own advantage because of the coming general elections—CDN. Mr. J. R. Jayewardene, leader of the Opposition, told the NSA yesterday that he was the only leaders of the Opposition to be out of jail of the leaders of the Oppositions of the non aligned countries that participated in the Colombo conference: he said this was not only to the credit of this government but to the credit of all government since independence—CDN. World Bank, for the first time agreed to extend credit facilities to Sri Lanka's tea industry: hitherto the World Bank had given credits for rehabilitation of tea only to Indonesia and Kenya—CDN. The one-man commission appointed to probe the Peradeniya incidents will commence sittings on November 30—DM. The Prime Minister, Mrs. Sirima Bandaranaike, revealed to the NSA yesterday that the country made a profit of Rs. 100.5 million by hosting the Non-aligned Conference in Colombo last August—DM. The Prime Minister told the NSA yesterday that even after the general elections Mr. J. R. Jayewardene, leader of the Opposition, will not be elected Prime Minister: Mr. J. R. Jayewardene said that if the government stays in power even for one day after May 22, 1977, every action will be taken to topple such an "illegal" government—LD. The President, Prime Minister, several Ministers, MPs and DPLs visited the residence of late Mr. M. Thiruchelvam, Q.C., yesterday to pay homage to the late Tamil leader—VK. According to the *Janadina* a senior Minister of the United Front Government held discussions with several leaders of the Federal Party last week to seek the Federalists support to postpone the general elections: the paper further said these talks were held secretly.

**FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 26:** The Interpol which met in Ghana last week accepted a proposal by Sri Lanka

that economic offences should be considered as international crimes—CDM. Addressing the annual sessions of the Nutrition Society of Sri Lanka yesterday in Colombo, Prime Minister, Mrs. Sirima Bandaranaike, said that no one has died of starvation in Sri Lanka—CDM. The Police, in view of the token general strike to be launched by several trade unions today, has strictly banned slogan writing, distributing of handbills, pasting of posters and picketing—CDM. Trade unions controlled by the SLFP, CP, UNP LSSP and DWC will not participate in today's strike—CDM. Students of the Katubedde Campus of the University came out on strike yesterday demanding the release of all students who were arrested for demonstrations following the Peradeniya incidents—CDM. All medical officers attached to the Accident Service and Orthopaedic Clinic of the Colombo General Hospital reported sick yesterday and work at these two clinics was completely paralysed: according to the *Daily Mirror* this was in protest to an order by the Director of Health Services that all Relief Officers be mobilised to the OPD of the General Hospital: the GMOA and the AMS protested to this order and instructed its members to stay away from work for one day as a token of protest: later in the day, the doctors went back to their posts on an assurance given by the Secretary to the Ministry of Health: meanwhile the work-to-rule campaign launched by the GMOA and the AMS entered its second month yesterday—CDM. Mr. Justice Wimalaratne, the Commissioner appointed the one-man Commission to probe the Peradeniya incidents visited the Peradeniya Campus yesterday and held discussions with the President of the Campus, Dr. K. H. Jayasinghe—CDM. The seven accused charged in the Duraiappah murder case have filed a writ in the Supreme Court claiming that the Trial-at-Bar appointed to inquire into the case has no jurisdiction to hear the case: the application will be heard by the Supreme Court on December 7: the Supreme Court yesterday ordered that the respondents in the writ applications, the three judges of the Trial-at-Bar and the Attorney General, should be present in the Supreme Court when the hearings begin on December 7—VK. The Ministry of Public Administration yesterday informed all Heads of Departments and government institutions the decision of the Government to make eligible for government jobs all insurgents who were convicted for their involvement in the April insurgency and on whom suspended sentences were imposed—DM.

**SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 27:** The Ministry of Education, in consultation with the Vice Chancellor and the Presidents of all Campuses, decided to close all six campuses of the University until further notice: the students have been informed not to return to their halls of residence: all students who are occupying the halls of residence have been asked to leave before tomorrow—CDM & CDN. Doctors at the Homagama hospital yesterday refused to perform a postmortem on a man stabbed to death and informed the Police that they were not registered with the Medical Council and thereby not competent to undertake such work—CDM. The Sri Lanka State Tea Corporation said Iraq has agreed to buy 40 million pounds of tea from Sri Lanka next year—CDM. According to the *Daily News* yesterday's token general strike launched by some trade unions was a failure and did not make any impact on the normal activities: transport services were normal



in the country—CDN. The Prime Minister, Mrs. Sirima Bandaranaike, will inaugurate a tree-planting campaign on 1st December near the Aukana Buddha statue opposite the BMICH—CDN. According to the *Daily News* exports of industrial products during the first nine months of this year has reached a record figure of Rs. 537.9 millions; the paper attributes this immense increase due to incentives to exporters and active export promotional work launched by the Government. Mr. Lakshman Jayakody, Deputy Minister of Defence and Foreign Affairs, yesterday tabled in the NSA the statement of accounts of the Non-aligned Summit—CDN. The House yesterday moved a condolence vote on the death of Mr. M. Thiruchelvam, Q.C.—CDN. The Department for the Registrations of Persons has planned to prepare a list of all citizens of the country by giving each citizen a number at birth: this number will identify the person for all purposes—DM. The annual Sahitya Day celebrations will be held today and tomorrow at Patalagedera in the Attanagalle electorate: Mr. William Gopallawa, President will preside and distribute the Sahitya Day awards to the winners of Sinhala and Tamil literary works—DM. Mr. Felix Dias Bandaranaike, Minister of Finance and Justice, decided to introduce a bill in the National State Assembly to amend the regulation under which an appellant is required to furnish bail before making an appeal to a higher court against the verdict of a lower court—DM. According to the *Lankadipa* when the paper contacted the Director General of Broadcasting on rumours that he had resigned his post he neither confirmed it nor denied it. Mr. D. F. Kariyakarawana, Editor of *Janatha* has been elected as Vice-President of the International Journalist Organisation: this election has been made at the eighth conference of the IJO held in Helsinki recently—LD.

**SUNDAY, NOVEMBER 28:** The Prime Minister, Mrs. Sirima Bandaranaike, yesterday speaking at the Sahitya Day celebrations at Patalagedera in Attanagalle called upon the nation to save the younger generation of the country from the clutches of power-hungry politicians and schemers: she stressed that in future no mercy would be shown to mischief-makers and said certain principals and teachers of schools were partly to be blamed for the recent unfortunate incidents in which school children were involved—CO. According to the *Observer* a new Extradition Law which will make it possible to operate extradition agreements with all Commonwealth countries and over 40 other states is to be enacted shortly: the draft Bill which is with the Legal Draftsman will be presented in the Parliament shortly. The Wimalaratne Commission appointed by the President to inquire into the incidents of the Peradeniya Campus will commence its sittings at the All-Ceylon Buddhist Congress Hall at Baudhaloka Mawatha on Tuesday, November 30—CO. The Cabinet has still not taken any decision on the future of friendship societies with foreign countries: a section of the government wants such societies banned, another section wants it registered with the Competent Authority and yet another section thinks that such societies should be affiliated to the "Friendship House" run by the Ministry of Cultural Affairs—ST. According to the *Sunday Times*, following a ruling by the Government that Secretaries to Ministries should not hold posts in the directorates of corporations. Mr. Ridgeway Tillekeratne, Secretary to the Ministry of

Information and Broadcasting, will quit his post as Director General of the Sri Lanka Broadcasting Corporation. Two police Constables of the Jaffna Police Station were arrested and remanded for allegedly snatching a gold chain from a woman when she was walking all alone on the street—VK. At a meeting of the GMOA and the AMS held yesterday it was decided that the present work-to-rule campaign launched by the members of the two unions should be intensified and should not be slackened until the government give into the demands of the two unions—VK. A special stamp will be issued on November 29 to mark the American bicentennial celebrations: the stamp will be of the Rs. 2.25 denomination—SLD.

**MONDAY, NOVEMBER 29:** Prime Minister, Mrs. Sirima Bandaranaike, will launch a national tree-planting campaign opposite the BMICH on Wednesday: simultaneously nearly three million school children led by 120,000 teachers will join this campaign all over the island—CDN. 5,000 science and maths teachers will be appointed to schools in rural areas in January next year—CDN. Two principals of schools in the central province were interdicted by the Department of Education on charges of inciting students to indulge in anti-government demonstrations after the Peradeniya incident—CDN. Several irregularities have been spotlighted in the report of the Auditor General on the Sri Lanka Broadcasting Corporation for the year 1970/71 which was presented in the National State Assembly on Friday: some of the irregularities were a missing cash book, irregular recruitment, irregular loans and advances to employees, inadequate securities for contracts and insufficient time for tenders etc.—CDM. The *Daily Mirror* quoting several doctors said that the State Pharmaceuticals Corporation has imported ineffective drugs and patients have complained to doctors about the lack of potency of these drugs: doctors also complained the treatment is nullified owing to these drugs. According to the *Daily Mirror* Ministers will not draw their Rs. 100 allowance for each sitting which has been proposed for members of the NSA: about 15 MPs living within the radius of 20 miles from Colombo will also not be entitled for this allowance—CDM. Mr. S. Thondaman, President of the Ceylon Workers' Congress, speaking at a meeting in Jaffna said Tamils in the country should live with their rightful place and for this purpose the Tamils in the country are united and are not divided into northern, eastern and upcountry as alleged by some people—VK. According to the *Virakesari* a section of the prominent citizens who forwarded a 20-point program to the Prime Minister on the problems of the Tamil speaking people are now perturbed as the Government has not taken any concrete steps regarding this program: a spokesman for the group said the Government invited them four times for discussions but though it is more than three months now no action has been taken on this. The Chinese Deputy Minister of Trade will arrive in the island on December 9 to sign the Rubber-Rice agreement for the next year: the government is expected to import 200,000 tons of rice from China for the next year under this agreement—VK. According to the *Janadina* in view of attempts by the government to establish diplomatic ties with south Korea the government of Sri Lanka is suspect in the eyes of the Non-aligned Movement. The *Janadina* in an editorial criticised the Prime Minister for making a political speech at the

Sahitya Day celebrations held in the Attanagalle electorate last week. Speaking at the Sahitya Day celebrations in Attanagalle Prime Minister, Mrs. Sirima Bandaranaike, said it is the duty of the parents, teachers, poets and other artistes in the country to direct the younger generation in the proper way—DM. Mr. Maithripala Senanayake, Minister of Irrigation, Power and Highways, left for Bulgaria on Saturday on an invitation by that government to participate in the 30th anniversary of the ruling party of Bulgaria—LD.



## INTERNATIONAL DIARY

### Nov. 21 – Nov. 26

**SUNDAY, NOVEMBER 21:** At a Tamil Nadu Congress meeting in India speakers passed a resolution calling upon the Indian Government to ban the DMK party if it persists in its anti-national activities: the Dravida Munetra Kalagam (DMK) was the ruling party in the Tamil Nadu Government before the Central Government dissolved the Assembly on allegations of corruption by its leaders. Beirut appeared normal yesterday for the first time after 19 months of civil war: a jumbo jet landed at the International Airport bringing 22 passengers from Jeddah. Officials of oil exporting countries meeting in Vienna are reported to be in agreement that a price hike of oil from next year would be justified: Ministers of OPEC are expected to meet in Qatar on December 15. A US State Department spokesman said that the United States would not give any material assistance to the Government of Prime Minister Ian Smith if the Geneva negotiations on the future of Rhodesia fails: the statement by the spokesman, Mr. Robert Funseth, was issued after a televised speech by Prime Minister Ian Smith who said that Secretary of State, Dr. Kissinger, has told him that the US would give more assistance to Rhodesia if the negotiations for majority rule failed owing to the black nationalist leaders. The Co-ordination Bureau of the Non-aligned nations in the United Nations issued a statement yesterday protesting against the US abusing the power of veto in the application of Vietnam for membership to the world body: US announced in the United Nations Security Council yesterday that it would no longer stand in the way of Angola entering the United Nations. The Asian Development Bank announced that it would lend nearly one billion dollars next year which will be 100 million US dollars more than the loans it had granted during the current year. Mr. Yitshak Rabin, Prime Minister of Israel, said that Egyptian peace initiatives would receive sympathetic consideration in Israel: he also said he saw no sense in formulating new peace moves which entailed changes in Israel's policy.

**MONDAY, NOVEMBER 22:** The three-man United Nations Committee chaired by Sri Lanka's Shirley Amarasinghe has found Israel guilty of denying civic rights to the Palestinians: the committee has strongly denounced Israel for the "serious deterioration" of Arab living conditions in Israeli-occupied territories. America's President elect Mr. Jimmy Carter and State Secretary Dr. Henry Kissinger met in Plains, Georgia

and discussed international problems: *Reuter* reported that the discussions were concluded amicably in contrast to criticism during the election campaign of Mr. Jimmy Carter. Damascus Radio said last night that Syria has decided to extend the mandate of the UN force in the Golan Heights for another six months. *Asahi Shinbun*, largely circulated Japanese daily, conducted a survey on Japan's next month general elections and reported even if elected Prime Minister Mr. Takeo Miki will lose his post for lack of party support. The Mozambique News Agency reported that Mozambique and Rhodesian forces were engaged in heavy fighting in South-Western Mozambique. Prime Minister Ian Smith of Rhodesia said yesterday that two of his negotiators are returning to Salisbury to brief him of the progress of the Geneva conference: Mr. Smith who returned from the Geneva conference did not indicate as to when he would return to participate in the conference. Soviet leader Leonid Brezhnev flew to Bucharest yesterday for discussions with Romanian President Nicolae Ceausescu: the talks between the two leaders are expected to consolidate friendly ties between the two countries. Democratic Senator, Mr. Abraham Ribicoff, who headed a delegation of the American government to Iran said at the end of his five-day visit to Teheran that his colleagues favoured continuing the controversial arms sales to Iran. Syria reinforced its Arab peace keeping force in Lebanon. Algerians voted in support of a new constitution for the country in a nation-wide referendum called by President Boumedienne. A large number of people participated in peace marches throughout the country calling for an end to violence in the troubled province of Northern Ireland.

**TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 23:** Kuwait's Minister of State, Abdel-Aziz Hussain, said yesterday that if the Organisation of Petroleum Exporting countries increased the price of oil at their meeting next month in Qatar it will not be to sabotage the world economy but would only to balance increases in the prices of industrial goods: he further said OPEC will not allow great powers to dictate oil prices. The New China News Agency charged Mrs. Chiang Ching, wife of Chairman Mao Tse-tung as a non progressive artiste in the 1930s and an actress who had capitulated to the Kuomintang party political enemy of the Chinese Communist Party. British conference chairman Ivor Richard will return to Geneva today after briefing Prime Minister James Callaghan of the progress so far made and observers said the coming days would be of a critical nature for the deadlocked conference on Rhodesia: meanwhile, Mr. Charles Diggs, a senior black US Congressman, who arrived in Lusaka said the British delay in fixing a date for the independence of Rhodesia was a calculated move by Prime Minister Ian Smith to delay the conference and warned that this would lead to a bloodbath in the country. With reinforcements brought in from Syria the Syrian peace keeping forces were yesterday in full control of all parts of Lebanon. Israel yesterday said it was not prepared to accept Syrian or Palestinian forces taking over the area adjoining its border with South Lebanon: the statement was issued by the Israel Cabinet. After a six-hour meeting with Secretary of State, Dr. Henry Kissinger, President-elect Mr. Jimmy Carter described the former as his "good friend": meanwhile an aide of Dr. Kissinger said the President may consult Dr. Kissinger

after the Secretary of State leaves office. US Senate Democratic leader Mike Mansfield, a veteran China watcher, called for prompt negotiations between China and Taiwan to achieve a peaceful merger between the two countries.

**WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 24:** Mrs. Indira Gandhi, Prime Minister of India, addressing the ruling Congress Party's national conference in Assam said that her Government would not tolerate any external interference in India's affairs: she further said attempts at external pressure, whether from organisations, governments or opposition parties, would have a reverse effect. The United States yesterday formally withdrew its opposition to UN membership for Angola despite its contention that the former Portuguese colony depended heavily on Cuban military aid. Arab oil Ministers who are meeting in Kuwait tomorrow for one of their regular meetings are expected to discuss privately the proposed price increase of oil. Mr. Ivor Richard, British Chairman of the Geneva Conference on Rhodesia, said that he was sure that an agreeable date for the independence of Rhodesia could be arrived after his proposed meetings with two of the black nationalist leaders Mr. Robert Mugabe and Mr. Joshua Nkomo. The Co-ordinating Bureau of the Non-aligned countries in the United Nations issued a statement protesting against the veto used by America regarding the application of Vietnam to enter the United Nations. Nigerian Government announced yesterday that high officials of General Gowon's regime overthrown in July 1975 were in the pay of American Lockheed Aircraft Corporation. The *New York Times* commenting on the present situation in Thailand said the country now has the most repressive military government after the liquidation of absolute monarchy in 1932: the paper further said the present government serves only the military generals and the rich. Military sources in Tel Aviv said Israel has reinforced troops along its northern border to counter any Syrian movements in Southern Lebanon; the sources further said Israel was acting to prevent Syria from changing the existing peaceful situation unilaterally in Southern Lebanon.

**THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 25:** President-elect of America, Mr. Jimmy Carter, told yesterday that economic considerations would be given a greater role in his administration's international attitudes and this would mean increased importance for the Treasury Secretary in foreign policy decisions. Andre Malraux, famous French writer who influenced General de Gaulle very much, died yesterday. At the first meeting of President Ford and President-elect Jimmy Carter the former requested the latter to meet Ministers and Heads of Government of the North Atlantic Alliance soon after Mr. Carter takes office. Pakistan Prime Minister, Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, said that the date for a general election in his country would be decided by the National Assembly in accordance with the Constitution keeping in view existing conditions in the country and neighbouring states. French President, Valery Giscard D'Estaing appealed to rich and poor nations to press on with their North-South dialogue which seems to be heading for deep trouble: two years ago the French leader launched the dialogue—economic talks. Informed sources in the United Nations said Russia will replace its

present permanent representative in the UN, Mr. Jacob Malik, with Mr. Oleg Troyanovsky, a former Soviet Ambassador to Japan. The meeting of the Oil Exporting countries scheduled for December 15 in Qatar has been postponed till December 20: the reason for the postponement is several oil Ministers of OPEC will be in Paris on the 15th to participate in an industrial seminar. The United Nations General Assembly called for the admission of Vietnam to the United Nations and recommended that the Security Council reconsiders its rejection of the application which resulted from the US veto: the resolution received 124 affirmative votes: the United States cast the only negative vote while West Germany, Britain and Israel cast the only abstentions.

**FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 26:** A powerful earthquake in eastern Turkey killed over 3000 people: the earthquake felt over an area of 300 miles and rescue parties worked round-the-clock looking for survivors: the shock waves of this earthquake was felt in the Soviet Republic of Armenia but no casualties were reported from there. India nationalised the American oil company Caltex operating in India: according to an agreement signed by representatives of the Indian Government and Caltex company India will pay a compensation of Rs. 130 million. The United Nations Security Council will meet on December 8 to elect the next Secretary General for a period of five years: the present Secretary General Mr. Kurt Waldheim remains favourite to be re-elected unless China backs its stated preference for a Third World candidate: the five permanent members of the Security Council—US, China, USSR, France and Britain—control the selection of the UN chief through their right of veto. Prime Minister, Mrs. Indira Gandhi, announced in India yesterday that oil has been struck in Assam and Nagaland. The UNESCO General Conference now being held in Nairobi adopted a resolution of thirty Arab and African states censuring Israel's educational and cultural policies in occupied Arab lands: the resolution was adopted by a 61-5 votes with thirty abstentions. Geologists in West Germany said the water table beneath the parched expanses of the Sahara has been tapped and the desert's days are numbered: firms and engineers from the Federal Republic of Germany are playing their part in a UNESCO project boring wells, establishing reservoirs, building windbreaks, roads powerlines, schools and community centres. The United Nations Security Council recommended to the 31st General Assembly that Angola become the 147th member of the United Nations after the US abstained instead of vetoing the action as it did in June this year.



70TH BIRTHDAY

## Leonid Brezhnev

By Boris Korolyov

LEONID BREZHNEV was 15 when he started working as a metal craftsman. This happened at the time when the young Soviet Republic made its initial steps in creating a new society. Today Leonid Brezhnev is the leader of a mighty socialist power. His name signifies international detente. While his life is a model of service to the ideals of peace and progress, the chapters of Leonid Brezhnev's life-story coincide with those of the biography of the nation.

In the year of Leonid Brezhnev's birth, Dneprodzerzhinsk, a town with strong proletarian traditions, was then still a village and called Kamenskoye. A big steel plant was built there at the end of the previous century. Ilya Brezhnev brought his family to that place from outside Kursk, and went to work in the steel-rolling mill here in a low, clay-walled house. Leonid Brezhnev was born on December 19, 1906.

Leonid Brezhnev's grand father, father, brother and sister gave many years of their life to work at the steel plant. He too, stepped across its threshold. Life at the plant, and a working man's thoughts and concern, had decisive influence on the shaping of the world outlook of this precociously inquisitive teen-ager. He swiftly took to the working class, what struck root then was preserved for the rest of his life.

It so happened that in early boyhood, Leonid Brezhnev worked in agriculture too. He studied at the Kursk land—surveying and reclamation school and, after finishing it, worked in Byelorussia, the Kursk region, and in the Urals. This farming experience helped him make a sizable contribution in the mid-sixties to the promotion of the Party's policy in the countryside.

Leonid Brezhnev joined the Communist Party in 1931. As early 1939 he held the post of Secretary of the Dniepropetrovsk Regional Committee of the Party. It was already one of the leading industrial areas in the Ukraine. By that time, Leonid Brezhnev had

considerable production experience as a diplomaed metallurgical engineer.

WAR CLOUDS GATHERED on the western borders: the Generals of the Nazi Wehrmacht finalised their scheme of a sneak attack against the Soviet Union, in 1940. Instructions came from the central committee of the party to the Dniepropetrovsk Regional Committee to put part of the local enterprises on a war footing. Leonid Brezhnev was appointed Regional Committee Secretary for Defence industry.

So that in the early period of his life Leonid Brezhnev won prestige in the party by his gift as an organiser and ability in building up an atmosphere of creative effort. Trust, respect and exactingness, in the years of war, when Brezhnev was appointed to highly important posts in the Army in the field. This organisational ability was manifested with special force.

After the end of the war, Brezhnev returned to high-level party work. He was elected first Secretary of the Zaporozhye Regional Committee of the party in August 1946. First Secretary of the Dniepropetrovsk Regional Committee in November 1947, and First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Moldavia in July 1950. In October 1952, at the 19th Congress of the CPSU, Leonid Brezhnev became an alternate member of the Presidium and Secretary of the Central Committee of the CPSU. He was only 45 at that time. In February 1954, the CPSU Central Committee sent Brezhnev to Kazakhstan to lead the Party organisation of that Republic, which faced an unprecedented economic task of developing virgin and long-fallow land over a territory of the size of the whole of Western Europe.

The 20th Congress of the Party in 1956 re-elected Leonid Brezhnev alternate member of the Presidium and Secretary of the Central Committee of the CPSU. He became member of the Presidium of the CPSU Central Committee in June 1957. In May 1960, Leonid Brezhnev was elected President of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR. He held this post up till July 1964. In October 1964, the plenary meeting of the CPSU Central Committee elected Leonid Brezhnev

first Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee. Following the 23rd Congress of the Party in April 1966 Leonid Brezhnev was elected to the post of General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, which he holds till this day, implementing the Leninist line of the party's internal and foreign policies.

A mine blast hurled Colonel Brezhnev overboard into the ice-cold waters of Novorossiisk Bay. The ship was following the "death road" course, the only sea communication link left with Malaya Zemlya, near Novorossiisk. There, on a small piece of land, less than 30 sq. km., a Soviet landing party withstood the onslaught of several Nazi divisions for 225 days. Leonid Brezhnev who sailed across the "death road" course more than once. He miraculously escaped death on that cold rainy day in the early spring of 1943. There he stood on the beach, surrounded by his fellow servicemen. Rather chilled after that ice-water bath but as cheerful as ever. There were mines and shells bursting around, but the daring men of the landing party cracked their jokes.

Three fierce attacks were repulsed on that day by the sailors, side by side with whom Leonid Brezhnev was fighting. "Comrade Commissar, it'd be fine to celebrate May Day in Berlin," they said. "We'll get to Berlin with you, to be sure," Leonid Brezhnev replied, re-loading his sub-machine gun. In exactly two years' time, Berlin fell under the Soviet army's onslaught.

A great deal can also be read about the chief of the political department of the legendary 18th army in memoirs by Marshals and Generals, who point out the high fighting qualities of Leonid Brezhnev, and in the reminiscences of soldiers, who were witnesses of his meritorious service. "He is a great man, indeed," the soldiers used to say about their Commissar.

THE SUPREME PURPOSE of the Party's activity—everything for the sake of the people, everything for their benefit and happiness—is also the personal credo of Leonid Brezhnev. The man who grew up in a squalid clay-walled house wants every family to live in a comfortable flat. He strictly

demands that housing construction should proceed on a large scale and fast and that houses should be well-appointed and eye-appealing. There are no "trifles" for him in his concern for man: in the party's highest councils does he speak of the people's every day needs. The generally recognised contribution to the strengthening of the country's economic might and the difficult road travelled during the war years are the proof of the gold star of Hero of the Soviet Union, with which Leonid Brezhnev has been decorated.

On May 10, 1976, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR conferred the military rank of Marshal of the Soviet Union on Leonid Brezhnev, Chairman of the Defence Council of the USSR. The highest military rank has gone to the person who is regarded both at home and beyond his country's confines as an outstanding champion of peace, Detente and peaceful coexistence. Is it a paradox? No, it is not.

It was the cruellest and hard-fought war in history, one which the Soviet people won at the cost of twenty million lives, that put the marshal's baton into Leonid Brezhnev's Knapsack. A fighting man right from the opening hours of the battle against the Nazi aggressors, Leonid Brezhnev marched across Moscow's Red Square in the 1945 victory parade, wearing a General's uniform, in a formation of the most renowned heroes of World War 2. The man who has come through the crucible of a war that decided the destiny of nations knows well the true price of peace and firmly believes that peace is the greatest blessing for all working men. For all peoples.

Brezhnev's name is associated with an enterprising and resourceful foreign policy programme, which has come to be called the Soviet peace programme in every language of the world. His idea about the need for materialization of detente has become a watchword of all workers for peace. Leonid Brezhnev's outstanding services to the world public have won him the international Lenin Peace Prize and the Joliot-Curie gold medal. It was only appropriate to rank the General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee. Leonid Brezhnev,

a thinker and fighter, worker and soldier, as a foremost champion of peace, democracy and social justice.



LEONID BREZHNEV

## On Detente, Peace, Soviet-American Relations

The following extracts from the speech of Leonid Brezhnev at the Plenary Meeting of the CPSU Central Committee in Moscow on October 25, 1976.

**WE WANT** the peaceful coexistence of states to be not only bilateral but to assume an ever wider, multilateral character, forming as it were, a connecting material tissue of lasting peace. It is precisely towards this, in particular, that the Soviet Union's proposals for holding all-European congresses on the problems of transport, energetics, environmental protection are directed.

On the whole, the work of implementing the Helsinki Accords is taking the form of scores and even hundreds of practical deeds. They may not be always conspicuous, but this is Party and state work of exceptional importance. And we, the Soviet people, value the efforts of those who work in the same direction. For, the cause of peace, so close to the heart of every Soviet person, is our common cause. The so-called confidence measures—the practice of notifying other countries beforehand about forthcoming major military exercises and inviting foreign observers to such manoeuvres, approved on our initiative at the European conference, played a useful role in creating a calmer atmosphere in Europe.

We consistently observe also those propositions of the Final Act of the Helsinki Conference which concern the expansion of cultural and other ties and contacts, among peoples, the expansion of exchange of information. We proceed from the fact that in the conditions of relaxation of tension, the development of such

ties and contacts is quite natural—of course, given the strict observance of the principles of mutual respect for the sovereignty and non-interference in the internal affairs of each other. But to violate these principles in relations with the Soviet Union, to act counter to the interests of the Soviet people and our socialist system—you will have to excuse us, gentlemen—will not allow anyone.

THERE IS NO TASK of greater importance in the struggle for a lasting peace today than that of ending the arms race, unleashed by imperialist powers, and transition to disarmament. The fact is that the aggressive circles of the capitalist world respond to their defeats in social battles, to the loss of colonial possessions, to ever new and new countries abandoning capitalism, to the successes of world socialism and the growing influence of the Communist Parties in bourgeois states, by feverishly unfolding military preparations. Military budgets are swelling, new types of armaments are being created, bases are being built, military demonstrations are undertaken. Leaning on this "position of strength", imperialism hopes to retain the now receding possibility of ordering other countries and peoples about.

Striving to underpin their policy "ideologically", so to say, the imperialist inspirers of the arms race stoop to any means, and do not particularly care for elementary logic. When they need new credits for armaments they scare parliamentarians and the public by the "superior Soviet power", but when they need to show the electorate their concern for defence, they assure them of the "absolute military superiority of the West."

As far as our defence is concerned, we spend on it exactly as much as is necessary for assuring the Soviet Union's security, for the defence, jointly with the fraternal countries, of the gains of socialism, for the potential aggressors not to be tempted to try and solve in their favour the historical controversy between the two opposite social systems by force. To maintain the country's armed forces at a high level also in the future, so that Soviet soldiers always have the most up-to-date weaponry which the imperialists could not ignore—

such is our duty to the people, that we shall sacredly fulfil!

At the same time, we have no greater desire than to switch the assets, of necessity diverted today from the national economy, towards raising the people's living standards, towards creative purposes. We are prepared even tomorrow to start disarmament measures—either big and radical, or, for a start only partial—on a truly fair, reciprocal basis. We shall not be found wanting!

Many years ago, V. I. Lenin spoke of disarmament as "the ideal of socialism". At that time no real prerequisite existed yet for stopping the growth of militarism, for averting the threat of a world war. Today the situation is different. The forces of socialism and peace exert such an influence that advance toward solving this task, cardinal to all mankind, even though gradually and on individual sectors, is entering the plane of the possible. Moreover, there is a gradually growing realisation among the ruling quarters of capitalist states that in this nuclear age to stake on unleashing a new world holocaust is as futile as it is perilous and criminal.

In recent years, the joint efforts of peace-loving forces, with the most active contribution of our country, succeeded in attaining substantial results in the matter of reducing the threat of a new, nuclear war. Concrete, binding international treaties and agreements have been concluded on such questions as ending a considerable part of nuclear weapons tests, taking measures against their further dissemination in the world; on their non-deployment in space, on the sea and ocean floor; on limiting strategic armaments by the Soviet Union and the United States; on prohibiting and eliminating bacteriological weapons. These are not bad results at all. They refute the laments of the sceptics who renounce the struggle for disarmament as hopeless. But what has been achieved needs consolidation and further development in order to effectively put an end to the new arms race. You remember, comrades, how sharply and as a matter of principle the question of disarmament was posed at our Party's Twentyfifth Congress. Following the Congress,

the Political Bureau repeatedly discussed ways of giving a new impetus to the struggle for this most important matter. It was decided among other things, to come forward with a number of concrete proposals at the next session of the UN General Assembly.

The Soviet Union suggested concluding a world treaty on the non-use of force in international relations. This document was described in detail at the session of the UN General Assembly. Here I only wish to stress that the non-use of force in our draft covers inter-state relations without infringing the people's inalienable rights to struggle for their social and national emancipation. We strictly distinguish between these two spheres.

The USSR also submitted for the deliberation of the UN an extensive complex document—a memorandum containing a broad, all-round programme of disarmament measures most topical at this time. In short, our country has again come out before the world with a concrete programme of disarmament. In order to make this programme as realistic as possible, substantial new elements have been included in it. The views of many states on a number of questions have been taken into account, certainly without prejudice to the interests of our security.

We are taking also a flexible position in the sense that we are prepared to tackle the implementation of either all the measures stipulated under the programme, or for a start, only some of them, moving from one step to another.

Disarmament must become the common cause of all states without exception. This purpose is served by our proposals for convening a world disarmament conference or, at first, as a step in this direction, for calling a special session of the UN General Assembly..."

**SOVIET AMERICAN RELATIONS.** The development of our relations with a number of states has slowed down lately, and through no fault of ours. This was caused to a considerable extent by the complex political situation in some countries, in particularly by the election campaigns in the United States and in the FRG. Suffice it to say that matters are actually at a standstill in such

an important question of Soviet-American relations as the drafting of a new long term agreement on the limitation of offensive strategic weapons, although the main content of this document was agreed at summit level already late in 1974. Having received our latest proposals of the remaining questions already in March of this year, the American side has not yet given an answer to them. It is intimated to us that the reason of this lies in the complexities of the election situation. We can only regret such an approach to an issue on which the strengthening of the peace and security of two great nations depends, as well as the general improvement of the situation in the world for years to come. But, on the whole, the development of our relations with the United States retains so far its positive directedness. The treaty on underground nuclear explosions for peaceful purposes

#### Indonesia may become World's leading nickel Producer

Minister of Mines Moh. Sadli said 8 percent of the world's nickel output will be produced by Indonesia by 1980 when she will be able to export 52,500 tons of nickel—ferronickel and nickel matte—and 16,000 tons of nickel ore. Speaking in Pomalaa, Southeast Sulawesi, at the dedication of a ferronickel project recently, by Sultan Hamongku Buwano, Mr. Sadli said there was no doubt that Indonesia had the potential to become the world's leading nickel producer. The nickel project in Pomalaa, run by PT. Aneka Tambang, has only been exploiting nickel ore for export to Japan. Indonesian ferronickel as a semi-finished product according to the Minister will be able to find wider markets, especially since the commodity was in great demand. The ferronickel plant can convert 350,000 tons of nickel ore or 1.8 to 2 percent nickel content, hitherto unexportable, into 20,000 tons of ferronickel containing 4000 to 4,250 tons of nickel, which could bring about US \$ 17 million in foreign exchange annually.

was signed recently, a mutually advantageous cooperation is under-way in many fields of science and technology. Cultural exchanges have acquired a rather extensive scale. Economic ties, too, are expanding little by little, even with the existence of the obstacles created by discriminatory trade legislation in the United States. Were it not for these obstacles, our economic ties would have certainly acquired an absolutely different scope.

In the course of the election campaign, the rival candidates—President Ford and Mr. Carter—have repeatedly made statements on matters of foreign policy, on relations with the Soviet Union. These statements, however, are for the greater part of a rather general and, not infrequently, of a contradictory nature. On the whole, both contenders appear to be in favour of a further normalisation of the international situation and of developing good relations with the USSR. But one often hears from them also statements of a different sort: calls for a further arms race, for the pursuance of a "position of strength policy", for the so-called tough line in respect of the Soviet Union, etc. Nevertheless, whoever comes to power in Washington after the elections, it appears that the United States will have to take into consideration the actual alignment of forces in the world that had prompted the American ruling circles, on making a sober analysis of the situation, to commence in recent years a search for accords with the world of socialism. In any case, one thing must be absolutely clear: our policy of extensively developing relations with the United States, of lessening the danger of a new world war remains invariable.

\* \*

DETENTE

**Soviet Foreign Policy**

—Brezhnev's Initiatives—

THE PRINCIPLES OF SOVIET FOREIGN POLICY, as defined at the 23rd, 24th and 25th Congresses of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, are known to the whole world. It is a policy of stren-

gthening the fraternal unity of the countries of the socialist community, a policy of consolidating the alliance of the Soviet Union and peoples fighting for national liberation and social emancipation, a policy of peaceful coexistence between states with different social systems, a policy of determined struggle against aggression. It is a policy of active and honest diplomacy and of strict and undeviating observance of the obligations assumed. By his activities Leonid Brezhnev is making a great and multifaceted contribution to the implementation of this policy.

The Report by Leonid Brezhnev to the 25th CPSU Congress contains a profound analysis of the problems of modern world development and international relations.

The Soviet Union attaches primary importance to the development of its relations with other countries of the socialist community, which it regards as an alliance of an entirely new type, one that embodies fraternal friendship and equal co-operation of the peoples. Joint actions by the countries of this alliance have led to closer ties between them and to the appearance of more and more common elements in their political, economic and social life. The implementation of the long-term programme for socialist economic integration has helped to establish the socialist community as the most dynamic economic force in the world.

The Soviet Union renders principled and disinterested support to the just struggle waged by the developing countries. Recent years have seen profound social changes in many of these countries and a noticeable growth of their influence on world affairs. At the 25th CPSU Congress Leonid Brezhnev again stressed that the Soviet Union fully supported the legitimate aspirations of the young states and their determination to be full masters of their national wealth. The consistent class position of the Soviet Union and its support for the national liberation struggle of the peoples who have shaken off the colonial yoke, have immeasurably enhanced the prestige of the world's first socialist state, and the prestige of the CPSU and of the General Secretary of its Central Committee, Leonid Brezhnev in the developing countries.

The role of the Soviet state in altering the general climate of international relations in recent years is now recognised all over the world, and detente has become the dominant feature of the development of the international situation. It is with persistence and energy that the Soviet Union is working for a further development of the positive processes and for the materialisation of detente. A tremendous personal contribution to this work is being made by Leonid Brezhnev.

Over the past few years the General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee has paid visits of friendship and peace to many countries. His trips have done much to eliminate the coldwar effects in the USSR's relations with many Western countries.

Leonid Brezhnev took a most active part in preparing and holding the historic Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe. He initiated a whole set of constructive proposals for the limitation of armaments and for disarmament which were welcomed by all peace-loving people and have become a subject for international negotiations. Adopted by the 25th CPSU Congress, the programme of further struggle for peace and international co-operation, and for the freedom and independence of the peoples gave a new major impetus to the struggle for a continuation and development of the process of radical improvement of the world situation.

Leonid Brezhnev's untiring efforts in the cause of peace have won due recognition. In 1973 he was awarded the International Lenin Prize "For the Promotion of Peace Among Nations", and in 1975 he received the highest award of peace champions—the F. Joliot-Curie Gold Medal of Peace. "The foreign policy of the Soviet Union," says Leonid Brezhnev, "is the fruit of the collective thinking and effort of our Communist Party. I therefore regard the award of the Lenin Prize to me as an honour conferred on the entire Party for its work, as international recognition that the policy pursued by its Central Committee is correct. And I am happy that, as a member of the Party and as one who has

been reared and steeled by the Party, I have been able to participate in the struggle for the great goals of bringing about a durable peace and lasting security of nations—goals toward which working people everywhere are striving.”



WESTERN VIEWPOINT

## Detente And Ideological Conflict

by Daniel P. Moynihan

former US Ambassador to the United Nations and now elected Democratic Senator from New York.

Detente leads inevitably to a redistribution of tension from the military sector to the ideological one, writes a former US ambassador to the United Nations. And in that sphere of ideological conflict, he predicts, the West will defend itself successfully because it has “the incomparable weapon of liberty.”

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THE FIRST FACT of detente is that it is not a condition, such as peace or war, but a process that can lead away from or toward either peace or war accordingly as we successfully manage the process or fail to do so. The process arises from the simultaneous necessity to deal with two nominally incompatible imperatives. The first is the technological imperative, which commands that we co-operate as with a partner; the other is the ideological imperative which commands that we compete, as with an adversary.

The technological imperative is easy enough to grasp: a generation is coming of age in America which has known it since birth. So, equally, is the ideological imperative to those who will grasp it.

Detente is a word we use to describe an approach to nations who are not friends, whose governments are based on principles different from ours, whom we are not sure we can trust, and who have great military power which they have shown an inclination to use to the detriment of freedom.

This is something we have understood in the past—the essential antagonism of the Communist system to ours—and most of us in truth still do understand it. Our problem has to do with continuing to understand that this is not just a fact, but a salient fact, one from which an imperative arises every bit as compelling as that which arises from the facts of nuclear armament.

Why is this difficult?

It has not helped that we picked the wrong word to describe the present process. Detente is a French word which means, first, relaxation of tension, as with physical objects like muscles. Now such wholesale relaxation is exactly what will not happen under detente. To the contrary political detente can at most lead to a redistribution of tension from the technological sector to the ideological one, such that there will be a pronounced increase in the latter.

It is probably not a good thing to rely heavily on mechanistic analogues for human behaviour, but in this instance it seems justified. The Communist system contains a certain amount of energy capable of doing work. Any lessened expenditure of military technology will lead to an increased expenditure on what the Communists will see as the equally inviting, equally productive area of ideological conflict. The relaxation of tensions in the one sector will lead more or less automatically to more intense conflict in the other. That is what detente means. The question, to repeat, is why we find this difficult to grasp.

IT HELPS TO NOTE that the Soviets have had no such difficulty. It is fairly clear that ideological conflict has been stepped up on their side, or at the very least expanded to new areas. With the fall of Southeast Asia, the perimeter of pressure in that region

is much expanded, with results already evident. Where necessary, military force is used. For example, the Soviets in effect landed—Cuban troops, but Soviet withdrawal—on the southwest coast of Africa, even as they were consolidating military facilities on the northern coast of that continent. It is fair to assume they mean to colonize Africa, and manifest that they are already partially successful, their main problem being opposition from another Communist power and also from the fact that the United States will call them instances of open military operations, as indeed the Secretary of State has done.

Blocked at one point, they shift to another. The United Nations offers nearly limitless opportunities in this respect. Last November (1957), in an infamous act, the General Assembly declared that “Zionism is a form of racism.” This was seen as an Arab initiative, but was it? The Ukraine, for one, was a sponsor of the resolution, which directly served an announced Soviet cause. Four years ago Pravda published—and indeed The New York Times reported it on February 19, 1971—a two-part article, “Anti-Sovietism is the Profession of the Zionists,” accusing Jews of all manner of plots against Communism, much as Hitler had accused them of plots in support of it. A campaign was begun which explicitly and heavily stressed the Nazi-Zionist theme. Its unmistakable intent was revealed by such grotesque things as a television documentary that superimposed Ben-Gurion’s face on that of Hitler. And so it is indeed no accident that two days after the Zionism resolution passed the General Assembly, a Tass political observer wrote: “..Zionism is racism pure and simple of the same (variety) that..was practiced in the not too distant past by Hitler’s Germany.”

This was all one campaign, serving the Soviet need to deal with what is one day going to be its central political problem—or may already be—that of ethnic conflict, and also serving its general aims in the Middle East. It is a daily occurrence in Turtle Bay, as elsewhere in the world.

Now there is nothing devious in this. The Soviet leaders



have repeatedly stated that detente does not mean an end to ideological competition. They have not perhaps stressed that it means an increase, but surely that is something for us to perceive, not for them to proclaim.

ONCE AGAIN, why do we have such difficulty? One influence which retards our responses to Communist aggression may be simply stated as the superior capacity of Marxist argument to induce guilt. Observe that this is stated as a relative relationship. Liberal democracy makes great claims on non-liberal societies, and has done so for some time. There is probably not now in the whole of the world a totalitarian state which does not have a constitution guaranteeing individual liberties. On the other hand, there is not a liberal society which does not contain a real Marxist or neo-Marxist movement dedicated to its overthrow on grounds of insufficient liberality. Nor is there any liberal society which is not torn by doubts on this score. Yeats sensed the mood: "Come fix upon me that accusing eye. I thirst for accusation."

It is said that if a Communist regime were to take over in the Sahara there would in time be a shortage of sand, and we shall doubtless in time have tested that hypothesis, but we can be fairly confident that to the very end there would be those in the West convinced that the sand had gone to build swimming pools for the rich—in the West. The "Communist Manifesto" is heavy with such accusation—interpolated between Marx's and Engels' insistent analysis of the creative dynamics of capitalism—and its force provides the true dynamic of the doctrine. It is for a master such as John Dollard to delineate the role of guilt in liberal society—it is what makes us most humane as well as, at times, a bit absurd—but none can doubt that it is a weapon used against us by our adversaries.

More specifically, it is a weapon which our adversaries contrive to have us use against ourselves. This technique was much in evidence not long ago at the United Nations when, on the 30th anniversary of the UN and in a moment of relative peace in the world, the United States introduced a resolution—which had been readied

a month earlier—calling for a general amnesty for political prisoners. Now if there is one thing Communism has brought to human experience, it is the phenomenon of political prisoners on a social scale: not just individuals but masses. The Soviets know their interests in such matters. Tass immediately denounced our measure as an "unsavory stratagem" to distract attention — truly — from the anti-Zionist resolution passed two days earlier.

The first American press accounts written in New York took a different line, to wit, that the resolution had been introduced in retaliation for the anti-Zionist resolution. But the general effect of such accounts, in this country and others, was to distract attention from the measure we had proposed to the question of what motives we had in doing so—a classic mechanism for inducing guilt.

This guilt is most difficult to handle just now in our relations with the postcolonial nations. We begin with the assumption of exploitation, a burden of guilt, the final burden of colonialism, which we evidently assumed when we took on "the leadership of the free world," as the phrase once went. This is not to say that there was no exploitation: there was the unforgivable humiliation of peoples the world over. The point here has to do only with the impact of these events on the American conscience, generations later and vast distances from events which Americans were scarcely aware of and only in the most peripheral way involved in at the time.

But more recently—and I would venture more importantly—there has been the more complex phenomenon of the steady falling away from politically liberal norms and the gradual establishment of leftist totalitarian regimes in the formerly democratic postcolonial states. This has been a great disappointment to the West, and the disappointment is now almost final. Speaking somewhat beyond the evidence, I would suggest that

our emergent reaction is one of questioning where we went wrong, where we failed. Did we, for example, give enough aid? Hence the more demanding the claims made upon us by the new nations, the more support such claims gather from some, at least.

I WOULD NOT WISH to be seen as explaining all of this response—or all of that part of it which seems to me uncalled for and unhelpful—in contrast to a decent and constructive concern to help others. I am prepared, however, to ask whether some part of it is not based on fear—the fear, again, among Western elites—that comes of seeing the vast multitudes of the world nominally turned against us. The fact of the matter is that most of the new nations have opted for the regimes we now see in those areas not from egalitarian urges, but from the very opposite. In almost every nation, a post-independence generation has come to power, and within that generation a more or less small elite which—and why should this surprise us?—finds in leftist, statist doc-

LETTER

TREES

Sir,

This is to bring to your notice, the two contrasting front page news items, which appeared in Ceylon Daily News of Nov. 11, 1976. The main headline story starts like this: "GOVT. GIVES LEAD IN TREE PLANTING. Ten Ministries in campaign: public to play key role". On to the right of this report, another two-column story has the title, as follows: "Plywood Corp. gets 32m foreign order: Saudi Arabia wants 50,000 doors." And, yesterday (on December 2) our Prime Minister had inaugurated the tree planting campaign. It was reported that the government will sponsor and plan the campaign. Is this, for the export to Oil-rich Middle East countries? Who is fooling whom?

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3rd Dec. 1976

trine an excuse for gathering all power to itself, an excuse which cannot be found in democratic doctrine. Ergo. There is no nation so poor it cannot afford free speech, but few elites which will put up with the bother of it.

Of the third influence, I have written elsewhere, and need not dwell upon at length. This is the long-term ideological drift away from liberal democracy, the influence of which, I have argued, crested in 1919, at the end of the First World War, and has declined ever since.

In a lecture given at the University of Detroit in 1963, Leo Strauss, the foremost political philosopher of his time in America, spoke more generally of the failure of what he called the "Modern Project." This was a world system that grew out of the political philosophies of the 16th and 17th centuries and which in, say, 1914, seemed well on the way to triumph. The West, at this time, was certain of its purpose, a "purpose in which all men could be united." It had a clear vision of its future "as the future of mankind." It was not less certain of its power. At that time, Strauss observes, this country, Britain, and Germany, if united, could have had their way, without force, in any region of the world.

All went well, or well enough, for a bit thereafter, until Communism, which had been seen as a parallel movement to the Modern Project—part of it really, "a somewhat impatient, wild, wayward

twin"—revealed itself, as Strauss puts it, to "even the meaneast capacities" as something else, as Stalinism and post-Stalinism. Oriental despotism was once again a major force in the world; and finally, to cite from Strauss, "the only restraint in which the West can put some confidence is the tyrant's fear of the West's immense military power."

For the rest there is decline. Specifically, the purpose of a universal society—"a society consisting of equal nations, each consisting of free and equal men and women, with all these nations to be fully developed as regards their power of production, thanks to science"—that purpose is no longer sustainable. In its stead, political society in the foreseeable future reverts to what it always has been, what Strauss called "particular" society—"society with frontiers, a closed society, concerned with self-improvement."

ONE MUST ACCEPT this as a long-term condition, but also see in it the essence of what might be our long-term security. For a "particular society" is a society that can be defended—and, I think, will be.

*It comes to that. Out of the decline of the West there will, I sense, emerge a rise in spirits. We have shortened our lines. We are under attack. There is nothing in the least in the culture that suggests we will not in the end defend ourselves successfully.*

*We shall do so because we have in our armamentarium the incomparable weapon of liberty. We are the party of liberty, all of us, Republicans and Democrats, always have been, even when least true to it. And as the lights go out in the rest of the world, they shine all the brighter here.*

This requires discipline of ourselves—by government and about government. But that is not beyond us. How do you suppose we have got to a bicentennial without knowing something of such matters? In the United Nations today, half the nations have had a violent internal change of government within the past 11 years.

What is required most of all is truth-telling—to one another and to the rest of the world. Already we hear voices from the

other world asking for truth.. from us..about them. Most particularly, and most poignantly, we hear voices from the Soviet Union which ask no more than what "Pacem in Terris" commands: that as between governments and their respective peoples "it is not fear which should reign but love...."

That is our strength: that we can say this and that the nations with which we are leagued can say it. Those who cannot say it must perforce hear us with ever-mounting concern, a concern which they attempt to allay by measures which will only enhance it.

Surely we must see this. Just as we must see the persistent attempt to dissuade us from speaking out for what it is: the assertion of their weakness and our strength. The night the American amnesty resolution was introduced, a German newspaperwoman called on me, an appointment made several weeks earlier. As we sat down, she said, "Before beginning let me just tell you that already the news of what the United States has proposed is being whispered from cell to cell in East German prisons. You would think such news would never reach such places, but it does and it is what keeps you alive. I know. I spent four years in one of them."

On the heels of our initiative, one American commentator predicted that our effort would be met with "a deadly silence". Which in retrospect might to many seem to be the case. But is it the case? Or is it only that we have not learned to hear the whispers?

### Complete Restoration of Borobudur by 1980

The restoration of Borobudur, the largest Buddhist temple in the world, built in the 8th century in Magelang, Central Java is expected to be completed in 1980. Drs. Soediman, head of the restoration project said the original estimate of US \$ 7.75 million, of which \$ 5 million is being provided by the UNESCO and \$ 2.75 million by the Indonesian Government, has now been re-estimated at \$ 11.9 million as a consequence of inflation. The Wesak celebrations held at the Borobudur in May last was also attended by Ven. Narada Thero: from Sri Lanka.

### Batan develops new rice varieties

The Indonesian Atomic Energy Agency BATAN has succeeded in developing 11 varieties of superior rice. Prof. Dr. A. Baiquni, the Agency's Director, reported to President Soeharto recently. Three of the new varieties, he added, will be released by the Ministry of Agriculture in the near future. Three harvests a year are expected from the new varieties.

ABOUT THE UNP

## Election Perspectives

—Alternative To the United Front—

By R. Kahawita

A few publications back the *Tribune* commented on the methods of propaganda of the United National Party. While endorsing most of the comments, there has to be said that the vehicles of propaganda available to the UNP are few and even that few are still permeated with the old and derelict methods. For this reason alone the UNP must overhaul its propaganda machinery to catch the imagination of the voters and get the message to them.

In Sri Lanka politics, we are now polarized into a two party system which is vital to a democratic way of life. The voters have realised the need for a two party system and at every election they have asserted this in no uncertain terms. The results of the 1970 General Elections and the no-contest pact between the SLFP, the Communist and the LSSP were an endorsement of our political maturity. However, the UNP leadership must realise that the United Front was formed by the opposition not so much to take the country on to a communist or socialist road but with the avowed object of destroying the UNP, not as the enemy of the people but as the enemy to a totalitarian Government. This objective was clearly spelled out during the election campaign by every political party that joined the SLFP band wagon. Even after the elections, physical violence were done to the supporters of the UNP to drive fear into them. Therefore if we in Sri Lanka want to preserve democracy we must encourage and foster a two party system and let the voters decide, according to the principles, policies and promises of each party at each General Election which party should run the country. In this context, the criticism of the UNP in the *Tribune* is most healthy and useful to guide the high command of the Party to win the elections and save democracy and the country. It is for this reason that

I endorse what was said in the *Tribune* and if I may be permitted I reproduce here a comment I sent to the English version of the UNP Journal, on the same subject sometime back for publication.

Currently, the Members of the United National Party have developed a 'Wealthy class complex' at political meetings with the result they are often at pains to explain to their listeners that the United National Party is no longer the Party of the 'Well to do', so on and so forth. This complex has got hold of the leading speakers of the Party and to explain it away they often utter inconsistencies which the people do not believe. This attempt to paint a picture of the party that, now, it is composed of the poor etc. etc. may be due to a fear complex flowing from what the anti-UNP propagandists say about them who are ever ready to label their opponents with, what they think, are popular slogans. This is politics and in the political game there are no rules that each party can follow at its Propaganda meetings. So the anti-UNP speakers think, that thicker the mud thrown at them, stronger their point to convince the audience. A political party must be able to counter attack, such propaganda by methods other than saying that the character and composition of the Party has been changed, because of this labelling by the United Front—the party of the Rich to that of the poor. This is almost, a libel. This kind of play to the anti-UNP gallery no voter will believe even if the speakers stand on their heads and shout their lungs out. Because the million odd supporters of the UNP know that the Party was never a party of the well to do. If so, this million odd voters supporting the party at the elections and classed as well to do, Sri Lanka would be the richest country in these parts of the world.

The voting strength of the UNP is not because voters are well to do but due to their political maturity and ability at decision making as to which political party is honest and can perform what they say they can do. In a democracy—which we still enjoy to some degree—the people are free to vote according to their convictions and beliefs—the ballot is still secret. So all political parties have as its suppor-

ters, the rich, the well to do, the intellectuals, professionals, the poor, the lame and so on. No party in Sri Lanka commands only the beggars. Every party has its sprinkling of the so-called well to do. However there is one thing common to all political parties in Sri Lanka: the leadership has been always in the hands of the well-to-do, rich, educated and those who have had better opportunities than the average citizen. This has to be, and will be so, for sometime to come. It will be a long, long time to come before Sri Lanka can throw up a "Peanut Vendor", "Sheep farmer" or "A Cattleman" to be the leader of the people. Take any political party in Sri Lanka and dissect the leadership, they will come up tops as men or women of means who have taken a plunge to politics to try their luck. Many have succeeded and some are doing far better than they would have been if they remained in their normal walks of life. They are all opportunists; not only the UNP; all other parties are teeming with them at the top. So why belabour "the rich UNP Slogan" of other political parties to gain a point over an opponent. This is wasting speaking time by the UNP speakers. These speakers should tell the people home truths that will get them at the right spot.

In this respect the propaganda machinery of the UNP is completely out of gear. What the voter wants to know is—"What are our chances for a better deal if we vote UNP? Are we going to wallow in the same mud hole we are in now or, are you going to pull us out, wash the mud away and make us self-respecting citizens? And if so, how? This is what the voter is eager to know. To this extent the UNP Propagandists have created a vacuum in their approach to win over voters from the other political parties. They have the deciding votes and not the die-hard UNPers. To achieve this the speakers must focus on the shortcomings in the areas they wish to carry on the propaganda for the party and what the people in the area need and want most. Such home truths, the people will take in seriously, and not how rich so and so etc. etc. is, or that they were rich once but with the socialising of land, housing and industries they are as poor as can be.

It is impolitic to say that the UNP was once the richman's playground to keep the poor man down or they did not care for the under dog. Apart being a false statement it does damage to the Party image and betrays a lack of political acumen on the part of the UNP speakers. The moral of all this is that the Propaganda Machinery must be streamlined, educate the selected speakers to say what suits the audience and the place. Avoid telling them fairy tales or what people talk about at the market place or at the village will. The propaganda machinery is far behind what is needed at the moment to win an election. Can anything be done? People are anxious to have a change in Government to enjoy the freedoms they have lost under the present regime."

In my comments reproduced above I said—"That they were rich once but with the socialising of land they are poor now."

Socialising of Land or Land Reforms is one of the burning questions today for two reasons: (a) in the implementation of the Land Reforms Law there has been discrimination against families and individuals in an unprecedented scale which we will discuss in a subsequent article. (b) the other reason the UNP has not said anything definite on this issue in their New Policy and Programme: With the result that all kinds of rumours are floating around to the detriment of the popularity of the party. Therefore to clear the air it is pertinent to ask a direct question from the Party leadership: "If the UNP is voted to form a Government at the next General Elections what is the party Policy regards the Land Reforms Law and its implementation?"

Why this question is asked is because:— the effect of the land reforms law has been (a) to reduce the big estate owners to a statutory holding of fifty acres. (b) by fixing the statutory limit of holding to fifty acres of permanent crops and twenty five acres of paddy land, a very large number of small holdings have been saved and given a sense of security which has resulted in better land utilization and increased production due to accompanying assistance given to them by various productive drives of the Government. This group of people have commenced

to get the most out of their holdings (c) in contrast to this, the inter-family transfers have been approved—not in terms of the Land Reforms Law—but according to family connections, political colour, likes and dislikes of the bureaucrats, resulting in victimisation and discrimination even though the Constitution says—"all are equal in law". Due to this there is frustration dissatisfaction and even anger, displayed against the Government. This kind of creating a privileged class according to political colour or family background in implementing the Land Reforms Law was the subject of a debate even in the NSA. If the matter was so serious for the Opposition to raise a question in the NSA there are thousands who never got equity in law. They except, with a change of Government, to get some relief for their grievances.

The rumour floating about is that if and when the UNP comes into power the maximum extent of land holding is to be 5 Acs. and nobody will be allowed to own anything more than 5 Acs. This alleged threat of the UNP which the UF is openly telling the people has crept into every nook of the society with varying degrees of mistrust in the party. This unit of land supposed to have been referred to during the Land Reforms Bill debate by one of the Opposition members and now that a General Election is on the offing, the five acre unit of holding has been assigned as a policy of the UNP. Today it is spoken of very frequently. Even the other day, some people, whom one would think will not be carried away by rumours expressed the fear of a UNP regime "We are better off under the UF regime so why vote UNP to get ourselves impoverished further."

The number of people affected by the 5 Acs. unit are many. There are the erstwhile estate owners who got 50 Acs. and varying extents under the inter-family transfers, there are a large number of self-employed people who had not come within the Land Reform Law as it is today and who depend on small acreages varying from 50 Acs. to 5 Acs. for their sustenance, there are the colonist who got 5 Acs. wet land, three acres dry

land plus another 10 Acs. of high land for successfully developing their holding given by the UNP in the early years of colonisation. There are a mass of people, understandably unhappy at this alleged statement of the UNP. These people have nothing much to lose today and if there were to be a threat to their last straw they would certainly vote against the UNP. This would be disastrous to any hope of UNP forming a workable Government, if they come into power. It is here that the UNP High Command must make a categorical statement. If 5 Acs. unit rumour is a canard of the party in power to frighten the voters why not deny it and put the rumour to rest and give those doubting voters the hope that "The UNP seeks to make the people of Sri Lanka politically free, economically strong and socially equal." This is the class that can make the country economically strong. This rumour may be in the same class as the "Three day holiday to the Police if the UNP came into power." This has been hotly denied so why not the 5 Acs. canard.

On the point of discrimination in the implementation of Land Reforms Law, the thuggery and excesses exercised by the bureaucrats in taking over land, in complete violation of the Land Reforms Law, and the method of paying compensations to those whose lands were taken over. The amassing of wealth by the few who took over the land on behalf of LRC, accounting of the income derived from the lands taken over and hundreds of other malpractices by Government and her officials; Are you, if your Party comes into power, going to appoint a Royal Commission of inquiry into the implementation of L.R.C. Law and the operation and management of the lands taken over? You say "we shall endeavour to provide a Government that is efficient, free from corruption, and fair to all citizens irrespective of their political beliefs". Therefore a Royal Commission to inquire into the operation of LRL where large numbers have been penalised for their political beliefs etc. will give hope for justice and fair play under the UNP leadership. It will certainly consolidate the chances of the Party winning the elections.

LETTER

Carter

Sir,

Jimmy Carter has won the American Presidential Election by the skin of his celebrated teeth. At the time of writing—just after the event—the factors that contributed to his success appear to be good weather, a high voter turn-out, a “solid South” and the black and ethnic vote almost en bloc. The pollsters were wrong on two of these, the high turn out and the impregnable South and even if Gerald Ford predicted the good weather there was no manipulation of Election Day possible on meteorological grounds as the date is decreed by the constitution.

Now as we come down to the brass tacks of Carter's triumph, as they appear so soon after the polls, they are fairly clear and bear important results for us—he won every southern and border state save one and he garnered enough in the industrial North-East to take him to the White House. Even symbolically it was a Southern march. His first projected victory at 0000 GMT was Kentucky; at 0915 GMT Mississippi put him over the required 270 electoral votes. Quite incidentally almost he won a plurality of the popular vote but there was a theoretical and, indeed, distinct practical possibility that he would not do so.

Now, it is well known that the “Solid South” strategy is based on disparate elements. One has to reconcile the demands of conservative whites with the expectations of blacks who could make-up anything from 20%-35% of the population (The blacks in the U.S., over-all, make-up about 10%). It is a fact now that 80%-90% of blacks voted for Carter, as did a high proportion of other ethnics; it is also a fact that Carter was sufficiently unsure of his liberal standing to opt for a running-mate in Walter Mondale, as near a left-winger as one finds in respectable American politics and there is little doubt whatever that the consolidation of the minority vote plus intrusion into Ford territory in the North was aided by Mondale.

The point of all this is to compare the impact of the minorities of Sri Lanka (who make-up 30% of the population) on the electoral processes with those of Carter's winning strategy. Without fear of contradiction one notes that the North and the East go by default as far as the major political parties are concerned. No one expects the SLFP or the UNP to win a seat in these provinces in a consistent fashion. One does not even expect them to contest or campaign in the vast majorities of these electorates.

The polarization of the races was shown most vividly in the recent example of the electoral process at Mulikirigala. Neither major party was in the least concerned with the problems of the minorities for the simple reason that a minority bloc did not exist, though in the by-election immediately preceding it at Ja-ela the Catholic vote is acknowledged to have played an important, and decisive, role. But these are few and far between. The Catholics influence a few seats on the West Coast, the Muslims, whose ranks are spread more evenly in the land, make their presence felt in Beruwala, Puttalam, Akurana, Pottuvil—a wider spectrum—while the Tamils in their self-imposed exile in the North and East and the ghettos of Wellawatte have hardly any impact on electoral politics in Sri Lanka. As we see it is perfectly feasible for the North and East to be ignored and the elections—in fact sufficient seats for a two-thirds majority—won. Contrast this with a U.S. minority one-third the extent of ours which is capable of affecting a Presidential Election in a very significant way, in fact if Carter had taken a more conservative stance, dropped Mondale and ignored the minority electorate it is more than likely that against an incumbent President the debacle would have been of Goldwaterian or Mc Governian proportions.

B. Mahendra

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8.11.76



TAX FRAUD PARADISE

The Caribbean

By Alberto Rabilotta

Gran Caiman island, the Bahamas, Nassau and Bermuda are some of the sacred centres of the global corporations in the Caribbean. Gran Caiman, for instance, with a population of 12,000 has over 5,000 home offices of financial companies, banks, commercial outfits and other companies that have established there for the purposes of tax evasion.

There are no taxes in those territories, therefore banking activities which guarantee the flow of foreign exchange are very intense: there are 186 local or foreign banks, that is, one bank for every 63 inhabitants.

The mechanics for tax evasion, according to the Canadian magazine *McLeans*, begins with the founding of corporations with stock worth 100 dollars but quoted at 50.

As long as the earnings of those companies come from abroad, the Gran Caiman administration levies no taxes; in addition, the companies can obtain tax exemption for 30 years by obtaining a permit for 500 dollars.

The earnings of the companies sent to their home offices in Gran Caiman enjoy tax exemptions unless they are officially repatriated.

In order to extract earnings without any payment whatsoever, the executives of the companies spend vacations on Gran Caiman: they write a check against their local office and return home with the cash. Concrete examples are Seagrams and Imperial Oil. In an article on the matter, *McLeans* recalls that on December 22, 1966, Seagrams avoided paying taxes on 17 million dollars by means of a transfer through its offices in the rest of Caribbean.

—PRENSA LATINA

HELD OVER FOR  
NEXT WEEK

- VILLAGE HOUSE—101  
—The Patient's Dilemma
- IN A TEA ESTATE—14  
—The Pioneer

# Confidentially

## Saving "Face"?

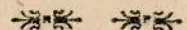
IS IT NOT A FACT that the Cabinet, very wisely, decided to invoke the Keuneman Sectoral Committee to pull the medical chestnuts out of the fire for the Government? That the Cabinet must be congratulated for taking this step? That is also has the virtue of "saving face" for the Minister of Health? That this Government still seems to believe in the Confucian art of "saving face" even when there is no face to be saved? That as was pointed in the *Tribune* last week the ultimate impasse was reached in the dispute between the GMOA/AMS and the Minister on Tuesday December 6, when the doctors staged a walkout because of the unilateral decisions of the Minister on matters under negotiation? That the entire body of doctors in the government service, united in their two trade unions, staged a total protest? That even at a late stage the Minister of Health continued to persist in the kind of demagogic and provocative propaganda that has caused a malignant and permanent sore in the relations between the Minister and all the doctors in the Health Services? That silence would have helped her to overcome her lack of finesse to establish rapport and a dialogue with the key sector of professionals in the Ministry in her charge? That instead of tact and diplomacy, the Minister had indulged in the most provocative statements seeking to incite the public, the other employees in the Health Services and the Government itself against the doctors by mixing fact and fiction to weave a series of half-truths that at best could misled a few people only for a time? That even after the Cabinet had called upon the Keuneman Sectoral Committee (on Social Overheads, Housing, Transport, and Mass Media of the National Planning Council) she issued a statement (a very lengthy one) which even a layman familiar with the dispute can tear to pieces without any difficulty?

That in the little space available in this column it will not be possible

to show the tendentious and misleading nature of the statement? That a whole rigmarole was set out about what the Ministry had done when the matter at issue, at that stage concerned only certain unilateral decisions that had unified and electrified the entire body of doctors in the Health Services? That this question centred around the question of appointments to certain jobs? That the GMOA and AMS had wanted these appointments to be made in accordance with the Rules that obtained at the time the vacancies arose? That the Minister did not want to do this? That although these appointments were matters under negotiation she insisted on making unilateral decisions? That in her lengthy statement she tried her wriggle way out by arguing that the Point Scheme had been in operation only for 1½ years and that only a few specialists had been appointed under the Scheme compared to the number who were not? That an impression was sought to be created that even when the Point Scheme was in operation there were more breaches than conformity? That in reality the statement mixed up the appointments made before the Point Scheme came into operation and those which came after to justify her unilateral decisions? That the Minister of Health should remember the difficulties that Mr. Ian Smith has got into (for himself and Rhodesia) by his unilateral decision to declare independence? That a whole lot of other departures from reality (in that statement) through laborious half-truths can be catalogued but it is not necessary because the Minister (even if the Cabinet does not know it yet) has completely lost "face" among the common people in the country? That one has only to stand at street corners in Borella, in Dematagoda, in Pettah, in Slave Island, in Bambalapitiya, or any where else to know that the Minister of Health has fallen from grace in the eyes of the ordinary people? That it is firmly fixed in their minds (even if it is not true) that she was seeking to help some blue-eyed boys into key posts even at the risk of disrupting the entire medical services?

That even after the matter had been nicely and gracefully taken

out of her hands she issued a statement on Thursday, December 9, (and published in the *Daily News* on December 10) which is, looked at from any angle, so utterly provocative that it will only tend to make it impossible for her to work as the Minister of Health? That this statement was made public after the Keuneman Sectoral Committee had invited the GMOA and AMS for talks and the doctors had decided to report for work and even relax the work-to-rule in stages? That the statement was under the excuse of a pompous "thanks" to "Health Department employees, including medical administrators, medical specialists and those medical officers who are working, nursing staff, assistant medical practitioners, para-medical grades and all other staff and minor employees who are so generously doing all in their power to attend to the needs of thousands of patients who have been left deserted and helpless since Tuesday noon."? That it is one thing to "thank" those who helped in a situation like this, but it is another matter for the Minister (or Ministry) to take provocative pot shots at doctors with the accusation that "they are holding the public to ransom"? That in this and other (earlier) statements the Minister (or the Ministry) it had been made out that the doctors were inhuman beings because they sought to stage some kind of protest against the idiosyncratic manner in which the affairs of the Health Department have recently been run? That the Minister could have said all that she wanted to say without seeking to intimidate the doctors by threatening them with "mass indignation" and awesome reprisals from the suffering "populace"? That it is no longer possible to intimidate domestic servants in the way it was done in earlier times in over-sized *walauwas*? That to attempt to intimidate professional men at this time, in this way, is foolish to say the least? That the Cabinet should do something to restrain the Minister of Health and for her Ministry from issuing statements which savour of a feudalistic hangover? That such profitless gimmicks will do the Government and the ruling coalition great harm in an election year?



H. A. I. Goonetilleke's

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