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# TRIBUNE



**25TH YEAR OF PUBLICATION**



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# RACE & CLASS

A JOURNAL  
FOR BLACK AND  
THIRD WORLD  
LIBERATION

Quarterly journal of the Institute of Race Relations and the Transnational Institute

*Race & Class* is an anti-racist, anti-imperialist quarterly covering black struggles in metropolitan countries, migrant workers' struggles in Europe and liberation struggles in the Third World. Recent issues included: Orlando Letelier on Chile, John Berger on peasant experience, Malcolm Caldwell on Thailand, Basil Davidson on Angola, Eqbal Ahmad on Tunisia, Noam Chomsky on Vietnam, A. Sivanandan on racism and the state. Recent articles have examined science and imperialism, the IQ myth, racism in popular fiction, class struggle in Ethiopia and Sudan, health and underdevelopment, fascism in Britain, women in Cuba and China.

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# Letter From The Editor

ON THE COVER we have a picture of two women workers in the coil rope industry. Even today it is swanted labour where the pay is relatively low and the work is tedious, uninteresting and unpleasant. But it is not to dwell on the evils of sweated labour in the city that we picked this picture this week. The two working women are average city dwellers in the lower income brackets. They constitute the overwhelming majority in the city and the likes of them make the multitude in the rural sector. People like these will decide the outcome of the next election and the elections thereafter. What is their mood today? What do they feel about the Governmental propaganda to explain why a pound of bread must cost Rs. 2.05 in Colombo and more outside, why a pound of flour must top the Rs. 2/50 a lb. mark and why a measure of imported rice could not be sold for less than Rs. 4/50? Locally grown rice will soon be sold at the same price or even more in the open market—and, as in the case of cement, the excuse for this price hike will be that it is necessary to avoid a blackmarket. But with all the blah blah about preventing a blackmarket through liberalised trade and free imports, the ordinary people have suffered untold hardship in the last eight to ten weeks by the most massive blackmarket in wheat flour the country has ever known. Governmental spokesmen for months had proclaimed that subsidies would be cut and that imports would be sold at world prices. Can traders and gem dealers (now the worst hoarders) resist the temptation to hoard wheat flour (and sugar) until local prices were pushed up to world market levels? Even after the so-called price increases last week, bread and flour are still (at the time of writing) not available in most parts of the island and the distress is greatest in the plantation areas where no rice is grown. To explain why subsidies must be necessarily cut, the government has said that money was needed for Mahaweli, for development; that it was more important to invest on the future even by imposing austerities in the present. This line of propaganda has not gone down well with the common people. A hungry man or woman is in no mood to think of the future of the nation or virtues of investing for posterity. And, more and more people are getting more and more hungry every day. To make matters worse there are no substitute subsidiary foods in the market—like kurakkan, maize, groundnuts, manioc, yams etc. etc. And this makes people more and more angry. They have begun to ask why cut the subsidies on essential food items when millions, nay billions, could be found by eliminating wasteful and foolish expenditure. For one thing, people say, that thousands of millions of rupees could be saved by minimising the unnecessary and stupid use of (imported) petrol and diesel, by taking strict measures to reduce ostentatious consumerism and by stopping the globe-girdling travels of ministers, technocrats and bureaucrats primarily to buy more and more? Unless the Government takes meaningful steps to remove all evils and malpractices, its propaganda to justify the total removal of food subsidies will prove counter-productive—and very soon a dangerous and ugly situation will develop among the growing multitude of hungry and angry people.

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**QUESTIONS ONLY**

1. IS IT NOT NECESSARY for Government to publish, as soon as possible, a full and detailed statement about the expenditure incurred for the National Day (February 4th) celebrations at Matara this year? That Opposition papers have already started to raise many queries and provide answers that must embarrass any government? That to prevent such wrong information being disseminated Government must publish the truth? That the SLFP weekly *NATION* 22/2/80, had this to say: "At the recent Independence Day celebrations in Matara, it has cost the government about Rs. 5 lakhs for the aerobatics performed by the Sri Lanka Air Force. It has cost over Rs. 3 lakhs for fuel alone, for these aircraft, whilst it has cost around Rs. 2 lakhs to pay overtime to the staff of the Air Force as well as provide them with food and accommodation. It has cost Rs. 25,000 for fuel which was used by the police and the armed forces during this period, to provide security for the President and Ministers who had participated at the celebrations. The same government which is busy getting signatures on a petition to be sent to the OPEC countries regarding the cost of petroleum, is equally busy spending large sums of money and wasting huge quantities of precious fuel purely to entertain themselves. It is interesting to note that at the recent Independence Day celebrations in India, no aerobatics were performed in order to conserve on fuel." That it is not in Opposition papers alone that these questions have been raised? That at every boutique, street corner and culvert-sitting gathering through the length and breadth of the island this has become one of the burning topics of the day?

2. IS IT NOT A FACT that questions have also been asked about the expenditure incurred for the visit of King Birendra of Nepal to Sri Lanka this week? That stories about the money spent on the Raja Perera in Kandy are going the rounds? That the Government will do well to publish a full statement about the money spent on the Royal visit?

3. IS IT NOT TRUE that the current joke throughout the country is that there should be a national festival every month for the government to provide "ample supplies of subsidiary

food items will be available to consumers throughout the country before and during Sinhala and Hindu New Year in April" (Vide *Ceylon Daily Mirror*, 20/02/80). The report had further stated that "this follows a directive given by the Minister of Trade and Shipping, Mr. Lalith Athulathumudall, that adequate stocks of subsidiary food items essential to the broad mass of the people should be made available during the Sinhala and Hindu New Year.... the items that will be available to consumers will be mainly through the Co-operative Wholesale Establishment's outlets. These items include red onions, potatoes, masoor dhal, dry fish, canned fish etc. During the festive season each household would be given three pounds of masoor dhal. Already measures have been taken to import sufficient quantities of dry fish from India and Pakistan. Approximately 30,000 cwts. of dry fish will be imported. Over 5 million cans of tinned fish would also be available to consumers. The Minister has also given orders for the purchase of red onions by the Department of Marketing Development. This buffer stock of red onions is to ensure sufficient supplies to consumers during the festive season. The Minister said it was equally important to ensure that the producer, too was given a fair deal—fair prices for his produce while also ensuring a reasonable price level to consumers." That all this reads on paper very well? That such Sunshine stories have appeared many times since the government came to power? That last Christmas the public was promised all this and more? That toys, textiles and luxuries were available in plenty at a price—at prices most people couldn't afford—but the promise of essential foodstuffs at the Co-ops at controlled prices proved to be a mirage? That all these essential items were available only outside the co-ops at blackmarket prices? That only an infinitesimal fraction of these items was sold in the Co-ops? That the overwhelming bulk of these essential items were bought by the rich (a mere handful of one percent of the population) in the black market to be hoarded until the next festival when government will import more of such essentials? That the more important question is whether the ordinary people require essential subsidiary foods only twice a year—during Christmas and New Year in December-January and the Sinhala and Tamil New Year in April?



## Sri Lanka's Representation Abroad

by Taprobanian

Sri Lanka's representation abroad is once again in the news with the impending appointment of new Ambassadors. In this interdependent and shrinking world, the importance of a country's foreign relations has become second to none, not only for countries with global interests, but even for small countries such as ours. To survive as a nation we must improve foreign relations not only through diplomacy but more so through improved trade and economic collaboration. We must raise the organisational capabilities of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and maximise the level of competence of its personnel to meet the manifold challenges facing the country in international relations.

The task of national development has directed the foreign policy of succeeding governments of Sri Lanka and shaped our responses to many international situations. We have always been actively involved and have also lent leadership in vital tasks facing the international community—particularly those involving the development of poor countries. Sri Lanka has also offered itself often as a centre of international exchange. The name of Sri Lanka has been associated with international co-operation and understanding.

The world has long conceded that the fates of men living and those yet to be born hinges on the global problems that require international solutions—questions such as population, energy, distribution of scarce resources, are all matters which touch us deeply nationally but for which solutions have to be found at an international level. The magnitude of these problems alone requires us to address ourselves to the task of maximising our competence in the planning and conduct of foreign affairs.

The task facing those who represent us abroad is therefore, not a small one. The concept of the diplomacy, has in the second half of the twentieth century undergone a complete transformation, today to speak of diplomacy is to refer to development diplomacy,

with the accent on development. The work of each representative abroad therefore, requires specialised knowledge and skill, a professionalism which never before was required if the tasks at hand are to be discharged not only to the full satisfaction of the people, but also if it is ever intended to realise the goals of objectives which government seeks to achieve by its foreign policy. Before the subject of Sri Lanka's foreign representation is developed more fully, it may perhaps be useful to even take a cursory glance at our past record.

One could without any doubt state that no government since independence, in Sri Lanka has ever given foreign affairs and foreign representation serious consideration. Immediately after independence, missions were established in the glamour cities of the world. Almost every European city was covered whereas there were only a few missions in neighbouring countries. The more able men sought the more glamorous posts, and less able were given appointments in the more important neighbouring countries. It seems as if there a denial of our self-interest. Stockholm, Rome, Bonn and Paris were more important than Pakistan, Burma, Malaysia or Indonesia to us. *The men sent out to do duty were not trained professionals, but political drop-outs. Diplomatic appointments became a method of paying-off political IOUs.* No consideration was ever given to what could be obtained out of a bilateral international relationship, no consideration was given to the possible impression of the country which would be made in that foreign country through poor representation, no consideration was given to professionalism, in short the only consideration was either a reward for friendship or the repayment of a political debt. The tragedy of our situation has been that this has continued from 1958 to 1977, and it appears that it is being continued from 1977, for a further six years.

Sri Lanka today continues to have a large number of well-represented missions in the West and a small number of poorly represented missions in Asia. I do not in this article wish to discuss the articulation and implementation of our foreign policy which perhaps is a subject worthy of a separate study. I wish to limit myself to the subject of representation. It is somewhat tragic when one recalls the number of poor representatives Sri Lanka has sent to



missions abroad, a country which is well known in the world for her intellectual might, a country which could proudly boast of able men managing many international institutions, yes, a country which has produced some of the most able international administrators has appointed men who are not merely mediocrities but who have done damage to the good name of the country. Well-known are stories of how a certain Sri Lankan Ambassador was more horizontal than vertical at diplomatic parties. Also known are other sordid stories which perhaps need not be recalled even to make a point. Suffice it to state that these men had no commitment whatsoever, no sense of responsibility, no accountability and were enjoying the rewards available to those who had supported the Government at the time in power. To most of them the good name of the country was only a matter for momentary reflection. They have no conception whatsoever of the job. And absolutely nothing to lose, for it was never a career, but a five year holiday and they enjoyed it with a vengeance. This is why it is perhaps a crying shame to see the government of Sri Lanka once again nominate mediocrities to represent Sri Lanka abroad. Why should we send third class material when we have first class material available? Except for a few of the appointments by this government, the others are all political hand-outs which are being made at the expense of the country and the people.

Perhaps this situation has been brought about because of the quality of our foreign service itself. There are many 'foreigners' in the service who not only by their ineptitude but also by their peculiarly constituted minds are totally unsuited for representational duties. Let us use the able men we have for what is undoubtedly our most important task at hand—the realisation of the development goals we have set for ourselves through the efficient implementation of our foreign policy.

The last government not content with appointing henchmen and lackeys as Ambassadors decided to appoint outsiders into positions hitherto held by officers of the career foreign service. The excuse tendered was that the expertise of senior career men was needed in Colombo for the Non-aligned Summit. Though this was a plausible excuse and though the persons brought in from outside

were in all but one instance able men from the C.A.S. the breach had been made—the breach through which we see the gush today.

The need to bring in persons from outside came about not only because foreign postings were more than a mere attraction and much sought after in the context of a semi closed country, but also because of the lack of planning in the management of foreign affairs, which resulted in no systematic and regular recruitment being made into the foreign service. Existing vacancies were never filled—even today it is reported that almost sixteen (16) vacancies exist in the foreign service cadre.

Recruitment from outside was made also because the political leadership of the time was not able to appreciate or comprehend the fact that the management of international relations required trained specialised officers if the country is to obtain maximum results to the best possible advantage of the country. It is no doubt a fact that almost anyone could do almost anything but it is also a fact that whereas a physician would heal, the quack would maim or even kill. Many examples could be cited

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**Notice under Section 7 of the Land Acquisition Act (Cap. 460) as amended by Land Acquisition (Amendment) Act. No. 28 of 1964.**

Reference No. 3/2/3/10/148

It is intended to acquire the land described in the schedule below. For further particulars, please see the Gazette No. 78 (Part III) of The Democratic Socialist Republic of Sri Lanka of 29-02-80.

**Schedule**

A. G. A.'s Division	: Attanagalla
Village	: Kahatowita
Name of Land	: Millagahakumbura and Millagahakumbura-pillewa
Lot No.	: 1
Plan No. P.P. Co.	: Gam. 32

**S. Wimalasekera**

District Land Officer of Gampaha District.

The Kachcheri,

Gampaha.

Date: 07/02/80



to make the point but they may not be necessary. The contention that almost anyone could manage international relations has perhaps come about because of the lack of quality in our own foreign service. But for a few able men the rest are mere mediocrities. The "glamour" associated with the foreign service (particularly in the minds of the superficial) has been another reason for outsiders seeking foreign service assignments.

*However, all this may be, today we see a most dangerous development. The foreign service is being used as a means for educating children of friends, abroad. The foreign service is also being used to give relations and friends a good time abroad—all this is at the tax-payers' expense! Could anything be more immoral or more indefensible? It is rumour that not less than seven such appointments have been made in 1978 and 1979. Such appointments are certainly not in the interests of the country or the government in power. The tax payer has the right to demand that his money be utilised in the best possible manner to serve him. It is undoubtedly misappropriation of public funds and a breach of trust to use public money to give relations and friends a good time abroad.*

I do hope that the government would understand the spirit in which this article is written. The substance of this article would no doubt remind our political leaders of today of their own campaign against the SLFP government.

This article would not have been written in vain if (1) Government should realise the need to have men of ability and men who have proved themselves in public service to represent us; (2) we draw attention to the need to do away with the system of political payoffs at the expense of the country; (3) the Government address itself seriously to the matter of conducting its foreign relations in the best interest of the country through the development of a thoroughly professional foreign service. How soon has the UNP forgotten that contemptuous act of Mrs. Bandaranaike during the death throes of her administration when she as head of care-taker government chose to appoint two of her cronies as Ambassadors, wasting thousands in foreign exchange? It was thought that the UNP would change. It is still hoped that what was once said of the foreign bourbons

would not be said of the UNP once again, that they learned nothing and forgot nothing! Surely, Sir, have we forgotten the law of impermanence?

The Sirima Bandaranaike Government forgot and arrogated to itself the supreme sanctity which made not their vile acts the crime but speaking of them the upardonable cardinal sin. We trust this would never be said of the Government of the one true great compassionate liberal-President Jayawardene.



WINDOW ON INDIA—26

## Indira In Action

by R. Varadachari

Press Trust of India Correspondent in Colombo

THE AXE HAS FALLEN on nine Indian State Assemblies not controlled by the Indira Congress. After a great deal of deliberation and weighing carefully the pros and cons, Mrs. Indira Gandhi has taken the plunge and dissolved the State Assemblies in Tamil Nadu, Maharashtra, Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, Orissa, Madhya Pradesh, Rajasthan, Punjab and Gujarat to clear the way for early elections in these States. She has invoked Article 356 of the Constitution which empowers the President of the Republic to take this drastic action, following the precedent set up by the Janata Government in 1977 when the Indira Congress-controlled assemblies in nine states were dismissed. Like the previous Janata Government she has also acted on her own initiative without calling for reports from the Governors of the States concerned who are nominees of the Janata Government. She has also taken the same stand as the Janata that these Assemblies ceased to reflect the will of the people after the recent Lok Sabha elections which gave her a landslide victory in all these States as in many others. The three other non-Indira Congress Governments in Karnataka, Haryana and Himachal Pradesh have fallen due to mass defections of the Assembly members to her party in the wake of her ascendancy to power at the centre. The Indira Congress Governments have got into



the saddle in these three states. Andhra Pradesh was the only state which was under her control before the Lok Sabha polls. The left governments which assumed office in West Bengal, Kerala and Tripura after the recent assembly elections there have been left untouched, though signs of confrontation between them and the centre have begun to surface.

Though the Presidential proclamation did not give any specific reason for the dissolution of the non-Congress-(I) controlled State Assemblies, Mr. Shiv Shanker, the Law Minister, has told pressmen that their dissolutions were justified because of "non-co-operation" on their part in the ratification of the Constitutional Amendment adopted by Parliament earlier this month for extension of reservations of seats in the Central and State legislatures for scheduled castes and tribes. Mr. Shiv Shanker also cited what he called the "likelihood of their blocking other progressive measures in future and loss of confidence of the electorate in the recent Lok Sabha polls" as additional reasons for their dissolution. But in taking this decision the Central Government has taken a calculated risk over the reservation issue by proceeding on the assumption that, though as a matter of abundant caution the centre has sought ratification by the state legislatures of the constitutional amendments in 1970 and 1970 on this question, it was not a mandatory requirement to be complied with before the recently passed bill could be submitted to the President for his assent. This new interpretation is likely to be contested in courts by the opposition parties.

**ANOTHER UNDISCLOSED REASON** for dissolution of these assemblies would appear to be the anxiety of the Indira Congress to gain control of the Rajya Sabha to which biennial elections are due soon. One third of the members of the upper house retire in rotation every two years. The present majority of the opposition parties in the Rajya Sabha has been a handicap to the Indira Government and it hopes to secure a majority in the house once it wins the elections to the assemblies which determine the composition of the Rajya Sabha. Without immediate dissolution of the nine assemblies, Mrs. Gandhi

cannot hope to secure a majority in the Rajya Sabha in the next two years.

The Opposition parties without exception are indignant over the dissolution of the nine assemblies though the action was not a surprise move not anticipated by them. They are now trying to get together to fight what they call "this onslaught on democracy and another step towards dictatorship". Moves are afoot to field common opposition candidates against the Indira Congress for the assembly election though a section of the Janata Party leadership is sceptical about the possible evolution of a joint opposition front. However, there is enough time for them to hammer out a common poll strategy since the elections are not likely to be held before June next.

**THE TWO SPECIAL COURTS** set up last year by the Janata Government to try Mrs. Gandhi and others for alleged offences during her 20-month emergency rule in 1975-77 had wound themselves up. The courts which were set up to expedite the proceedings and administer quick justice in regard to alleged emergency excesses had declared themselves unconstitutional. Justice M. S. Joshi, constituting one of the two special courts, has held that the creation of the court was illegal and void and that he had no jurisdiction to deal with the cases. Mrs. Gandhi and two others had been charged before the court of procuring about 140 government jeeps without payment of hire charges for elections in 1977. Justice Joshi has ordered the cases to be referred back to a special tribunal from where it was brought up to the special court. Mrs. Gandhi had denounced the special courts as an instrument of political vendetta against her. Mr. Justice Joshi, in his seven-page order, held that as far as the creation of special courts was concerned the function had not been delegated by the President to any one up to the date of Presidential notification on September 20, 1979. The court has pointed out that it was the law ministry which had created special courts on its own on May 20 last year and the relevant functions were allocated to that ministry only later in September. "Obviously the orders passed by it were devoid of validity because it did not have the necessary authority in May and was not meant to



have any retrospective effect." The other special court of Mr. Justice M. L. Jain had also earlier declared itself unconstitutional on the same grounds. The verdict of the two special courts is a set back to the opposition, particularly the Lok Dal and the Janata which had set their hearts on them to punish Mrs. Gandhi.

MR. KANTHILAL DESAI, son of former Prime Minister Mr. Morarji Desai and Mrs. Gayetri Devi wife of the former care-taker Prime Minister, Mr. Charan Singh, have been put on the mat by the one-man committee comprising Justice C. A. Vaidialingam of the Supreme Court. It has indicated Mr. Kantilal Desai for having functioned as an extra-constitutional authority and pressurised Government machinery for self-aggrandizement. Strangely this was the charge which was levelled against Mrs. Gandhi's son, Sanjay, during her former rule. The Commission has also held that Mr. Kantilal Desai's wife, Mrs. Padma Desai, too utilised her position as the daughter-in-law of Mr. Morarji Desai and the special authority enjoyed by her husband for pressurising income tax authorities for a favourable assessment of her tax dues. The Committee was set up by the Morarji Desai ministry to inquire into certain allegations made in the Rajya Sabha against the relatives of both Mr. Morarji Desai and Mr. Charan Singh in the wake of a resolution adopted by the house demanding an independent probe into them.

The Vaidialingam committee which held its sittings in camera has also indicted Mrs. Gayetri Devi, wife of Mr. Charan Singh, for having misused in three instances her authority and position as the wife of the then home minister. Justice Vaidialingam has held that there are *prima facie* cases against all the three persons and has recommended that a formal inquiry be held against them under the Commissions of Inquiry Act which was also invoked by the Janata Government to haul up Mrs. Gandhi before the Shah Commission. Mr. Morarji Desai has dismissed the findings of the Vaidialingam committee as "baseless" and a "cock and bull story". He has observed that "the judge does not seem to have observed the elementary rule of natural justice." Mr. Charan Singh has alleged that the Vaidialingam committee had tra-

velled far beyond its terms of reference. He has asked for a constitution of a special court to go into the allegations against his wife. He says "it is a question of my and my wife's honour and integrity which, I regard, as my most valuable possession." The Indira Government has not yet indicated what specific follow-up action the government proposed to take in this regard. It has left both Mr. Desai and Mr. Charan Singh in suspense even as the course of Indian politics has come round one full circle.

THE MUCH AWAITED AND MUCH PUBLICISED VISIT of the Soviet Foreign Minister Mr. Andrei Gromyko, to India, has not resulted in any immediate or significant breakthrough on the Afghan Crisis. The joint communique issued after three days of talks between Mr. Gromyko and Mrs. Gandhi and her foreign minister Mr. P. V. Narasimha Rao, actually does not make any specific reference to the recent events in Afghanistan though most of the time in the talks was devoted to this aspect of the international situation. There is only a bald reference to the Afghan events in the communique which said that both sides reviewed the "international situation including the developments in the region and around it."

Apparently the Indian efforts to persuade Russia to make a beginning soon in the pull-out of the Soviet troops from Afghanistan have not met with success. An Indian External Affairs Ministry spokesman has maintained that Moscow was not opposed in principle to the Indian plea for the withdrawal of its troops, though there were differences in the "interim perceptions" of the two sides on how this could be achieved in the prevailing situation. According to Indian newspaper reports, even though Mr. Gromyko's visit did not throw up any dramatic results there was clear indication from Mr. Gromyko that the Soviet Union would like India to pursue its peace efforts to evolve a credible basis for its withdrawal with matching guarantees from the United States, China and Pakistan to respect the territorial integrity of Afghanistan, to desist from arming and encouraging the insurgents and to accept its existing state system.



The Indian national daily, the *Hindu*, sums up the results of the Indian diplomatic efforts to defuse the tension in the region as follows: "After completing the initial exchanges with the Big Powers concerned and regional states, India is now getting ready for the next phase of its diplomatic soundings to evolve a credible basis for a further dialogue with the United States and the Soviet Union on Afghanistan. The US continues to insist that the restoration of Afghanistan's status as a buffer state should mean its neutralisation with adequate international guarantees, not merely to reversion to the status quo ante that prevailed before the Soviet military intervention. The Soviet Union on the other hand is not prepared to give up its privileged position in Afghanistan as a historical factor in the region. The Indian diplomacy is thus faced with the thankless task of finding a middle course which would be acceptable in some form or the other to both Moscow and Washington. It is too early yet to think of a cut and dried formula that would enable Moscow to retain its gains, while allowing the US to gain the impression that its tough response has compelled Moscow to climb down." India is continuing its efforts to evolve a solution to the vexed question within these difficult parameters. It is a tough tight rope walk.

—SLBC talk 22.2.80

FILM FOCUS

UTHUMANENI

Brilliantly conceived and directed by actor Gamini Fonseka this Sinhalese film brings very realistically into focus the plight of the "Victims of Crime" and very particularly so of those perjury stricken. The camera in the expert hands of Vamadevan moved along stealthily and cleverly with the story, which surfaces the family and neighbourly feuds over mere boundaries and lands that lead to revengeful rape most beastly and murder most foul. Gamini takes on the restrained role of an indignant villager Stripala who like

patience sitting on a monument is ultimately driven to breaking point, tearing away from the moral moorings set by his temple mentor, when his wealthy kinsman Baby Mahatmaya and his ugly men lay ravaging hands on his teenaged sister (Farina Lye). The aftermath of the lustful crime leads to the listless processes of the police that also hinge heavily on manipulated medical reports and the evidence of the stricken victim which is extracted in favour of a diabolical defence by a pathologically painful process. The case which breaches section 364 of the Criminal Procedure Code collapses and instantly the hunted becomes the Jubilant hunter, exposing the futility of the whole legal exercise. The excellent team work of the Director and the cameraman has lifted this story, set in rural surroundings to a level which I have seldom witnessed on the screen before. The Court scenes deserved special mention with the camera flitting from "face" to "face" of all those sealed in its "well" in quest for justice that proved rather plusive.

The story is built around a much discussed and socially overlooked problem that has been aired in the press from time to time by sympathisers like Mr. S. Vamadevan, D.I.G. Police and Director, Intelligence and Security.

Gamini Fonseka told me once that he entered film life as a technician and was pushed in front of the camera by mere chance. That Sinhala cinema has since been enriched by his histrionical talents has never been doubted or debated. Yet in this film it is a toss up on which side of the camera he has collected the maximum points. I would however predict that a latent and talented Director has come into his own to lift the Sinhala cinema from the mire of mediocrity it is often grovelling in.

James L. Benedict.



## AFTER THE RESHUFFLE

### New Cabinet Ministers

The following Cabinet Ministers, Deputy Ministers and other Ministers took their Oaths yesterday:—

#### CABINET MINISTERS

Hon. R. Premadasa, MP as Minister of Highways; Hon. D. B. Wijetunga MP as Minister of Power and Energy; Hon. K. W. Devanayagam, MP as Minister of Home Affairs; Hon. Nissanka Wijeyeratne, MP as Minister of Justice; Hon. Ranil Wickremasinghe, MP as Minister of Education; Hon. Montague Jayawickrema, MP as Minister of Public Administration took Oaths on 13.2.80. Hon. Montague Jayawickrema, MP as Minister of Plantation Industries.

#### DEPUTY MINISTERS

Mr. Percy Samaraweera, MP as Deputy Minister, Home Affairs, Mr. Alick Aluvihare MP as Deputy Minister, Plantation Industries; Mr. M. A. Abdul Majeed, MP as Deputy Minister, Power and Energy; Mr. Harold Herath, MP as Deputy Minister, Janatha Estates Development; Mr. V. L. Wijemanne, MP as Deputy Minister, State Plantations; Mr. Harindra Corea, MP as Deputy Minister, Public Administration; Mr. G. M. Premachandra, MP as Deputy Minister, Highways; Mr. G. V. Punchinillame, MP as Deputy Minister, Regional Development; Mr. A. M. R. Attanayake, MP as Deputy Minister, Higher Education; Mr. Weerawanni Samaraweera, MP as Deputy Minister, Education—Mr. Premaratne Gunasekera, MP as Deputy Minister, Health.

#### OTHER MINISTERS

Hon. Dharmasena Attygalle, MP as Minister of Indigenous Medicine;

Following is a full list of Ministers, Deputy Ministers (names given in brackets) and Non-Cabinet Ministers announced after the reshuffle yesterday:

Defence—H. E. the President J. R. Jayewardene, (Mr. T. B. Werapitiya); Plan Implementation—H. E. the President, (Mr. D. B. Welagedara); Janata Estates Development—

H.E. the President, (Mr. Harold Herath); State Plantations—H.E. the President (Mr. V. L. Wijemanne); Higher Education—H.E. the President, (A. M. R. Attanayake); Hon. R. Premadasa—Local Govt. Housing and Cons. (Mr. P. C. Imbulana); Hon. R. Premadasa—Highways, (Mr. G. M. Premachandra); Hon. Montague Jayawickrema—Public Admin. (Mr. Harindra Corea); Hon. Montague Jayawickrema—Plantation Indus. (Mr. Alick Aluvihare); Hon. Asoka Karunaratne—Social Services (Mr. J. L. Sirisena); Hon. E. L. B. Hurulle,—Cultural Affairs, (Mr. W. M. G. T. Banda); Hon. M. H. Mohamed—Transport (Mr. H. Kularatne); Hon. E. L. Senanayake—Agr. Dev. and Research (Mr. K. D. M. C. Bandara); Hon. Wimala Kannangara—Rural Development, (Mr. H. Wan Wanigasekera); Hon. C. P. J. Seneviratne—Labour, (Mr. Joseph Michael Perera); Hon. Gamani Jayasuriya—Health, (Mr. Premaratne Gunasekera); Hon. D. B. Wijetunge—Posts and Telecom. (Mr. A. Pilapitiya); Hon. D. B. Wijetunge—Power and Energy, (Mr. M. A. Abdul Majeed); Hon. Wijepala Mendis—Textile Industries, (Mr. R. M. Dharmadasa Banda); Hon. A. C. S. Hameed—Foreign Affairs, (Mr. Tyronne Fernando); Hon. K. W. Devanayagam—Home Affairs, (Mr. Percy Samaraweera); Hon. S. B. Herath—Food and Co-operatives, (Mr. Sarathchandra Rajakaruna); Hon. Cyril Mathew—Indus. and Sc. Affairs, (Mr. Denzil Fernando); Hon. Ronnie de Mel—Finance and Planning, (Mr. Naina Marikar); Hon. Gamini Dissanayake—Lands and Land Dev. (Mr. A. M. S. Adikari); Hon. Gamini Dissanayake—Mahaweli Develop. (Mr. Nanda Mathew); Hon. Vincent Perera—Parl. Affairs and Sports, (Mr. D. E. Tillekeratne); Hon. Lalith Athulathmudali—Trade and Shipping (Mr. M. S. Amarasiri); Hon. Nissanka Wijeyeratne—Justice, (Mr. Shelton Ranarajah); Hon. Festus Perera—Fisheries, (Mr. S. S. Abeysonder); Hon. S. Thondaman—Rural Indus. Development, (Mr. S. K. Piyadasa); Hon. Ranil Wickremasinghe—Youth Affairs and Emp. (Mr. Gamini Athukorale); Hon. Ranil Wickremasinghe—Education, (Mr. Weerawanni Samaraweera); Hon. Anandattissa de Alwis—State (Mr. Chandra Karunaratne); Hon. C. Rajadurai—Regional Development (Mr. G. V. Punchinillame);

#### MINISTERS (Non-Cabinet Ranks)

Hon. T. B. Werapitiya—Prevention of Terrorism; Hon. Harold Herath—Coconut In-



dustries; Hon. Ranjith Atapattu—Colombo Hospitals and Family Health; Hon. Lionel Jayatileke—School Services; Hon. Dharmasena Attygalle—Indigenous Medicine.

(\* The names of 22 District Ministers are not included in the above list.—Ed.

*Ceylon Daily News.*  
16.2.80.

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## SUGAR

### In The Picture Again

by R. Kahawita

ONCE AGAIN we are talking about expanding the sugar Industry—this time to produce power-alcohol from sugar. We have not yet thought of the land to grow cane, extent required, and where to grow it. Before we give priority to power alcohol, let us think of cutting out the import of two hundred thousand tons of refined sugar annually to meet the consumer needs. If we succeed in this then we can embark on an enterprise based on the bye-products of a sugar Industry—our picture should be land, cane, sugar and then power alcohol.

According to a news item appearing in the *Ceylon Daily News* of 30th January, there was a top level meeting presided over by the President which decided to expand the Sugar Industry and embark on the production of power alcohol for use in motor vehicles. I believe last year there were discussions in the Ministry of Agriculture to grow Sugar Beet as a short-cut to growing sugar cane. Obviously this idea has been abandoned and we have now come back to cane. At the discussions it was said that Sri Lanka imports 1000 million rupees worth of Sugar and 7000 million rupees of Petroleum per annum. Also during the discussions it was stated Sri Lanka started sugar production 15 years ago and today we are struggling to produce 25,000 tons and 1.5 million gallons of potable alcohol respectively per annum. Our needs of sugar are ten times the quantity we produce. If this is the net result of 15 years of effort, it may be in the year 2100 A.D. before we hit the today's target requirements.

OUR INTEREST In the development of a sugar Industry started around the year 1944/45 with the establishment of a cattle Farm at Polonnaruwa. In this location a three hundred acre sugar cane Experimental Station was started mainly to select suitable varieties of cane for local conditions and establish irrigation practices. In the year 1945/46 the writer undertook a six month study tour of Indian Sugar Industry, and irrigation practices.

The first sugar complex was planned under Giritale scheme—Polonnaruwa—a 4000 Ac. unit, irrigation system, field layouts factory sites etc. were ready to implement around the year 1954/55, when Dissawa Bulankulame was the Minister for Agriculture. This project never took off because several interested parties encouraged and assisted squatters to occupy the land cleared for the development of cane. Thereafter the area meant for cane was converted to paddy.

In the year 1948/49 the writer made a study of cane and pineapple cultivation under Irrigation in Hawaii while working on the designs of Gal-oya and Walawe with the object of setting up a sugar complex at Gal-oya. In the final development plans of Gal-oya project a 10,000 Ac. unit in the Uhana area under the left Bank was earmarked. Subsequently the complex was shifted to the RB at Hingurana. This created a number of technical and management problems, but it is there now with low levels of production and the chances are that it will never hit the designed targets.

With the improvements to Kantalai tank and additional water supplies, the development of another sugar complex was started in Kantalai. Today, like at Hingurana, this complex is complete in all respects, except the growing of cane to average a daily supply of 2000 tons of cane a day during the crushing season. The water was entrusted with the planning and design of the Kantalai complex as a private Consultant after he left Government Service. The Department of Agriculture paid the writer very handsomely for the Service—much more than the salaries he earned in Service for 23 years.

With the Kantalai complex another three factories and the supporting land were planned in the same region, to be brought under



Mahawell Development in due course. From 1957 to 1965 nothing note-worthy happened in sugar cane development except to mismanage what was there and to put in misfits into employment. During those ten years a great deal of damage was done to the factories and plantations. All this is narrated here to illustrate how wayward we are in our policies in "nation building."

**WITH THE CHANGE OF GOVERNMENT** IN 1965 and the establishment of the River Valley Development Board another attempt was made to revive the industry. The interests of the R.V.D.B. was to re-organize the Hingurana Complex as a viable unit and develop 15,000 Acs. under Uda Walawe, now called the "Sevenagala Sugar Development Project" mentioned in the Presidential discussions on 29.1.80. To advise the R.V.D.B. a reputed firm of sugar cane Consultants were engaged. A Team of specialists from this organisation spent about six months in the country and submitted a working plan as the first step. It was accepted and a second proposals to implement the working plan to get production targets in the shortest possible time was prepared and accepted. The implementation plan was to enable our officers to work as a team with the Consultants' Specialists and the Consultants to withdraw as production teaches guaranteed targets. This service was offered by The Parsons Group of U.S.A. On the eve of signing the 2nd contract on the dotted line, the Board was asked to retreat. From that time onwards, till now Hingurana complex has been deteriorating. It will be several years before it can be put back into capacity production.

To develop the "Sevenagala Sugar Project" the R.V.D.B. commenced clearing the land, construction of irrigation channels, set up cane nurseries, a laboratory, and the setting up of a 60 ton Khandasari sugar factory. To manage the development and experimentation the Board engaged a Specialist from overseas with wide experience in the Subject on a three year contract. By the end of 1968 three thousand acres were ready for planting and about 40 varieties of cane were in the nurseries for experimenting and selecting suitable varieties. One note-worthy contribution of the overseas officer was to reduce the cost

of land development for cane cultivation from Rs. 3000/- per acre as at Hingurana to Rs. 1200/- at Sevenagala. There were two thousand acres planted with cane according to this system of irrigation, when the officer was sent away with compensation and the Sevenagala complex too was handed over to S.L.S.C. This was in 1969, and today it is worse than what it was in 1969.

At the time Sevenagala was taken up for development a complete project report and development programme together with a cabinet paper was prepared by the R.V.D.B. to develop what was discussed at the Presidential Conference of 29.1.80. The salient points in this programme were (a) Setting up of a Sugar refinery in Colombo to refine Imported raw sugar, which is cheaper than white sugar, with a capacity of 200,000 tons a season. (b) Sugar cane factory at Sevenagala to produce raw sugar. (c) Cut short one step in the production of plantation sugar at Hingurana and Kantalai for final refinery in Colombo and (d) To set up a central alcohol distillation plant in Colombo with project (a) above with the object of using local and imported molasses for the production of alcohol—industrial or potable. A French Organisation was consulted in this section of the development programme and arrangements were made to engage them to put through the project. The entire Sevenagala sugar cane project and the refinery got into reverse gear in 1970 when U.L.F. Government came into power. They did not want to follow the thinking of the previous Government, unlike what we are doing today. They started a new sugar cane project—Growing rain-fed cane in Haladamulla, Wellawaya, Moneragala etc.—for the production of jaggery—This also spread to Sevenagala Complex to produce "Ran Kette". This in brief is the history of Sri Lanka's 15 year effort to produce 25,000 tons of sugar as pin pointed at the Presidential conference.

**AFTER THIS GOVERNMENT CAME INTO POWER** IN 1977 the Development of Sevenagala project was revived. There is a voluminous feasibility report put out by a team of experts from the A.D.B. Following the recommendations in this report, in January 1979 an urgent 45 day scheduled Consultancy



Service were invited from local Organisations. Two groups were selected to work out details so that the development could be started on the First of June 1979. We trusted in the Government's desire to develop the industry during the Tenure of the Present Government, so we also offered our services. The last we heard was that the Board of the Sri Lanka Sugar Corporation was disbanded in July-August 1979, and it is so up to now. May be set up a "Sugar Cane Development Authority" in keeping with the current thinking. In the meantime, 3000 squatters have taken possession of the land that was cleared by the R.V.D.B. in 1968—(12 years ago) and the problem today is not the growing of cane but how to handle the "Squatter Cultivator" problem. They are making good money by growing bananas and will not surrender their holdings in a hurry.

It was reported that at the conference held on 29.1.80 three Ministers were authorized to apprise the Private Sector the decision of the Government to open the sugar and Power Alcohol Industry to it. If we follow this up, may we suggest that the first step is (A) To set up a sugar Refinery in Colombo to refine imported Raw Sugar to meet the current consumer needs. Raw sugar is available in the International markets outside the Sugar Agreement at very competitive prices to make the locally refined sugar cheaper than imported refined sugar now sold to the consumer at Rs. 4/50 a pound. (B) Cut short one step in the manufacture of Sugar at Kantalai and Hingurana so that these two factories also can supply the raw sugar. (C) Set up an Alcohol Distillation plant to deal with the molasses produced under (A) and (B) above and imported molasses from India where it is available almost for nothing. (D) Place a three year target on Kantalai and Hingurana to go into estimated crushing capacity of 1800-2000 tons of cane a day during the season—This is possible—R.V.D.B. achieved this target in 1967 seasons at Hingurana. (E) Sevanagala project to go into full production in five years.

The writer gave such a time schedule in their submissions for a consultancy service which was aborted. If we follow a program as above we may have a sugar refinery and

an Alcohol distillation plant by the year 1982 and full capacity production of cane at Kantalai and Hingurana by 1981/2 and Sevanagala by 1985. This is a challenge to the administration—Let us not make the 29.1.80 conference a sugar coated pill to mislead the people. We are saying this not without cause. Records show not only on a project of this magnitude, but on many projects much more important than this, have not gone beyond the talking point. Once the heat and the dust subside everything is forgotten till the next opportunity arises for a fan-fare and Head line News. *Story of sugar cane has been so during the last 35 years.* It will be so in this case—Head lines say "Power-Alcohol From Sugar Cane". Let us first grow the cane before we can adulterate the "juice" with alcohol as one consultant put to us years ago.

P.S.—Since writing this we had a visit from Mr. Walker who was engaged by R.V.D.B. in 1967 as research manager. He arrived on 13.2.80 in Sri Lanka to see his cultivation to the sugar industry in Sri Lanka. We were ashamed to take him around to show him the devastation since he left the project. Instead we asked him to go around and see the ruined cities. He may draw inspiration from them, what we meant by Nation building those days and these were no politics to destroy country.

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## SELF—RELIANCE

### Living Within One's Means—1

by K. Kanapathipillai

ON THIS SUBJECT of vital importance in a developing Third world country such as Sri Lanka, the words of the illustrious Dr. Albert Schweitzer are full of Significance, and as such, should convey to us a world of meaning. There is ample horse-sense in what he says in his: *On the Edge of the Primeval Forest*, since it has relevance to our country.

Says he:

*'Social problems are also produced by imports from Europe. Formerly the negroes practised a number of small industries; they carved good household utensils out of wood; they*



manufactured excellent cord out of bark fibre and similar substances; they got salt from the sea. But these and other primitive industries have been destroyed by the goods which European trade has introduced into the forest. The cheap enamelled ware has driven out the solid home-made wooden bucket, and round every negro village there are heaps of such things rusting in the grass. Many minor crafts which they once practised are now almost forgotten; it is now only the old women who know how to make cord out of bark and sewing cotton out of the fibres of the pineapple leaves. Even the art of canoe-making is dying out. Thus native industries are going backwards instead of forwards, just when the rise of a solid industrial class would be the first and surest step towards civilization.'

Going through this extract so thoughtfully and meaningfully written for the betterment of the people, for the protection of their native industries and for the 'rise of a solid industrial class', one gets the crystal-clear notion of the true meaning of the lurking danger that stalks our native industries that are today on the verge of becoming completely extinct. I have in mind the formidable import of textiles, both cheap and expensive, spirits, children's toys, fancy goods and sophisticated gadgets, motor vehicles, cameras, electrical goods, radio-receiving sets, television sets, cosmetics, dangerous pesticides such as D.D.T. soil-ruining fertilizers, plastic goods, fishing gadgets etc, etc.

These goods, today, have laid siege to the imagination of our people whether they be in affluent or in straitened circumstances. I was almost shocked, nay stunned beyond recovery, when, on inquiring from a youth in his teens, hailing from an inordinately large, prolific and indigent family, what the price of the shirt that he wore was, I got the answer that he bought it for Rs. 90/-.

Thereupon, I further inquired of him, how much he earned, and how many members there were in his family. The upshot of my investigations was that he earned not a single cent. He was not employed; there were in all seven members in his family; he was eldest among the children; the main bread-winner

of the family, the father, was a drunken sot; mother eked her miserable existence and that of the rest of the family by doing odd jobs in the more affluent homesteads in the township close by.

Here is a pattern of family life that may be taken as the norm, and is a very common feature in almost all parts of Sri Lanka, whether it be in the highly industrious, energetic and thrifty-minded north, the more luxuriant south and west or the dry, indolent, cyclone-ravaged eastern sea-board.

IN THIS CONTEXT OF MAN living a life far above his means: dressing in a pair of expensive, offensive, sweeping and flapping bell-bottom trousers, posh shirt of very expensive material, batik sarongs, flaunting an expensive electronic device: a radio receiving set or tape-recorder and cassette-player, an expensive wristlet watch, a dishevelled hair style, and the weaker sex—pardon me, it is no more that now—all swathed and draped in the costliest of nylon or tetra-cotton, or wolly-georgette sarees, rigged and trigged in full, and redolent of the choicest of cosmetics; Voodoo and Goya, Ponds and Yardley, Lux and Cuticura: on what ground does man stand?

**Notice under Section 7 of the Land Acquisition Act (Chapter 460) as amended by the Land Acquisition (amendment) Act No. 28 of 1964.**

Reference No: L/A/8022

Action has been taken to acquire the lands described in the schedule below. For further particulars please see part III of the Gazette of the Democratic Socialist Republic of Sri Lanka No: 78 dated 29-02-1980.

**Schedule**

Situation: Palleanuketiya Village of Pallegama G.A.s Division in Ambalantota D.R.O.'s Division of Hambantota District.

Name of Land: Siyambalagaha watta and Kotajoolhena

Survey Reference: Lots 92 & 96, in F.V.P. 455 (Supplement No. 5)

**K. Samarasinghe**

Assistant Government Agent,  
Hambantota.

Kachcheri, Hambantota.  
6th February, 1980.



Whither humanity in this corner of the globe? Man has, in all certainty, turned out to be hare-brained. It is impossible to pinpoint and say: here about has the rot set in. It has become an irksome task for the principal bread-winner to balance the family budget, just as much as it is, for the minister of finance, a Herculean task, to balance the nation's budget.

Although we may have to make a through investigation to find out where the shoe pinches, one thing is quite patent, and that is this: We are a nation of borrowers and spenders; so, the simple question is: Can't we mend our ways? Can't we cut our coat according to our cloth? It is a very simple and elementary principle of economics—'artha sastra'—divested of all diplomatic flourishes and the enigmatic pronouncements and findings of the 'new bureaucracy of pseudo-academics,'—that you shouldn't borrow more than your earnings. Shouldn't there be an in-depth thinking on the part of everyone of Lanka's citizens, even the very least of them; and shouldn't he discover the true solution within himself before he pounces upon ready-made slogans, as also half-baked solutions borrowed or imported from abroad?

Any citizen of Sri Lanka who has learnt or attempted to husband his resources, to balance his family budget in the face of the escalating prices of commodities and the paralysing inflation, would have found to his utter construction the irremediable state of affairs he has been placed in the midst of, since of late. It would appear that most families had to face the next to impossible and formidable task of cutting the coat from scanty material. Hence, the cardinal question is: why are we faced with this rather sorry plight? The answer is straightforward and as bland as also simple. Try as we might, we may not produce enough consumption goods to go round; at least we have not done so all these years. Perhaps our luxury goods are increasing far in excess of the essentials of life. In other words our production of the essential commodities falls far short of our needs. Our consumption capacity of the imported commodities, especially the luxury items such as the fancy goods, is very high. We are suffering from an 'inferiority complex'

that defies psychoanalysis. We want to show to the others that we are well-to-do when we, in reality, are not. In spite of the rising cost of living we still cling to very expensive foreign goods.

We want to flaunt a status-symbol and get into the 'in-group' of advanced industrialized nations. We want to cut a figure in the eyes of the other man, and be heard and listened to, and admired in the comity of nations. At any rate we want to cut a caper. All these we want to do despite the unpleasant fact that we are on the verge of starvation; for, the moment all our financial props are removed, we shall be compelled to collapse.

NOW, LET US FACE THE PROBLEM fairly and squarely without resorting to high-sounding terminologies which are generally flaunted by the 'artha sastra' pundits—the economists—for artfully evading the various issues that man in Sri Lanka is confronted with today. The 'present' being the only true time factor in existence, and the only tangible one at that, let us face some of the issues that we have to face today, one at a time. Let us not be in an inordinate haste to solve them all; and in the pragmatic wisdom of aunt Betsey Trotwood, that immortal wise woman of fiction and Mr. Dick, her never-failing attendant and advisor, let us take them, shall we say, in the order of their importance viz: food, clothing and shelter?

We have a population of about 14 million. Have we enough food to feed these 14 million mouths? If not, are we making a reasonable attempt to produce it? Are we in earnest in our endeavour to produce the food that we need? I mean the people—everyone of us. It would appear from figures available, that we don't produce enough food. This is a sad, and revealing fact. We have still to go round the more affluent nations of the world with the proverbial begging bowl—so glaringly and loudly characteristic of a sizeable section of our community.

The dominant motive principle of our morality is that we just want to beg for the



simple reason that we find it the easiest thing to do; and that we just want to eat, because it is the most natural thing to do; and we don't want to work; for, it is the path of least resistance. And how long can we go on begging: that is to say, depending in the sweat of the brow of other communities and other nations?

The most uncomfortable and tantalizing question may now be asked: Why should they feed us, lazy louts that we are? Why should the wheat we need be grown in the prairies of Canada, the Downs of Australia, the Pampas of Argentina, the grain lands of the USA, and the Ukraine of Russia? And why should the fellahs of Egypt, the rice farmers of the plain of the Po, of the lush deltas of Thailand and Cambodia, and of the Indo-Gangetic plain and the other river deltas grow our rice? And why should our curry condiments and sugar and coffee; our textiles; Our tetra cotton and tetron, crimplin, nylax, nylon, voile, batik and brocade, wooly georgette and poplin and other expensive sarees be produced by others abroad in other lands far, far beyond our shores and the seas that wash them?

*Is it good morality to grow fat on, and dress elegantly with, and drink deep of the labour of others? Is it true 'Dharma?' Is it reasonable? Is it just? Isn't this trend in our behaviour pattern shamelessly parasitic?*

Our cotton grows on the irrigated alluvial flats of the Nile, the Indo-Gangetic plain the flood plains of the Sikiang and the Yangtze; our plastic and synthetic fibres are made and woven in the power looms of Lancashire, Kanchipuram, Bombay and Madurai and Singapore and Hongkong, Osaka and New York; the nails and screws we need, our iron bars and expanded metal, our iron rods, our tools and implements, our tractors, motor vehicles, machinery, railway rolling stock; even our paper, our kerosene, petroleum and diesel oil and coal have to be made or mined and 'cracked' and refined for our use and consumption elsewhere. We are only fit beings, as the Tamil adage goes 'to eat the peeled banana'. The only effort we have to make is to open our mouths and gulp down the ready-made food; to sit and idle; to palaver or to criticize and run down other men in other strands; to beg, to borrow, to steal; to orga-

nize shady deals, to accept bribes and kick-backs and fringe benefits, and be corrupted in an infinite variety of ways. Whither has fled our social sense; our social morality?

**No, no, my man! This won't do. You will have to stir, to wake up, and stop not till you have piled thought upon thought, reflected, planned and designed, and fabricated almost all your wants. If you fail to do this, you will have to starve and to suffer; you will have to perish and mingle in the dust and be much worse than the meanest of worms.**

52, Angle Road,  
Batticaloa.  
27-1-1980.

(To Be Concluded)

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HAVANA DIARY—22

## THE FINAL STAGES

by S. P. Amarasingam

THE FINAL SESSION of the plenary began at 10.30 a.m. on Saturday, September 8 and concluded at 9.30 a.m. on Sunday, September 9 bringing to a close seven days of intense work on the part of Heads of State or Government, other leaders and guests representing 130 Asia, African, Latin American and European countries. The Saturday morning session went on from 10.30 a.m. to 2 p.m. and the meeting was resumed at 8 p.m. and ended at 2.10 a.m.

During the morning the following speakers took the floor; Chedli Klibi, general secretary of the Arab League; Oliver Tambo, president of the African National Congress of South Africa; Radha Krishna, permanent representative for Mauritius before the UN; Jorge Castaneda, Mexico's secretary for foreign affairs, Jose Alberto Zambrano, Venezulean foreign minister; Diego Uribe Vargas, Colombia's foreign minister; Nouri Abdel Razzak, general secretary of the Organisation of Solidarity of the People's of Asia and Africa; Abdul Hakim Tabibi head of the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People; and Abdul Rahman Khane, general



secretary of the United Nations Industrial Development Organisation.

**CHEDLI KLIBI, GENERAL SECRETARY OF THE ARAB LEAGUE**, attending the 6th Summit as an observer and the first speaker at the Saturday morning session, said that the Egyptian-Israeli Agreement not only ignored the views of the Arab nations but has also postponed a just peace for the region and "in fact has forced the members of the Arab League to make a difficult and painful, but necessary decision to suspend Egypt's membership in the Arab League." He said that the Arabs struggle against Zionism had the same features as the national liberation movements' and anti-racist struggles, and added that any attempt to distort the Arab cause only strengthened the racist regimes and trampled on the United Nations' resolutions on the Middle East. Chedli Klibi pointed out that non-alignment had been an aspiration to dignity; both literally and in the broadest sense. "The world expects this Summit to make decisions that reflect the aspirations of our peoples."

**IN THE NAME OF THE AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS, AS AN OBSERVER**, and in the name of the victims of racism and colonialism in South Africa, **OLIVER TAMBO** again spoke to the Summit. He began by congratulating all on the convening of the 6th Summit in Havana and expressed to Fidel Castro his confidence in there being positive developments during Fidel's chairmanship of the Movement. He briefly referred to the history of Africa, Latin America and Asia, and particularly their liberation movements, and said that "our peoples have experienced humiliation at the hands of stronger foreign forces and indignity under governments that have denied our history and laughed at our traditions and who are only interested in a future that serves their interests." Oliver Tambo gave an overview of the situation of his people and the brutal repression of the racist regime which denies the humanity of all the peoples represented at the Summit. He said that the peoples of southern Africa were fighting for self-determination, sovereignty, freedom and a more just economic order. He also said about how transnational corporations continue to tighten their grip on their coun-

tries and act as one with the racist regimes. He praised Iran's decision to stop oil sales to South Africa, which accounted for 90 percent of the supply and Nigeria for having taken action against the oil companies that were violating Nigerian principles. Both of these actions help the liberation of the South African people and strengthen the role of the Non-aligned Movement.

**THE DELEGATE FOR MAURITIUS, RADHA KRISHNA**, permanent representative at the UN, stressed the importance of this Summit meeting and then discussed those international problems that most concern the international community. Among these he referred to southern Africa and said, "there have been no significant changes there in the last few years" and the situation there is a grave threat to world peace and security. After touching on all the burning questions before the Non-aligned Movement he emphasized the importance of creating a zone of peace in the Indian Ocean and warned that the island of Diego Garcia might well become a launching point for new imperialist aggression against neighbouring countries. On the issue of a new international economic order, he said it was imperative that it begin immediately, as it was of vital importance to all underdeveloped countries.

**JORGE CASTANEDA, MEXICAN SECRETARY FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS** pointed out that a genuinely new international order could only come about in two ways: through the organisation of imperial interests or through the organisation of a *modus vivendi* based on democratic consciousness. "That is to say, by force or by reason," he added. He said that Mexico felt closely identified with this Movement, "which, rightly understood, is trying to establish peace by means of the complete political and economic independence of all countries." Castaneda said his government was "very pleased with the signing of the SALT II agreement between the Soviet Union and the United States" and suggested that "the proposal be revived" which called on both sides to devote all the money saved under the agreement to projects for peace. . . . . The main political problems of the world, are largely caused by the fact that many countries have not been allowed to deter-



mine their own political life as independent states."

JOSE ALBERTO ZAMBRANO, VENEZUELAN MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS, said that the goal of all those present should be spiritual, political and economic freedom, and he added this was President Herrera Campin's basic outlook. He said the Venezuela had joined in the concerted efforts of the other member countries of the Andean Pact. After referring to the group's firmly held position in Nicaragua, whose people were able to uproot tyranny only at high cost—both in lives and material loss—he pledged his country's continuing support to the reconstruction efforts in the homeland of Sandino. He said that, because of geography, Venezuela is simultaneously an Andean, Amazon, Caribbean and Atlantic country. Venezuela is also committed to maintaining the best relations of friendship and cooperation with all friendly countries. As this region brings together three cultures, this 6th Summit of Havana should repudiate racism in all its forms, especially in those countries where it is still an entrenched system, as in Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa. He offered unrestricted support to the struggle against racism. History shows that freedom is seldom a gift, he said. As a result none of us can rest in our joint efforts to uphold our solidarity with all those who struggle for freedom. He said that all countries were painfully aware of the fact that political freedom was illusory without economic freedom, and he spoke of the frustration of developing countries in their relations with developed countries. He said that the energy crisis due to the high and thoughtless levels of oil consumption by developed countries. That was why oil had become so scarce, he declared. He pointed out that OPEC was really the last beneficiary of price increases due to oil scarcity. OPEC members have been slow to realize that the profits go to corporations or, through import duties, to developed countries. He said the OPEC was a good example to follow in the economic struggle for national liberation, and he added that the non-aligned would find in OPEC members the fraternal and sincere support of those who know from bitter experience the real difficulties of the struggle to overcome economic dependency.

THE COLOMBIAN FOREIGN MINISTER, DIEGO URIBE VARGAS' speech focussed on the problems of creating a new international economic order and on the issue of world disarmament. He said that "the peace the world hopes for can never be the fruit of the arms race." The Colombian foreign minister also broached the subject of the principles of the Non-Aligned Movement and made reference to opposition to all blocs, to equidistance and the founding principles of the Non-aligned Movement.

NOURI ABDEL RAZZAK, GENERAL SECRETARY OF THE ORGANISATION OF SOLIDARITY OF THE PEOPLES OF ASIA AND AFRICA (OSPAA) said the Havana Summit would strengthen "our struggle, our common effort to establish a just and equitable peace." He added that imperialist domination obstructed humanity's development, adding that "if we want to establish a lasting peace, we must eliminate the source of the arms race, exploitation, oppression and aggression." Razzak gave a brief rundown of the world panorama, referring in particular to the problems of the Middle East, southern Africa and Indo-china.

ABDUL HAKIM TABIBI, HEAD OF THE DELEGATION FROM THE COMMITTEE ON THE EXERCISE OF THE INALIENABLE RIGHTS OF THE PALESTINE PEOPLE referred to the subject of the inalienable right of the Palestinian people and spoke of the history of the Committee, founded in 1975, to give impetus to solving the problem of the Palestinian people. He said that the Committee's recommendations have had the unconditional support of the non-aligned countries. He spoke of how the Palestinian people, the heirs of an ancient culture and a fighting tradition, are today undergoing even greater hardships than in the past and have been forced to live in destitution as refugees. He recognized Yasser Arafat as the genuine representative of his people.

ABDUL RAHMAN KHANE, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR OF THE UNITED NATIONS INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT ORGANIZATION (UNIDO) said that the developing countries had been responsible for creating the organization which he represents with the purpose of assisting in their industrial.



Feb. 14 — Feb. 20

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; SO—Sunday Observer; DM—Dinamina; LD—Lankadipa; VK—Virakesari; ATH—Aththa; SM—Silumina; SLDP—Sri Lanka-dipa; JD—Janadina; SU—Sun; DV—Davasa; DP—Dinapathi; CM—Chinthamani; WK—Weekend; RR—Riviresa; DK—Dinakara; EN—Eelanadu; IDPR—Information Dept. Press Release.

**THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 14:** The Committee on Prison Reforms appointed by Justice Minister K. W. Devanayagam has recommended the setting up of a statutory body with sufficient authority to review all cases held over by the courts for over three months due to non-payment of bail or failure to file charges against the suspects. The government yesterday decided to abolish the two-tier system of prices for cement and bring both locally produced cement and the imported variety under one price. Driving licences will be issued by seven kachcheries in the provinces from March 15 in addition to the office of the Registrar of Motor Vehicles in Colombo which issues licenses at present. Parliamentary standing orders are to be amended soon to prevent members from using the privilege of the House to make libelous and defamatory statements against individuals, cabinet spokesman Anandatissa de Alwis, Minister of State said—CDN. Trade unionists who break the law will not get any special consideration from the police on the ground that they belong to pro-government trade unions; this was stated by the President, Mr. J. R. Jayewardene, at yesterday's weekly meeting of the Cabinet. The UNP May Day processions this year will not carry banners and placards and there will be no shouting of slogans; they will meet at certain points and walk to the Galle Face Green; the President Mr. J. R.

zation efforts, which it has done successfully. He recalled that it had been agreed to transform UNIDO into a specialized agency within the UN. For this to happen, however, it was necessary to have the signatures of at least 80 states and he therefore hoped for the support of the non-aligned countries. He told delegates that the 3rd General Conference of UNIDO would be held in New Delhi in 1980 and the progress in the field of industrialization reviewed. He added that despite a 52 percent increase in the technical assistance supplied by UNIDO, the needs of the developing countries were immense and that they therefore hoped that the New Delhi conference would support the provision of additional financial resources. Among other general points in his speech were the energy dimensions of industrialization, the financial needs of the developing countries in this respect and the increase of co-operation among them.

At 2.10 p.m. the plenary ended its open session. A closed session went on until early in the morning. The closing (open) session began at 7.10 a.m. on Sunday 9th September.

**Notice under Section 7 of the Land Acquisition Act (Chapter 460) as amended by the Land Acquisition (Amendment) Act No. 28 of 1964**

Reference No. 9/2/2(3)17

It is intended to acquire the land described in the schedule below. For further particulars, please see the Gazette No. 78 (Part III) of 29-02-1980 of the Democratic Socialist Republic of Sri Lanka.

**Schedule**

Name of Village: Ranasinghagama

Name of land: Lemastota

Lot & Plan No.: Final Village Plan No. 322

Supplement No. 3

Lot Nos. 39,40,41,42 & 43.

in Nikapotha Grama Sevaka Division, in the Divisional Revenue Officer's Division of Haputale, Badulla District, Uva Province.

Tye Kachcheri,

Badulla.

8th February 1980

**N. C. Harvie**  
Acquiring Office  
Badulla District



Jayewardene will walk to Galle Face Green from his Ward Place residence. The model villages under Prime Minister Mr. R. Premadasa's village reawakening movement are now being set up in the Northern and Eastern Provinces as well. The Minister of Textile Industries, Wijepala Mendis said at a meeting at Akmeemana on Tuesday that import of foreign textiles would be completely stopped after the quality of local handloom textiles was improved—CDM. President J. R. Jayewardene yesterday effected a series of Cabinet changes thus ending several weeks of political speculation; the changes at Cabinet level centered around four Ministers and resulted in the creation of a Project Ministry for Ayurveda and the appointment of six new Deputy Ministers. The Cabinet yesterday decided to suspend the decision to ban the export of live fish following representations made by exporters. Sri Lanka has been called upon to defuse the deadlock created by superpowers at the Indian Ocean Peace Zone Committee of the United Nations; our Permanent Representative in New York, B. J. Fernando has been given a mandate accordingly to launch a diplomatic offensive to overcome the crisis before June this year when the committee is scheduled to resume its work—SU. The price of cement has been increased; a bag which now sells at Rs. 60/— will be increased to Rs. 83/—DP. The foundation stone for the new TV Network will be laid by President Jayewardene at Independence Square on March 4—VK. The Government yesterday decided to pay a special allowance to all Tamil and Sinhala Graduate Science teachers—DM. The State Plantation Corporation and the Janawasama are to be dissolved and 8 regional bodies are to be set up to carry out their work; the plantation sector will be decentralized on the same lines as the CTB—LD. The President is expected to use the Cabinet reshuffle to strengthen his position in the party by appointing his supporters in the government as Deputy Ministers and Ministers in the wake of JR-Premadasa power struggle in the party—DK.

**FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 15:** A special court called the Port Offences Court will be set up in the Port of Colombo on April 1, to deal with those committing malpractices in the harbour; the new court to be set up by Trade

and Shipping Minister Lalith Athulathmudall will be presided over by a magistrate who will have power to try all penal offences like pilferage, misappropriation, theft, cheating etc. The President of the Government Medical Officers' Association, Dr. S. Y. D. C. Wickremasinghe and other office bearers have written to the President and Health Minister for an early interview; both the President and the Health Minister have decided that although in the past they had acceded to their requests for interviews, on this occasion they would refuse to meet them because after Dr. Wickremasinghe assumed duties as President he had threatened to take direct action if their request was not granted—CDN. Sri Lanka urgently requires 400 million US dollars to foot her import bill and ensure the free flow of vital raw materials for her gigantic development projects without slowing down its speed; the Minister of Finance and Planning, Ronnie de Mel left last night to negotiate with several countries for an increased quantum of aid. The Eelam Tamils Association of America based in Massachusetts has urged potential US investors in Sri Lanka to invest in Tamil areas of the island. Dr. R. L. Brohier, surveyor, historian, antiquarian and scholar passed away yesterday, at the age of 87 after a brief illness—CDM. Five Cabinet Ministers, eleven Deputy Ministers and a Project Minister were sworn in yesterday by President J. R. Jayewardene at a simple ceremony at his Ward Place residence. Two new Deputy Inspector Generals of Police were yesterday appointed by the Ministry of Defence; they are City Police Commissioner Frank Silva who has been appointed acting DIG (Southern Range) and Director, Police HQ Administration, SP Leo Perera who has been made temporary DIG (Eastern Range). The severe drought now gripping Sri Lanka has adversely affected various sectors of the country's economy, particularly agricultural production—SU. All fertilizer used for coconut production have been reduced by Rs. 45/- per metric ton—DP. Train fares will go up from the 23rd of this month; the minimum fare will be 50 cents—DK. The former Managing Director of the Petroleum Corporation who resigned recently in a secret letter to the President has said that a top politician had tried to get the tenders submitted by an Italian firm for



the Hydro-cracker projects; this politician has said that the Italian firm has promised him a commission of Rs. 10 million; the country would have earned Rs. 1,900 million a month if the project was implemented—ATH. Mr. Upali Wijewardene has launched a "Ruhunu Adara Sevaka" in the Kamburupitiya electorate which is seen as a direct challenge to the MP for Kamburupitiya Mr. Albert de Silva and the Government; Rs. 20 lakhs has been allocated for 1980 for this programme under which a school building will be constructed at a cost of Rs. 14 lakhs; the remaining money will be used to teach English and driving free of charge to the people in the electorate so that they could find jobs in the Middle East—JD.

**SATURDAY FEBRUARY 16:** About a million rupees worth of dry provisions, vegetables and fruits has been spirited away from the Marketing Department's retail outlets by the department's branch managers; seventy-five managers who were interdicted early this week could not account for stocks of a variety of goods in their retail shops whose values ranged from Rs. 10000 to Rs. 40,000, the Department's Commissioner N. Vamadeva said. President J. R. Jayewardene, who took the subject of Higher Education under his wing on Thursday told the University Grants Commission yesterday that the government would not tolerate any form of ragging in the Universities; those found guilty of ragging would be severely dealt with; they could even be expelled, he said. French Finance Minister Rene Monory will pay an official visit to Sri Lanka on April 10 and 11—CDN. It is extremely dangerous to directly view the partial eclipse of the sun which occurs today over Sri Lanka beginning at 2.26 p.m. and ending at 4.46 p.m. with the naked eye; this is the warning issued by astronomers, meteorologists and physicists. The President has decided to give incentives to encourage industrialists to cultivate sugar cane extensively for the manufacture of power alcohol; this is being successfully done in Brazil—CDM. Government is to make a close review of the country's development projects and other programmes where heavy financial commitments are involved. Sri Lanka's external trade during 1979 has resulted in a huge Rs.

7,200 million deficit, according to Customs statistics. Nearly 500 acres in Malwana have been acquired by the Government to set up the country's second Investment Promotion Zone of Biyagama. The Ministry of Agricultural Development and Research has enforced a total ban on chena cultivation in the Anuradhapura district—SU. The prevailing flour shortages in the provinces will soon ease; the emergency stocks of flour which were stored in the Chalmer's Granary will be despatched to outstations immediately—DP. A two-day Emergency Meeting of Secretaries to Ministeries will be held starting at the Treasury to discuss how to carry out the development projects in the face of unexpected economic difficulties faced by the government. The governor of the Central Bank says that the government decided to give priority to projects that will give quick returns to save the country from the world economic recession as much as possible—LD. The bus fares will go up by 50% and in some sections even by 70%—ATH.

**SUNDAY, FEBRUARY 17:** Are foreign nationals coming here in increasing numbers, circumventing the laws discouraging them from acquiring property in Sri Lanka; this is a question that is now causing a great deal of concern at the highest levels of government. The northern terrorists trials will begin in the High Court of Colombo in early March, a spokesman for the Attorney-General's Department said yesterday—SO. All pavement hawkers within the City of Colombo with permanent or semi-permanent structures will be required to pay Rs. 125 per month to the Council as tax. The Cabinet has appointed a seven-member official Committee to immediately formulate further fuel conservation measures. There was a significant drop of one degree centigrade in the temperature during the partial eclipse of the sun which was observed in Sri Lanka between 2.26 p.m. and 4.49 p.m. yesterday—WK. The Minister of Trade has decided to carry out a survey to find out whether the people get their necessary consumer articles without delay and to find out the prices of the essential consumer articles which affect the consumers most. Two teams of Japanese and Norwegian explorers have expressed their desire to explore the north and the east coast for oil deposits—



RR. The Foreign Minister expects to set up diplomatic missions in countries where large number of Sri Lankans work for their own protection—SM. The Government has decided to appoint a special state representative for each electorate to report directly to the government the needs of the farmers and their social and economic problems—SLDP.

**MONDAY, FEBRUARY 18:** Lands, Land Development and Mahaweli Minister, Gamini Dissanayake and TULF General Secretary A. Amirthalingam met at Trincomalee yesterday and solved what would have been a very sensitive problem of picking settlers for the Rs. 16 million Mahadivulwewa scheme; the scheme financed by the European Economic Community will bring 1,200 acres of parched arid land under irrigation, when the Mahadivulwewa is diverted and canals are built; it will have 465 new settler families. The Shipping Corporation will for the first time operate a container service to the United Kingdom and the Continent in June with two fully cellular container ships of around 15,000 tons dead-weight, official sources said yesterday. Police detectives investigating the deaths at St. Paul's Vicarage, Kynsey Road, Colombo yesterday took into custody several vital documents which they discovered while searching an abandoned room in the vicarage—CDN. President J. R. Jayewardene has told Government MPs that the problem of the rising cost of living could at least be mitigated if all the people could be found suitable employment; Mr. Jayewardene has said there would be rapid development in the economy all round as a result of the implementation of a massive development programme this year. The Tourist Industry will get a big boost with the arrival of over 5,350 rich holiday makers aboard four luxury passenger liners and a student ship within the next four weeks—CDM. Co'ombo North Regional Transport Board (CNRTB) will dismiss eight employees of the Talangama Depot, including the President and Secretary of the Jathika Sevaka Sangamaya branch there, and interdict 22 others; the move comes in the wake of a directive by President J. R. Jayewardene to Transport Minister M. H. Mohamed to ensure there is no breach of discipline in the state-run transport boards and to crack down heavily on those responsible. The Civil Rights Movement

of Sri Lanka yesterday warned Government not to proceed with the proposed new law to control voluntary social service organisations because it will be a gross violation of freedom of association—SU. Sri Lanka will become the first country to teach human rights as a school subject and in Universities when it is introduced in schools shortly—DM. The Government is to introduce a new teacher transfer system by which teachers will be able to serve in one district for his life time; every teacher will be able to work in the district where his vote is registered under the new system by which the government hopes to end political transfers of teachers—LD. The 30,000 acre cotton development programme has come to a stand-still as the Land Commissioner's Department has refused to allocate land to grow cotton—DV. The UNP government is facing an unprecedented financial crisis; they are faced with the problem of finding finances for day to day apart from finances for the major development work already started. The President is reported to have decided not to remove Mr. Upali Wijewardene, the Director-General of the GCEC under any circumstances—JD. The former General Manager of the Petroleum Corporation has requested the Minister of Industries to appoint a commission to probe the circumstances under which the "Maduru Oya" oil ship was bought by the Corporation—DK.

**TUESDAY, FEBRUARY 19:** President J. R. Jayewardene yesterday warned trade unionists that no strikes or any other movement could oust this Government from office inaugurating a seminar on "The Role of Activists in Modern Trade Union" at the Sri Lanka Foundation Institute, President Jayewardene said the Government had been elected by the people and could be turned out of office only by the people at another General Election. A survey conducted by the Education Service Commission has shown that there is a surfeit of teachers in all educational districts compared with the number of students attending school—CDN. A by-election for the Anaduwa seat in Parliament will now have to take place consequent to the dismissing by the Court of Appeal yesterday of the appeal of the SLFP member, Mr. Sadatissa Wadigamangawa against a Supreme Court order declaring his election to Parliament null and



void—*CDM*. H. W. Jayewardene a prominent lawyer and brother of President J. R. Jayewardene, left last night for Geneva to join the United Nations sponsored commission to investigate alleged crimes of the deposed Shah Reza Pahlavi of Iran—*SU*. The *CWE* has imported milk powder which will be sufficient for the next 7 years and the loss on this unnecessary import would be around millions of rupees; apart from the *CWE* the private sector too has imported large amount of milk powder and this would further hamper the *CWE* in trying to sell their imports—*ATH*. The prices of a number of consumer goods are to be reduced—*DV*.

**WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 20:** The Norwegian Foreign Minister, Mr. Knut Frydenlund said yesterday he was very impressed to find democracy deeply rooted in Sri Lanka, a feature seldom found in the Third World; Mr. Frydenlund, who left Sri Lanka last night after a seven-day official visit accompanied by his wife said he was also struck by the degree to which the welfare state concept had been achieved in Sri Lanka despite the low per capita income. Minister of Transport M. H. Mohamed said at a public meeting after the laying of a foundation stone for the Galle North CTB bus depot at Kurunduwatta in the Akmeemana electorate that soon bus fares would have to be increased in order to cut down the heavy losses the CTB was incurring. The Wild Life Department and the River Valleys Development Board are now putting the final touches to the island's first Eeephant Reserve—a 106 square mile patch of jungle in Embilipitiya on the banks of the Uda-Walawe—*CDN*. Ample supplies of subsidiary food items will be available to consumers throughout the country before and during Sinhala and Hindu New Year in April; this follows a directive given by the Minister of Trade and Shipping Lalith Athulathmudal. The Prime Minister R. Premadasa who is also the Minister of Housing, Construction and Highways, has sought the assistance of the People's Republic of China to construct houses here with walls built with earth and mixed with straw. University Graduates and students owe the People's Bank and Bank of Ceylon Rs. 70 million since 1972. Over 20 check points with armed Navy and Police personnel

will be set up immediately in the North Central and Eastern provinces to check on the transport of timber—*CDM*. Data on all international companies operating in Sri Lanka, and local firms with branches abroad are to be submitted to Interpol by the Sri Lanka police; all relevant information in this context is being compiled by the surveillance unit of the Criminal Investigation Department—*SU*. The Government has taken notice of public opinion in many quarters that local food prices, particularly of fish and meat, keep spiralling due to the demands of the tourist trade on the domestic economy—*CO*. The Government is considering re-introducing the old working hours in Public Departments—*LD*. The government will increase the flour price further shortly and at the same time reduce the price of rice to reduce the consumption of flour; 120,000 tons of rice will be distributed among co-operatives as the first step; meanwhile the Ministry of Food and Co-operatives reports that they have stocked rice sufficient till 1983. 10,000 more jobs will be generated from the FTZ before the end of this year according to the GCEC officials; 40,000 people are expected to be employed in the FTZ factories by 1982—*DV*. The Government is facing the problem of finding jobs to untrained persons who have registered in the Job Bank but want white-collar jobs—*DM*. The Ministry of Transport has decided on a system under which bus and rail fares will be increased; this system has already been put forward for Cabinet approval—*DK*. Rs. 50 million worth of heavy machinery is lying idle for years while the country is facing acute shortage of heavy machinery to carry out the major development projects; most of these heavy machines need only minor repairs and now private sector mudalalies are buying them at cheap rates—*ATH*.

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### NEXT WEEK

- × HAVANA DIARY—23  
—Closing Session
  - × MORE QUESTIONS  
—Topics Of The Day
  - × AFGHANISTAN  
—Current Developments
- 
-



## Geostrategists

by Vitaly Korionov

Moscow,

A cornucopia of US press reports which have appeared of late shows ever more clearly that Washington's influential forces decided to use the American-Iranian conflict and the so-called Afghanis as a pretext for the implementation of their fargoing plans, such as the creation of military-strategic strongholds from which American imperialism could threaten the countries that have chosen a progressive road of development and carry out punitive actions against the peoples fighting for their national independence. These plans embrace not only the Persian Gulf but also the Indian Ocean and other regions where the anti-imperialist movement of liberation is gaining momentum.

In his interview with the weekly *US News and World Report* at the end of December Zbigniew Brzezinski stated that the US faced two major problems—a challenge to its geostrategic posture in the world and a challenge to its relations with those “two-thirds of the world” which have suddenly “awakened politically” over the past two decades. Hedrick Smith, an American journalist, also wrote that Washington regarded the detention of American hostages in Teheran as a turning point which signified an end to the post-Vietnam era. What is meant by this? Hedrick Smith answers this question by quoting a “prominent US strategist”: America begins to get rid of its restraint prompted by the Vietnam experience. In practical terms, this means that Washington is shaking off the attitude of profuse talk about peace and is changing over to an open course of preparing and carrying out new aggressive military actions.

Of interest in this respect is a *New York Times* article by Richard Barth which appeared in December. Quoting Brzezinski, the author arrives at the conclusion that the American administration is taking steps in the direction of a radical change in its policy in “this region” (meaning, above all, the Middle East). According to Barth, the US is facing the “most im-

portant strategic problem” in the past few decades—a “new American military responsibility in this region”. Richard Barth says that, among other things, the US is contemplating the creation of a Pro-Western alliance which would be comprised of Egypt, Israel, Turkey and Saudi Arabia. Among other things, the attention of observers was attracted by the trip made towards the close of last year by a military-political group of high-ranking officials of the Pentagon and the state department of some countries in the Middle East and East Africa. The group visited Saudi Arabia, Oman, Somalia and Kenya. A report made by the group is still being studied by the US Government, but from press reports one can see even now what Washington is contemplating.

The *New York Daily News* announced that the USA was looking for concentration areas for actions in the Middle East. Drew Middleton the *New York Times* military correspondent, explains, in his turn, that the Pentagon was in search for sites for American military bases to serve, if necessary, as a springboard for American intervention. Yet another journalist, R. Halloran, writes in the same newspaper that the Pentagon, specifically, is after the Somali naval base at Berbera. What hopes are linked with that particular base can be seen from the following words written by Halloran: “Access to Berbera would enable the United States to give support to ships and aircraft in the Red Sea, The Gulf of Oman, the Sea of Arabia, the Persian Gulf and the Indian Ocean. It would be helpful to the United States in using a naval base and airfield on the island of Diego Garcia in the Indian Ocean, a support depot in Bahrain and an airfield in Turkey, Halloran added.

We have before us a clear picture of the aim pursued by the provocative hulla-balloo about a “Soviet military threat.” Only recently US propaganda bodies ascribed to the Soviet Union the intention to have a “military base” in Berbera. This was an obvious distortion of facts, because the Soviet Union does not seek bases either in Africa, or Asia or elsewhere. Anyone sees now the reason for such fabrications. There is no Soviet military base in Berbera, but the Pentagon is fully determined to entrench itself



In the locality. The US military threat to peace is a real fact.

The architects of the aggressive plans do not care a hoot about the needs and aspirations of the peoples striving for independence and social progress. Not only do they stretch out their tentacles for the national wealth of other peoples, but also cynically advertise their own designs. The US *Christian Science Monitor*, for example, announced that the grand prize in the Middle East is the vast and rich kingdom of Saudi Arabia.

All the more obvious, therefore, is the purpose of amassing US naval and air forces in the Persian Gulf area, and so is that of the large punitive police units referred to as a "rapid deployment force." What also reveals itself most clearly is the official purpose of Brzezinski-advanced "concept" of a certain "arc of crisis areas" where the USA claims something short of a "right" to do anything it may want to do, under the pretext of "protection" of its "vital interests".

However, the more outspoken are the Imperialist neo-colonialists and generals dreaming of turning whole countries into springboards of war in revealing their cravings, the greater is the determination of freedom-loving nations actively to rebuff the designs. —Pravda (APN)

## KAMPUCHEA "AID" HOAX

### Imperialists Fuel Counter-Revolution

The *Australasian Spartacist*, according to the publishers, is the "Revolutionary Marxist Monthly of the Spartacist League of Australia and New Zealand, section of the Spartacist tendency, for the rebirth of the Fourth International." Until the death of Mao and the process of de-Maoisation under Teng Xioping, the *Australasian Spartacist* followed the Maoist line with its own Fourth International qualifications. The article we publish below shows how a section of the New Left view the events in Kampuchea.

FOR THE PAST MONTH it has been impossible to pick up a paper or turn on the TV without confronting the agonising spec-

tacle of skeletal and dying Kampuchean refugees struggling over the border to "sanctuary" in Thailand. The starvation is real, but the message—that if only it weren't for obstruction by the bloodthirsty Vietnamese, "free world" leaders like Jimmy "Human Rights" Malcolm Fraser would have been able to rush in massive aid long ago—is a vicious lie of genocidal proportions.

Although most bourgeois pundits trace the cause of the present starvation back to the murderous horrors of the Pol Pot regime which overthrew the US puppet Lon Nol in 1975, the real beginning is in early 1969, when the US began four years of the most devastating carpet bombing by B52s of the Vietnam war. Between 1970 and 1973, the US rained down more than an average of 100 tons of bombs for every man, woman and child in Kampuchea (formerly Cambodia), turning heavily populated areas into field of craters and destroying agricultural dikes and waterworks. Probably a million died in Kampuchea during the civil war against Lon Nol, and famine already existed when the US brutally cut off all aid following the fall of its henchman in 1975. Although it overthrew capitalism, the brutal Khmer Rouge regime of Pol Pot—which depopulated the cities and villages at gunpoint, separated families, denied voluntary marriage and murdered thousands—created such a horribly deformed, workers state that even Pol Pot's former Prime Minister Sary admitted recently that after the Vietnamese army surged in to install the present Heng Samrin government in January 1979, there were "people who went toward the Vietnamese, attracted by their program" (*Le Monde*, 2 June). It would have been difficult indeed to have had a worse "program" than Sary's!

BUT REACTION to the Vietnamese takeover in Kampuchea was uniform throughout the capitalist world. The anti-communist regimes of the ASEAN alliance (Singapore, Malaysia, Thailand, the Philippines and Indonesia) united against Vietnamese "expansionism", a result considered "beneficial" in the US (*Financial Review*, 26, October). A few meagre aid programs for Vietnam by countries such as Australia were dropped; and the US and Britain engineered the continued recogni-



tion of the overthrown Pol Pot as the legitimate government of Kampuchea by the UN. Rapidly reduced to a small band and driven into the mountainous areas near the Thai border, the remnants of Pol Pot's forces have been kept alive with food and sanctuary in Thailand, including permission to escape Vietnamese forces through Thai territory to re-enter Kampuchea at safer points. The Khmer Rouge have also been allowed to receive arms from their Stalinist Chinese backers across Thai territory (Financial Review, 26, October). In February, after promising the US to "teach Vietnam a bloody lesson", China launched a "punitive" invasion, this solidifying the US/China alliance aimed against the Soviet Union and putting additional military pressure in Vietnam.

Three months ago, the Heng Samrin government of Kampuchea urgently appealed to the Red Cross and UN relief agencies for food and vital medical supplies, only to be met with a string of hypocritical "guarantees" and "conditions." Any aid to Phnom Penh had to be distributed to people under Pol Pot's control as well, despite the civil war conditions and obvious dominance of the Heng Samrin regime. Japan promised aid only if Vietnam stopped the fight against Pol Pot (Intercontinental Press, IP 24, September). According to one report, UN troops would be required to distribute the aid, and Australia volunteered to be part of the "peacekeeping force" (Asiaweek, 26 October)! Naturally, Phnom Penh rejected this blackmail.

NO RED TAPE has held up aid going into Thailand, however. Food supplies available across the border have turned a refugee trickle—little more than a few Chinese advisors of Pol Pot turned up in Thailand in the few months immediately after the Vietnamese takeover—into a flood. Recent US actions such as the "windfall aid plan", under which US oil companies are putting their excess profits tax toward a fund to provide food through agencies operating on the Thai border (Far Eastern Economic Review, 19 October) serve to bolster Pol Pot, who controls enough of the distribution to funnel aid into Kampuchea, where his guerilla fighters get preference (Asiaweek, 26 October).

**BUT FOOD IS ONLY THE beginning. More**

than half a dozen rightist groups led by former officials and generals of the Sihanouk and Lon Nol regimes, and probably backed and supplied by the CIA through Thailand, are now operating alongside Pol Pot's forces inside Kampuchea against the Heng Samrin regime. One of these, the "Khmer Srikat", is called the "paras" by the Vietnamese, apparently because of their boots and crisp new camouflage uniforms (Far Eastern Economic Review, 12 October). Thailand itself is getting rush shipments and top priority on US military aid, including latest model M48 tanks and sophisticated TOW anti-tank missile systems, with plenty of US advisers for training.

Against this background, Carter's call for prayers for the Kampucheans, and statements that the "aid" issue is "beyond politics..... a matter of simple and humanitarian concern" from White House officials (Asiaweek, 26 October) ring hollow indeed. Although more aid is now being flown into Phnom Penh by Western agencies for appearances' sake, the latest US ploy is to demand the Samrin government's approval for a "land bridge" of aid from Thailand, which would only strengthen the already existing links to the various rightist and anti-Vietnamese bands operating in border areas.

There is no way that the US imperialist butchers of the Vietnamese and Kampuchean people will ever have a "change of heart" or a real "humanitarian" impulse. Yet that is exactly what the reformists of both the Stalinist Party of Australia (SPA) and so-called "Trotskyist" Socialist Workers Party call for! "Food for Kampuchea now!" and "End Australian complicity" demands the SWP's Direct Action (25 October) echoing its international mentors: "It is the elementary duty of governments around the world—and especially of the US government, responsible for so much carnage in Indochina—to mount a massive international relief campaign". (IP, 8 October 1979). The SPA was only slightly more direct when its Central Committee "appealed to US President Carter to respond positively to the latest Soviet proposals" on arms reduction.

**But what is it all for? Surely the US has no desire to restore the former**



Pol Pot regime, despite the latter's valiant effort to beat the US own record for brutality in Southeast Asia. The Khmer Rouge gang, however, is now out of power and divorced from its earlier connection with an anti-capitalist state structure. There is no guarantee now that the Khmer Rouge, if returned to power militarily would maintain the collectivised property forms of the Kampuchean deformed workers state. Their victory, if carried out in step with their new rightist allies, could lead to the restoration of a capitalist regime. Ieng Sary made this point repeatedly in a series of interviews in June, as he appealed to former enemies in the Lon Nol/CIA gangs to "forget the past", and revealed Khmer Rouge ties with Thailand, ASEAN countries and anti-communist hill tribes in Vietnam (IP, 11 June, 18 June and 9 July 1979). And as the *Guardian Weekly* suggested (30 September), there are other "neutralist" (red capitalists) alternatives as well: "The only possible defence for support of Pol Pot is that it leaves open the "Sihanouk Option."

With 180,000 Vietnamese troops in Kampuchea, none of these "options" has much chance at present; but none of them would exist at all were it not for the Thai/imperialist aid and comfort. Vietnam itself is hungry and devastated by war, pressed militarily in the north of China, and internationally isolated except for its alliance with the Soviet Union. But the Russian bureaucracy refused to honour its treaty with Vietnam during the Chinese invasion in February, opting instead for the illusion of "detente" with imperialism; and the longer the imperialists and their Thai and Chinese allies can keep an anti-Vietnamese option open in Kampuchea, thus forcing the Vietnamese army to remain, the greater chance they have of making the national question work against the Vietnamese.

The *Spartacist* tendency warned in January that continued Vietnamese occupation of Kampuchea, while it might improve the quality of life in the short run, "will increase the poison of national chauvinism" between the Kampuchean and Vietnamese peoples (Work-

ers Vanguard, 19 January) and will ultimately be incompatible with the national democratic rights of the Khmer Rouge people. Though the chances of the discredited Pol Pot rallying a popular anti-Vietnamese upsurge are slim indeed, the Vietnamese leadership will inevitably increase those chances with its own national chauvinism and an imposed "federation" of Indochina.

A genuine Soviet federation of Indochina—in which Vietnam would necessarily play a leading role—could only be based on enduring solidarity of the Khmer and Vietnamese people under democracy, not puppet governments.

While pointing out that a struggle for the national existence of the Khmer people could develop, we took no side in the original squalid border conflict in 1978 between the qualitatively similar Pol Pot and Vietnamese regimes; and while opposing the Vietnamese invasion of Cambodia in January, we refused to join US imperialist demands for the immediate withdrawal of Vietnamese troops following Hanoi's sudden victory. "History will decide", we said, whether the national question would come to predominate in Indochina as it was not clear whether "given a choice, the Cambodians (would) rather have national independence or schools, marriage of their own choice, food, children and wages" (Workers Vanguard, 2 March). But the manoeuvres of the imperialists, Thais and Chinese Stalinists could pose the possible emergency of a serious anti-communist military force composed of Pol Pot and "free Khmer" rightists, subordinated to an imperialist drive to restore capitalism in Kampuchea. The military victory of such a force could only rob the Khmer people of any choice, and reimpose the domination of imperialism in part of Indochina, thus striking a blow against the Vietnamese revolution as well.

—Courtesy: Australasian Spartacist,  
November 1979.



## Dr. Lucien W. Pye

—Colombo,—

DR. LUCIEN W. PYE, Professor of Political Science, Massachusetts Institute of Technology delivered a lecture at the American Centre on the theme "American Foreign Policy in Asia, with special reference to China." At the outset of the speech the Professor declared that in any review of American Foreign Policy should not overlook the fact that American policy has to be approached from the point of view of Super power relation and as a bilateral relation. This problem is not there for many other countries. He made the audience to understand that all the developments in the world are not necessarily the work of Americans. America has reaped the benefits of some unintended developments. He briefly analysed the changing pattern of love and hate of American-Chinese relation in the present century where each in turn has been friends and foes of Japan. The recent developments have undergone different phases till it was strengthened. According to him, it is China more than America that wanted the friendship.

The developments in Indo-China and the estrangement and rift between Soviet Union and China may be said to be the immediate cause that account for this change of policy. This was worsened by the mutual influence Soviet Union and China, respectively tried to exert on Vietnam and Kampuchea. The US-China friendship (1971) was a blow to Hanoi. It is quite clear that China has lost its influence in Vietnam. This was largely due to historic animosity between the Vietnamese and the Chinese. The Vietnamese had been the target of Chinese attacks several times roughly between 111 B.C.—939 A.D. Vietnam was ruled by Chinese and even subsequently had been a vassal of China several times. Secondly, China was apprehensive of the influence exerted by Russia over Hanoi. To this one may even add that Communists of Hanoi drew their inspiration from French Communist Party and were scornful of Mao's revolutionary innovation. Also the fact was that Hanoi was upset by China's invitation to Nixon as

the Vietnam war was still on. It is undoubtedly China which helped Vietnam tremendously at the early stages of the Vietnamese war. However, with the cultural revolution in China and domestic problems Chinese influence began to weaken in Hanoi. But immediately after the war, China also stopped all aid to Vietnam, the way Soviet Union did to China. Hanoi reacted with de-urbanising policy which was actually meant to hit the Chinese and this accounts for the problem of the "boat people."

In the meantime, opinion in Washington was divided as to whether to normalise relation with China or to go ahead with the SALT II or to play Chinese card with Russia. However, the Americans preferred to normalise relations with China. To start with President Carter's administration was not for Kissinger's China policy. But when developments suggested towards a normalisation of relations with China it proved to be fruitful. In the meantime, Hanoi signed a peace treaty with Soviet Union and it invaded Kampuchea and which in turn led to the invasion of Vietnam by Chinese forces. In this context, China too more than ever was willing to come forward to normalise relations with America. Besides this development, China had all the other problems after the death of the old leadership and when the problem of the gang of four was settled, China was in a more stronger position to follow a clear policy. China also realised the urgent necessity to modernize China and they started sending out Chinese scientists abroad.

In modernising China its leaders faced severe problems. He summarised the present day crisis in China and the urgency for modernisation as follows:

**I. Science and Technology:—** Chinese were more theoretical than practical. Their staff were inadequately trained. Only 4% of the High School students enter the Universities while the balance 86% have to be found employment elsewhere (i.e., in other fields). In the past they sent them to the countryside for work. This was possible so long there was revolutionary fervour. But, now that revolutionary fervour is receding, Chinese now require not simple but sophisticated machinery and technology for development.



City based dwellers are no longer willing to move to the countryside. On the contrary there is a new trek towards the towns and cities from the countryside.

**2. Industry:**— (a) China has not built up enough industries. Foreign investments are fast flowing in on Chinese invitation. This could be seen in all fields—Banks, Factories etc. Fertiliser plants are given top priority. This is necessary to revolutionise and increase the agricultural productivity. Chinese also face the skilled man-power problem—especially at the managerial level in the modern sense and China has to go a long way in this field. (b) Besides the industrial output, China also faces the problem of giving motivation for the workers. Wages have been very low and the prices of goods were kept very low. Availability of labour in factories and other places have in excess of the required number—this sometimes works to 25%-50%. As expected, China has redundant labour and it was by necessity the prices and wages were kept low. However, when labourers expected some material benefits, wages were increased and this led to gap in the wage earning class. Thereafter they switched on to giving bonuses. Even here, the enthusiasm of the labourers are receding without required material benefit. Thus now a market situation has been created. For the last twenty years or so Chinese wages, and prices were frozen. Once this is relaxed there is bound to be inflation in China.

**3. Agriculture:**— The present rate of yield is not sufficient to feed the growing population and it is absolutely essential to strive for two or three harvests. Good price also will have to be paid to the farmers, which in turn may affect the urban population. As such there is bound to be tension between these two sectors of the population. His analysis of agricultural productivity appears to be correct. Because Mao's priority for more grain production led to the wanton destruction and clearance of forest pastures and fertile land. As a consequence of this, there occurred severe land erosion and climatic changes. This in turn affected grain cultivation and yield.

**4. Defence:**— China is 20 years behind compared to Soviet Union. Chinese are out shopping in Europe for arms. Though defence

spending now gets the lowest priority, yet it is bound to extract good portion of Chinese resources in the years to come.

**5. Leadership:**— All these developments finally lead to the biggest problem, whether the Chinese political leadership can withstand all this strain.

**Briefly, the main theme of the lecture was that China was fast drifting towards a market economy. However, the Professor did not touch nor did he predict whether all this could lead to any change in the political ideology. Because any drift towards market economy in Chinese recent history may bring violent changes—may be another "cultural revolution."**

**DISCUSSION ON AFGHANISTAN** Prof. Pye refused to accept the traditional thesis of a Warm Water Port Policy of Russia. His suggestions were that the intervention in Afghanistan might have been prompted by two motives: (a) to put more pressure on the Gulf States; (b) to cut off the oil supply line to United States. To which one should also add the close ties of America and China. Soviet Union may feel surrounded and hence their attempt to break that line of encirclement.

**On Aid to Pakistan**—he would have been surprised if India had not reacted the way it did, especially Indira Gandhi. India was a mouthpiece of Soviet Union. Her protest will not reach American policy makers for India has not said anything good about the USA even when India was getting maximum benefit in the 1950s and 1960s, and of course America cannot forget that it was through Pakistan that America reached rapprochement with China. **Of course he did not touch enough on the other side their partiality for Pakistan against Indians even in the 1950s and 1960s of one leaves out 1971 Bangladesh crisis.**

He said that one could not say that detente has been abandoned—nor was it a return to cold war. It was simply a return to Super power competition.

**On the whole the Professor's speech had all the trappings of an academic approach. But what was lacking was clear perception of the current thinking**



in the third world countries—his arguments in the matter of supporting unpopular rulers like the “deposed” Shah and Zia, were not very convincing. So long it serves American purpose, anything is good—that is what one gathered.

He was also particularly surprised when he learnt that responsible opinion in Sri Lanka did not have any fear for India, while many other countries on the borders entertain such fears. It was still the same old patronising attitude that what they (Americans) might think right is really right?

HE HAD ALSO UNDERSTANDABLY OMITTED any reference to non-aligned movement, to which many of the countries in the region belong. On the question of India's reaction to events in Afghanistan one cannot help draw parallel with the reaction of America's friends in Western Europe. Does it differ very much from that of India? Though the western European allies of America expressed their sympathy they never wanted to be dictated by America. This is what made the correspondent in the *Economist* issue of January 12-18, 1980 describe them as “America's Friends, The dogs that didn't bite, much.” But the correspondent in *The Guardian* weekly, January 27, 1980, John Palmer, went to show how it was unpalatable for Western European countries to blindly follow America's “Europe Reluctant To Anatagonise The Soviet Bear”.

“If there was any single message which came over loud and clear from the meeting of Common Market and NATO foreign ministers on the Afghan crisis it was that the allied governments of Western Europe are not willing to follow an American lead in foreign policy questions as unthinkable as they did 20 years ago. . . . All in all, the impression one gets of the reactions of most EEC governments and of many members of the European parliament, is of people going through motions. That is not to say they do not genuinely feel indignant and moved by the Russian incursions but they are genuinely at a loss to know what Europe or the West can do about it that has a salutary effect on the Soviet leaders and does not strike at their own economic interests.”

“The Americans seem to have made three miscalculations in launching their campaign for a militant and united Western response to Afghanistan. The first was to place too much significance on the British Government's enthusiastic support for ideas such as the Olympic Games boycott.” To which one may add, on the other hand it was the traditional British policy that have high priority and consequently created fear of warm water port policy of Russia.

“The Thatcher Government is regarded elsewhere in Europe as way out on NATO's hawkish wing and—in French eyes at least confirmed as America's Trojan horse in the European Community.”

“Secondly, the Americans did not understand that institutions such as the EEC only move at the pace of the slowest least enthusiastic member.”

“Thirdly, and most significantly, they have not appreciated the clear difference of appreciation about the global repercussions of detente between themselves and most European States.”

“Whatever they say in resolution of condemnation, many European governments simply do not believe that their relations in Central Europe with the Soviet Government need be seriously affected by events in a far off country like Afghanistan. After all, the French intervene militarily in the affairs of Sovereign black African states without expecting the Kremlin to impose sanctions against them. Even in West Germany, the right wing opposition leader Franz Josef Straus, while criticising Schmidt government for begging ‘lily livered’ over Afghanistan has not suggested putting Western German exports to the Soviet Union at serious risk.”

These developments, while indicating structures on Russian action, explicitly show that neither the countries of Asia region nor the so-called allies of America, other than China and Pakistan are not in a mood to succumb to the mass hysteria emanating from Washington. As an academic of some standing the Professor could have certainly expressed his opinion on the Indian Ocean Peace Zone proposal which Sri Lanka proposed and the UN has taken up for serious consideration. New developments in Iran and Afghanistan,



more than any other line since the end of the Second world war has become the scene of Super power competition, a pact, of course, for the countries of Asian region to take serious care of."

—A Tribune Correspondent

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## IRAQI REPORT

### Islamic Conference

Islamabad, Jan. 29,

Iraq reaffirmed its rejection to the intervention of super powers in the affairs of other states irrespective of the justifications and circumstances. Iraq pointed out the fact that the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan has been followed by a counteract on the part of the United States represented in the attempt of the American colonialism to recover its influence over the area extending from the Arab Homeland to South-East Asia.

This came in the speech of Dr. Saadoun Hammadi, Foreign Minister, delivered yesterday at the evening session of the emergency Conference of Islamic Foreign Ministers. The Foreign Minister reminded that President Saddam Hussein had declared Iraq's attitude towards the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan in his speech on Army Day which coincided on 6th of January. Dr. Hammadi said that Iraq condemned the Soviet armed intervention in Afghanistan and considered it as a serious action in the current international life. Iraq had voted for the UN resolution which demanded a total and unconditional withdrawal of the Soviet forces from Afghanistan. He further said that as the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan was counteracted by the United States, endeavour to recover her influence upon the area extending from the Arab Gulf to South-East Asia, the US attempt has become a matter of fact and not a mere presumption. US officials avowedly spoke of a military force for immediate interventions in the Arab Gulf area and the USA is continuously trying to obtain military bases and naval facilities in certain areas. The situation created by the events in Afghanistan was meant to be used as a justification and

an excuse for the Western Camp States to interfere once again in the affairs of the Islamic states neighbouring Afghanistan, a matter which requires close attention and treatment.

In a draft resolution in the foreign military intervention in the African Horn, the conference denounced the presence of the forms of the Soviet Union and its allied states, and demanded a total and unconditional withdrawal of these forces and a liquidation of foreign bases in the African Horn and Red Sea areas. The Foreign Ministers agreed in their meeting today on an Iraqi draft resolution condemning the establishment by Sadat's regime of relations with the Zionist entity and denouncing the American-Zionist Sadat conspiracy against the Arab Palestinian people and jeopardising the security and independence of the Arab and Islamic states. The resolution called upon the Islamic states to discuss boycotting Sadat's regime politically, economically and culturally and to unite their efforts with those of the Arab states in this respect. The resolution called upon all Islamic states to support the Palestine Liberation Organisation as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people in her struggle against the Zionist entity and towards securing the national rights of the Palestinian people including the right to self-determination. The resolution condemned the continuous Zionist aggressions against Southern Lebanon and called for putting on an end to these aggressions.

Islamic Foreign Ministers also called today for a political, cultural and economic boycott of the Egyptian Regime following Ruler Anwar Sadat's move toward "diplomatic ties" with the Zionist Enemy. Egypt was suspended from the Islamic conference organisation last year after signing its so-called peace Treaty with the Zionist enemy. The resolution recommended that the Arab boycott of Egypt be extended to include all Islamic countries. They should observe the boycott rules of the Arab League and co-ordinate their efforts with the Arab states, the resolution said. The resolution warned Islamic countries of the dangers of being drawn into the plans and strategies of the super-powers which made them an arena for great power conflicts.

—Baghdad Observer

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## Mao's Betrayal

MAO'S BETRAYAL by Wang Ming, four articles by the leader of the Chinese and world communist movement, completed before his death in 1974. Translated by Vic Schnierson, Progress Publishers, Moscow. Available in Canada from Progress Books, Toronto, Cloth \$ 6.95, 278 pp. Wang Ming, a man who always saw the central role of the industrial working class in China's struggle for socialism, was a consistent opponent of Mao's schemes from a very early period. As long as he was a force and influence in the central committee—and he remained so until the 1950s—Mao could not peddle his brand of political opportunism openly.

The publication of Wang Ming's last work, *Mao's Betrayal* deserves attention. This book sheds more light on the internal mechanism that would some day lead China into alliances with Pinochet of Chile and South African apartheid. There is much that stands out about Ming's book.

For those still flirting with the notion that the "Great Cultural Revolution" was in any way great, cultural or revolutionary, they should read Wang Ming's descriptions of the attacks on the Chinese trade union movement, the progressive Chinese cultural tradition and the purges of proletarian elements from the Chinese Communist Party that took place during this period. For those interested in the problems created—rather than solved—by the Great Leap Forward in the 1950s, Wang Ming also provides plenty of fruitful food for thought. There are, however, two points which even more than others make a deep impression.

THE FIRST is that every advance that Mao made to consolidate his political power was done at the expense of the Chinese working class—whether in 1942, 1957 or 1966. The second point is simply that the power of Mao's blind ambition and underlying this, his insatiable ego, was a driving force in everything he did. Wang Ming describes vividly what a lot of people have been thinking for some time; that Mao's ego knew no doubt. The Chinese leader was obsessed with himself

and spent an inordinate amount of time trying to engineer his own personal immortality. In the process, he created a following and a movement which was based more on religious-type adulation than democratic centralism.

There is a section in his book, where Mao Tse-tung, early in his career, meets with Wang Ming and tells him of a desire to create "Maoism". Seeing how Marx and Lenin had become the acknowledged leaders in the movement for socialism, Mao felt it was now his turn. And he explained to Wang Ming, "Marx has his 'ism' and Lenin has his 'ism'. Now is the time to create 'Maoism.'"

This was in the late 1930s.

In order to create his 'ism', Mao did not hesitate to rewrite the history of the CCP in the 1930s, personally taking credit for the advances of the Chinese revolutionary movement. He tried to pass himself off as a great poet and philosopher as well. Finally he would ruthlessly pit one Chinese Communist leader off against another for 35 years. And in this, he met with success, a success that would cause havoc in the CCP. In regard to Mao's ego, Wang Ming exposes an interesting aspect of his character. Like so many other bullies angling for a power base, Mao was very sensitive to anyone who would criticize him in the slightest way. Even some of Wang Ming's more minor criticisms would bring forth a wave of almost uncontrollable wrath. While mounting the principles of a collective process, of democratic centralism, Mao was an individualist, an opportunist, putting his own personal interest, his own rise to power with the CCP, far ahead of any other considerations. Any concessions he might have made in the process were merely tactical. Wang Ming helps remind progressives of the importance of the collective process, which the Mao Tse-tungs and the Pol Pots can never respect because it interferes with their personal ambitions.

—Rod Prince' *Canadian Tribune*





# Confidentially

## Victoria's Hydrocracker

IS IT NOT TRUE that in the *Quidnuncs* column in the *Tribune* of February 16, 1980 (Vol. 24 No. 32) it was set out that "very recently the tenders for the Victoria Dam in the Mahaweli Project were received in sealed envelopes. Two internationally known firms had submitted tenders both having high-powered local agents. Let us call the firms X and Y. Within twenty-four hours of the submission of the tenders—the local agents of firm X had the photostat copies of every page of the tender submitted by firm Y...."? That to supplement this information another *Quidnunc* has sent us more information about the massive Victoria Project Tender? That Syndicate X had so manipulated the award of the tender to enable the tender to be awarded in favour of their foreign principal FXA, a firm that was not the lowest bidder? That the local "agency" commission for the job, it is understood, amounts to several millions of rupees to be paid to those concerned in Sterling Pounds? That the Syndicate X had, from the beginning, obtained all the strictly confidential documents and have with their partners been able to use these documents to virtually demolish their competitors and gain an unfair advantage? That their contact channel for these operations is alleged to revolve several individuals—fathers-and-sons teams technocrats who had earlier been employed by the contractors etc. etc.—with some inside and others outside?

THAT THE DOCUMENTS sent to *Tribune* are photostat copies of a few documents sent to several high and important persons in the country? That the documents make a prima facie case of smart wheeler-dealing? That it is said that all's fair in love, war and tenders? That all that has taken place is allegedly permissible in the system—because industrial espionage is part of the system—like the payment of commissions and that nobody should have any complaints about a successful tenderer parting with some of his profits to those who had "helped" him? That this argument is alright if the commission-

getters are private individuals but when officials entrusted with the work and sworn to secrecy use their positions to help tenderers to gain an unfair advantage over a rival then it is time to probe into what is obviously a dangerous *malaise*? (That Government should blacklist firms employing sons or nephews or close relations of persons employed in concerned State organisations where fathers or uncles or close relations hold high and responsible posts? That persons who had formerly worked for contractors should be kept out of sensitive tenders? That in this case Syndicate X took care not to register representation as agents of the tenderer, but this was only a smokescreen and a camouflage? That when the Tenders were opened, the big foreign firm FXA whose interests were overlooked by Syndicate X was not the lowest tenderer for the Dam or the Tunnel? But it is now alleged that matters were so manipulated that the tender has gone to firm FXA? That to achieve this SYNDICATE X obtained (a) photostat copy of the entire tender documents of each and every tenderer who participated in the tender; (b) a preliminary letter on the tender bid dated 21st December 1977 by the firm of Consulting Engineers, Sir Alexander Gibbs, & Co., based in London; (c) hand written tender evaluation report of the Local Technical Committee headed by Mr. Kulasinghe; (d) recorded proceedings of the preliminary views of the Technical Committee together with a comparison of the figures of all tenders giving a complete breakdown item by item of the tender? That it is further stated all these documents were hand-carried to London for a conference between contractors and the Consulting Engineers in the British capital on 9/1/80? That assisted by these documents Company FXA obtained a definite advantage at the meeting over its rivals and Firm FXA became the lowest tenderer for Dam and Tunnel when in fact they were not at the opening of the Tender? That after the lessons learnt from the Petroleum Corporations' Hydro-cracker tender, the Victoria Hydro-cracker will be a hard nut to crack?



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## **"... EVERY AXE BLOW ON A TREE IS A BLOW ON THE NATION'S HEART..."**

Land Minister Gamini Dissanayake declared yesterday that all the Armed Forces would be deployed if necessary to protect the country's forest resources. Addressing the 31st annual general meeting of the Forest Officers Union yesterday, he warned that if Sri Lanka's forests continued to decrease at the current rate, the last tree would be lost before the end of this century. "Every axe blow on the trunk of a tree is a blow against the heart of the nation", he said.

Criminals who continued to destroy forests would be dealt with severely, he warned. The Minister said there were powerful people behind some of these rackets. During a certain era politicians too had been directly involved in the felling of trees. "This Government is facing the paradox of policies geared towards forest conservation on one hand and exploitation of forest resources for construction purposes on the other. Wood is an essential item for construction projects. After exploiting a quota of local wood, the balance will be imported from abroad", he explained.

The Minister promised to look into the requests of the Forest Department officers and to provide them with essential facilities such as transport and firearms as soon as possible. "I am not happy with the progress in forest conservation"; he added.

—Sun, February 3, 1980.

**IT'S NOT ENOUGH TO PROTECT THE TREES  
IN OUR JUNGLES AND OUTSIDE.**

**IT'S ALSO NECESSARY TO LOOK AFTER  
EVERY SEEDLING PLANTED SO THAT  
EVERY ONE GROWS UP TO BE  
BIG, TALL AND STRONG.**

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