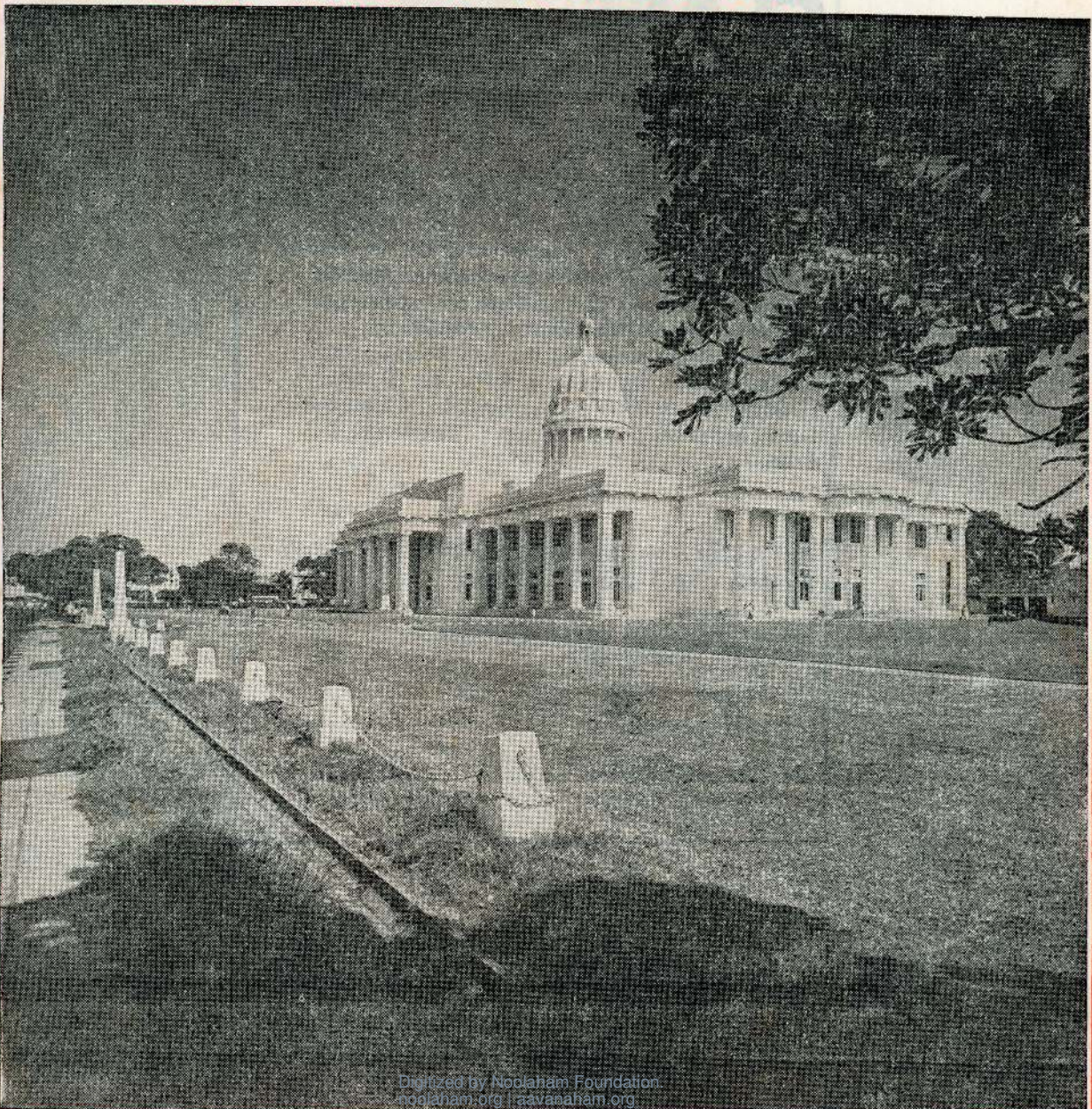


Vol. 24 No. 30 — February 2, 1980 — No. 2-50

# TRIBUNE



**25TH YEAR OF PUBLICATION**



# 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.

*Race & Class* is now available to individuals at \$12/£5.50 per annum (\$20/£8.00 for institutions).

I enclose \$12/£5.50 for one year's subscription to *Race & Class* starting with the current issue.

NAME .....

ADDRESS .....

..... Zip Code .....

Send to the Institute of Race Relations, 247 Pentonville Road,  
London N1 9NG, UK (please send cash with order, cheques to  
be made payable to 'The Institute of Race Relations').

# Letter From The Editor

THE PICTURE on the cover this week has nothing to do with what we propose to set out in this column. We have used the photograph of the Town Hall in Colombo only to remind our readers that a magnificent transformation has come over the city. In a short period striking changes have taken place. The city is cleaner and has been beautified. High rise buildings are coming up everywhere. Buildings that should have disappeared a long time ago are coming down fast and new buildings are rising in their place overnight. All this is good. Every prospect pleases and the only thing that is vile is that the owners of houses and landlords now fleece their Sri Lankan tenants. It is claimed that the new luxury housing coming up in the city and the FTZ and in Greater Colombo will force down rents. But until this happens some protection must be afforded to tenants in the city from unlawful and unreasonable eviction in order to get fancy rents from foreigners. If this were done, much of the sense of fear and insecurity—and consequently anti-government resentment—which now afflicts Sri Lankan tenants in Colombo will disappear. It has also become necessary for members of the public to be able to ask questions from Ministers and the Government—and get answers from them. In this connection, we have received a suggestion from a long standing reader, Fr. Claude R. Daly S.J. of 31, Clifford Place, Colombo 4. This is what he writes: "From time time I wonder about some point or other and would like to have questions asked in Parliament. But since I am not acquainted with any Member, I am not aware of how to go about getting the question asked. It occurs to me that others might have a similar difficulty, and Tribune could start a column, similar to QUIDNUNCS, to enable readers to present QUESTIONS FOR MINISTERS. After seeing the questions in Tribune some Member of Parliament might be emboldened to ask the question on the floor of the House. For example, the question might be directed to the Minister of Transport: The Ceylon Daily News dated January 9, 1980 carries a half-page advertisement headed SRI LANKA CENTRAL TRANSPORT BOARD/REGIONAL TRANSPORT BOARD." Four columns of statistics give respectively, for the years 1977, 1978, 1979 and 1980: 1. Average number of buses operated daily; 2. Number of passengers carried during the year; 3. Number of kilometers covered during the year; 4. Revenue collected during the year. But one important column has been omitted, (namely 5.) Total expenditure for the year. Without this item, the other information is incomplete and even misleading. How did this important item of information come to be omitted? Will the Minister please supply the information? Namely, the total amounts expended by the Sri Lanka Central Transport Board/Regional Transport Boards for the respective years, so that a comparison can be made between the revenues collected and the moneys spent. Otherwise people will get the idea that someone is trying to deceive the public." We gladly welcome this suggestion and we will throw open as many pages as necessary for the purpose of highlighting such questions.

## TRIBUNE

Ceylon News Review  
Founded In 1954  
A Journal of Ceylon and  
World Affairs  
Editor, S. P. Amarasingam  
Every Saturday

February 2, 1980  
Vol. 24 No. 30

## TRIBUNE

43, DAWSON STREET  
COLOMBO - 2.  
Tel: 33172.

### CONTENTS

EDITOR'S NOTEBOOK	
—Only Questions	p. 2
JETS & RAINS—2	
—New Rainfall Patterns	p. 3
CHRONICLE	
—Jan. 17—20	p. 6
HAVANA DIARY-18	
—Sept. 7th	p. 9
PLANTATIONS	
—What Next?	p. 12
BOOK REVIEW	
—Kandyan State	p. 13
BACKGROUND	
—US-Iran	p. 16
AFGHANISTAN	
—After Karmal	p. 20
WINDOW ON INDIA—24	
—Indira Gandhi	p. 21
INTERNATIONAL	
—Teheran, Kabul, Washington, Bonn	p. 24
CONFIDENTIALLY	
—Costs & Living	p. 32

## Only Questions

Colombo, January 25,

Reader, Fr. Claude R. Daly S.J. has raised a very important matter (vide Letter From The Editor). People want to know what the government is doing. In recent weeks, many readers have told us "what is the use of your critical analysis and constructive suggestions, week after week—nothing ever happens even if everybody concerned reads what you write... .." Father Daly refers to our *Quidnuncs* column. We have raised questions of great importance not only through *Quidnuncs* but also through several other columns like *Believe It Or Not* and *Confidentially*. Readers keep asking us, or more often writing to us, "what has happened about the Orchids Fraud, the Milk Board rackets, the Tender Scandals and all the other malpractices that *Tribune* exposed... ..? Why don't you follow up what you have exposed and tell your readers what action, if any, has been taken. Or, if no action has been taken, find out why the government has not acted? Was *Tribune* wrong? Were any investigations carried out? Has the matter been hushed up? Or has it been shelved, pigeon-holed and put permanently into the morgue?"

In any case, we tend to agree with our readers that, for a time at least, it is far better to ask questions than indulge in interpretative analysis. If the authorities concerned choose to answer them—well and good. Otherwise our readers will have to draw their own conclusions. The Ministry of State which is in charge of Information, we hope, will take the initiative to obtain the answers from the appropriate authorities and make it available to our readers and if they so think fit to the public.

In the *Notebook*, for sometime at any rate, we propose to ask questions on matters we have raised or spotlighted in the past and also new questions of current topicality:

1. Has anything been done to deal with persons who had tried to make suckers of potential orchid growers under the cover of a grandiose project? Did these persons not

try to lead our state-owned banks up a garden path? Is it not significant that these persons and the ADA, which sponsored it, have not sought to reply or challenge the exposure in the *Tribune* of what was tantamount to a colossal fraud? Can the government continue to entrust these persons with responsible functions vital to the welfare of the country?

2. Will the Ministry of Agriculture release for publication the production figures of subsidiary foodcrops for 1979? Is it not time to bring up to date the Survey (published by the Ministry of Plan Implementation) of the trends in subsidiary foodcrops based on the 1978 figures? Is the government satisfied that these statistics reflect the true position? Is everything that is produced reflected in the figures? Do some collectors of agricultural statistics concentrate only on those who obtain loans? How far is the allegation correct that the figures are exaggerated to show that everything is on the up and up or even that things are "not so bad"? How real and true are our agricultural statistics?

3. Has there been a major drop in the collection of milk by the National Milk Board from October 1979 onwards? If so, why the drop? Can the mess in the Milk Board be cleared if the old musketeers responsible for the mess continue to rule the roost? Has the Minister concerned been taken for a ride?

4. What has happened to all the onions and chillies that were imported? Why are chillies (imported or otherwise) being sold at Rs. 18 to Rs. 19? Is it not a fact that the bulk of Bombay onions imported recently were only available in retail at Rs.

6/- to Rs. 7/50 a lb? Is it not true that employees of the CWE and the MD who were given quotas or who were able to buy the onions under various names at the official price of Rs. 3/00 odd re-sold them to hawkers and merchants who hawked them at about double the price?

5. How many senior planters under the JEDB and SPC remain on the estates from Friday to Monday? How many spend their week-ends in Colombo or other holiday resorts? Who pockets the petrol bill for their rushing hither and thither?

Answers to questions one, two and three should be available from government files. Questions four and five may need a little investigation, but unless government can move fast, its image and credibility will go down fast.

x x x

## KATUNAYAKE

### Jets And Rains—2

by V. Buvanarasundaram

LATE IN MARCH, the Sun starts advancing into our hemisphere and sends the tourists back home. When the Monsoon begins in May, they would have all gone back and only the summer schedule aircraft, will operate through Katunayake. Schedule flights are now increasing with more and more airlines flying through Katunayake to all parts of the globe. Whatever direction they fly, they all have to, at this time of the year, take off in a south-westerly direction against the monsoon winds and on the only runway oriented, northeast—southwest. Those planes that fly to the Malt dives, Seychelles and to Africa, fly straight-ahead after take-off. Those to Bangkok, Singapore, Hong Kong and Australia, turn south

after take-off. They fly along the southwest coast till Galle and then turn east. Those to Europe, Middle-east, India, Karachi, Teheran and Tashkent turn northwest to north.

1979 monsoon failed. The moisture-laden winds that bring in rain clouds were not there except in June. Monsoon began and ended in June. The rains in June were much above June average in most places, particularly along the southwest coast, perhaps due to the aircraft that went down south. Jaffna, where June is the driest month of the year had doubled its average and Mannar, usually the driest town in June received ten times its average. Katunayake Airport has no similar average. It received 24.74 cm, raining on 17 days of the month and the surrounding coconut lands taken as a whole had more than average rains but its abnormal distribution by the runway left some in excess and others in drought.

NEGOMBO, so close to the airport in a north-westerly direction, at right angles to the runway received only 9.91cm, raining on 11 days. Wester Seaton behind the taking off planes received 22.91cm on 13 days and Walpita farm, immediately to the southeast and again almost perpendicular to the runway received 33.12cm on 12 days. It rained more days at the airport but the heavier showers were to the south. The higher June totals were still further south, Henarathgoda 41.48 cm on 17 days and Horogahalanda 46.15cm on 21 days. At Walpita, it rained at the rate of 2.76cm per day, at Henarathgoda 2.44cm/day and at Horogahalanda 2.09/day. These three lie on a line oriented southeast—north-west, at right angles to the runway. Monthly totals increased along this line, going away from the runway, while the strength of the showers decreased. The lighter nuclei could float in the atmosphere, longer and farther than the giant ones.

The exhaust fumes of the aircraft taking off into the sea, first seed the clouds over the airport and then, those over the sea. The clouds will then, sooner than if left alone, grow taller and bulkier and when grown tall enough would precipitate, over the sea, coast or inland, depending on the speed of the winds that carry them. The clouds do not move with the same speed of the wind that blows through them. A cloud is only a conglomerate

tion of water droplets and ice particles, moving with two thirds the speed of the wind that blows through them is only a rough approximation.

Negombo got into drought recording only 57% of its normal rains in June. The clouds that would have moved in from the sea and rained there if left alone, had rained earlier into the sea. Hunumulla, which lies behind Wester Seaton in the line runway was 33% in drought and Patheragala, still further away on the same line was 38% in deficit, while Wester Seaton that robbed some of these rains was 25% in excess. An area bounded by Wester Seaton, Alexandra estate-Jaela, Horagahalanda, Henarathgoda and Walpita Farm received excess rains, robbed from the immediate adjacent area to the northeast of it. Ambanpitiya in this drought stricken area received only 13.13cm, which is only 42% of its normal rainfall for June.

Planes turning north had given excess rains to a similar area north of the runway. This area is bounded on one side by the sea and on land by Karukuwa, Katupota, Kankaniyamulla and Lunuwila. At the centre of this area is Horakele, whose fall of 17.57cm was 21% in excess of its normal rains for June. Immediately outside this excess rain area is Ratmalagara, whose 4.61cm took it badly into drought with only 32% of its normal rains. A little further away along the coast to the north is Chilaw which lost 29%. Still further north inland is Hankole (3.35cm), robbed of 73%, Anamaduwa (1.63cm) robbed of 84% and Maha Uswewa (0.51cm) robbed of 91%. Poor feel the robbery more. All these robbed rains were poured into the excess rain area or into the sea.

'78 monsoon was a moderate monsoon, Galle showed an excess of 5%, Ratnapura 4% and Colombo a deficit of 9%. It had its burst in May and its tail wagged in September. It is the body, June, July and August that failed. In the area around the airport, many rainfall records are not available—stations are being abandoned. Airport got

75.59cm for the monsoon period, which is almost the average of Negombo for this monsoon. Negombo get only 62.67cm, which is a deficit of 17%. The line along the runway, this time showed an excess, Hunumulla +06% and Kurunegala +15%, others are not available. Katupota to the north of the runway also received an excess of 14%, the rest of this land of coconuts was in deficit rainfall. Perhaps much of the rains was lost at sea.

'77 monsoon gave good rains to Colombo, to the coconut land around the Airport and even to Jaffna but Galle and Ratnapura showed deficits. Alexandra estate, which received its normal monsoon rains in 1978, received an excess of 27% in '77. The biggest monsoon excess was again at Kurunegala—+38%. Negombo too showed an excess of 27%. In the midst of these plentiful rains, Katupota to the north of the runway showed a deficit of 6% and Hunumulla, which lies along the line of the runway, further away than Wester Seaton showed a fantastic deficit. Its fall of 58.42cm was 42% below its monsoon average. The airport received 116.71cm and Wester Seaton 130.30cm, the latter's fall was 60% in excess of its normal monsoon rainfall. The runway robbed Hunumulla, kept some for itself and gave some to Wester Seaton, ultimately Wester Seaton had even more than the Airport. Beggars can't be choosers but, they have more than the givers. The runway line further extended from Hunumulla reaches Patheragala. In a normal monsoon Patheragala gets 87 cm and Wester Seaton 82cm. In 1975, both had the same monsoon fall of 100cm., thereafter Wester Seaton, always had a higher monsoon fall than Patheragala. In 1976, Wester Seaton had a monsoon fall of 50cm and Patheragala 41cm, in '77 Wester Seaton had 130cm and Patheragala 84cm, a difference of 46cm, '78, 116cm and 75cm, even in 1979, when there was no proper monsoon, Wester Seaton 60cm and Patheragala 54cm.

THE TWO MONSOONS northeast and the southwest blow in opposite directions. We may therefore expect that in the annual totals, the excesses and deficits would balance each other. Katunayake records are available only from Feb. 1960. We did not remember to get the records maintained by the RAF. In 1961, Katunayake airport recorded 109.37",

Negombo 109.90" and Wester Seaton 91.95". Thereafter the Airport has always been recording more than Negombo. 1963, Katunayaka Airport 161.38", Negombo 137.74" recording more than Negombo. 1963, Katunayaka Airport 161.38", Negombo 137.74". In 1975, 82.19" & 54.96". This difference is a little too much. In 1976 and 1977, Negombo rain gauge has been leaking undetected and the readings cancelled. It may be that the leak had started in 1975. In 1978, after the rain gauge was changed, Katunayake recorded 83.19,, and Negombo 74.72". After 1970, Wester Seaton has always recorded more than Negombo and in 1978 it recorded 99.21".

We deal in 30yr. averages, 1911—1940, 1931—1960 and so on. No one knows the reason for this. If it is, that Saturn takes 29½ years to go round the Sun, then a 60yr average should do better, since it would account for the movement of Jupiter as well. Jupiter takes 12 years to go round the Sun,—an year in each sign of the Zodiac. In the averages computed so far, Lunuwila, Negombo, Wester Seaton and even Batalagoda lay on the 77" line, in the intermediate zone (75"—85"). After the airport was constructed, the rainfall pattern seems to have changed.

In the available records from 1961.

19	Airport	—	Negombo	—	Wester Seaton	—	Lunuwila	—	Batalagoda
62.	95.28"	—	86.58"	—	81.87"	—	78.13"	—	63.61"
63.	161.38"	—	137.74"	—	102.28"	—	101.20"	—	80.46"
64.	83.28"	—	80.71"	—	92.49"	—	72.47"	—	62.80"
65.	85.78"	—	78.45"	—	95.65"	—	67.97"	—	64.63"
70.	119.93"	—	112.22"	—	98.24"	—	92.74"	—	73.24"
73.	83.49"	—	80.38"	—	104.78"	—	81.47"	—	46.36"
74.	77.02"	—	70.46"	—	79.39"	—	68.28"	—	30.82"

The 30yr average (1931-60) Of the three rain—gauge stations before Batalagoda, in line with the runway are, Patheragala 93.67" Hunumulla 84.15" and Wester Seaton 77.08". Patheragala is in the wet zone with an annual rainfall of over 85" and Hunumulla is just out of it. In 1978, when Wester Seaton had an annual rainfall of 99.21", Hunumulla had 70.15" and Patheragala 89.67". From 1962, Hunumulla has been recording less than Wester Seaton, sometimes the deficits the have been well over 30". In 1977, Wester Seaton 105.69" Hunumulla 68.17", in '69, Wester Seaton 89.47 and Hunumulla 44.21". In the ast four years of records available, Patheragala has always recorded less than Wester Seaton. The biggest deficit has been in 1976, when Wester Seaton recorded 87.49", Patheragala had only 74.85".

The next set of averages, 1951-80 will be worked out at the end of this year. Six hundred odd rain gauge stations have now dwindled to a mere two hundred and even they do not have continuous records. Anyway from available records it is apparent that Airport and Wester Seaton will creep into the wet zone, with an annual average of over 85", while Hunumulla and Batalagoda will drift into the dry zone, less than 75" and Patheragala into the semi-wet

zone (75-85"). Could this be the cause of the unproductivity of Coconut lands in recent years?

This forced precipitation seems to be happening at other airports as well, that record breaking fall of over 40cm at KKS airport last September. Periyakulam, immediately in front of, taking off aircraft from R.Cy. A.F. airport at China Bay, had a fall of 100cm, last November. The highest for the entire island and 186% more than its normal for November. Kantalal, inland and lying in the line of the runway had 38.84cm, yet 26% more than its normal for November. The airport had 74.35cm and Trincomalee over 50cm. Palugawatta a station of similar situation to Katunayaka Airport during the Southwest monsoon as Periyakulam is to China bay during the northeast monsoon has been closed down, otherwise we would have heard of some record breaking falls here too.

This robbing of Peter to pay Paul is the only valid reason against augmenting rainfall in a tropical island as ours. As one of our past Directors said "You want to take our rains into your lands". This is far fetched, anyway possible depending on the location of the airport. The alternate airport at Hingurakgoda may do it but an undivided Sri Lanka should not grumble.

Jan. 17 — Jan. 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, JANUARY 17:** All children from the Kindergarten to Grade 10 in the 9700 schools in the island will receive new school text-books tomorrow; President J. R. Jayewardene will inaugurate the Free School Text-book Distribution Scheme at Nakkawatta Mahinda Maha Vidyalaya in the Kuliya-pitiya electorate at 9 a.m.; some 14 million books printed at a cost of Rs. 50 million would be given away under this Scheme, an official spokesman said yesterday. The cabinet decided yesterday to set up a special unit of the Central Bank to monitor international tenders to ensure that the government gets the best value for the money it spends on contracts awarded on tenders. The National Prices Commission hoped to fix a maximum retail price for chillies in consultation with producers and producer organisations, a spokesman for the NPC said yesterday. The switch over to the new working hours in the public sector took place smoothly yesterday with public servants arriving for work on time; the new hours are from 8 a.m. to 3.30 p.m. with a 30 minute break for lunch. The Pensions Division of the Ministry of Education will go computer to expedite pensions of school teachers who are now forced to languish for nearly four years to get retirement benefits—CDN. The eighth University of Sri Lanka in Batticaloa which will cost the government Rs. 100,000,000 phased over five years will start its academic year in the first week of October; it will initially be affiliated to

the University of Peradeniya and Prof. S. Rajaratnam has been appointed Vice Chancellor designate—CDM. The government has clamped down a ban on picketing; the Cabinet at its weekly meeting yesterday decided on this course of action after a lengthy discussion on the wave of incidents during the picketing campaign that has been launched by Trade Unions belonging to Opposition parties. The Central Bank Employees Union will stage a one day token strike in protest against the interdiction of its entire executive committee by the Bank over the recent picketing campaign, a Union press release stated yesterday—SU. Five Trade Union leaders and another person who were pasting posters condemning the assault on trade union leader Alavi Moulana and for publicising the protest rally to be held today were taken into custody by the police last night; the workers union of the Central Bank will hold a token strike today in protest of the suppressive measures adopted by the government to stop picketing—DK. Government MPs have restarted transferring teachers on political grounds after regional education directors were given the power to transfer teachers by the Education Services Commission—JD.

**FRIDAY, JANUARY 18:** There were thousands of happy, smiling faces throughout the country as 21,000 tenant families became the proud owners of the houses they had been living in for many years; at colourful ceremonies throughout the country thousands of tenants wept for joy like little children as title deeds of the 21,000 houses, occupied by more than 100,000 were given away free under the United National Party government's program to set up a house-owning democracy. Mr. V. N. Navaratnam, a senior member of the TULF and MP for Chavakachcheri has resigned from the Party's Disciplinary Committee; informed sources said Mr. Navaratnam had resigned in protest against attacks made against him by a pro-TULF paper because he had praised the Prime Minister in Parliament; Mr. Navaratnam told a public meeting held to celebrate Thai Pongal in his constituency that he would not speak on behalf of the Party in the Parliament or participate in any foreign conferences on behalf of the Party until his name was cleared—CDN.



With the lifting of the State of Emergency in the North, the TULF's media has given publicity locally to the propaganda campaign which was carried out in the West by the London-based Tamil Co-ordinating Committee during the Emergency in the North—CDM. Government will shortly introduce food regulations to protect consumers from foods that are injurious to health; it will lay down conditions for maintaining quality, clearly describing the quality factors, so that consumers are properly guided in selecting the items from the market. A review of the country's foreign policy since the advent of the United National Party Government is expected to be a highlight when President J. R. Jayewardene meets some of Sri Lanka's Ambassadors and High Commissioners on Monday—SU. The Deputy Food Commissioner said yesterday that there need be no fears about shortage of wheat flour in the country as steps have been taken to import ample stocks. General Secretary of the Ceylon Mercantile Union, Mr. Bala Tampoe speaking at a protest meeting at Hyde Park yesterday evening said that Trade Union Committee members were prepared to have direct discussions with the President—VK. 1.6 million acres of crown land is to be distributed among the people before 1983—LD. The Minister of Finance Mr. Ronnie de Mel has reported to President that the political campaign of Mr. Upali Wijewardene, the Director General of the GCEC would harm the investments in the FTZ; a number of ministers have protested against the campaign launched by Mr. Wijewardene—DK.

**SATURDAY, JANUARY 19:** President J. R. Jayewardene yesterday said he was happy to inaugurate the distribution of free textbooks, a scheme which he had proposed 35 years ago. China yesterday gave a loan of Rs. 500 million to Sri Lanka to be used for various development projects. Colourful ceremonies were held throughout the country yesterday to mark the inauguration of the Rs. 50 million free textbooks scheme. Trade and Shipping Minister Lalith Athulathmudali will pay a three-day official visit to Jaffna beginning tomorrow. A four-member delegation from the United States Agency for International Development arrives in Sri Lanka today on a five-day visit for talks on the USAID program

to Sri Lanka—CDN. President J. R. Jayewardene indicated yesterday that the Government might have to cut down on the Rs. 5,100 million annual expenditure on subsidies to find money for development and employment for the youth—SU. Leader of the Opposition, Mr. A. Amirthalingam said yesterday that one could not help but praise the PM who has made people who had hitherto no houses into house-owners but some people misinterpret their praise—DP. All Trade Union leaders requested the workers at the protest rally yesterday against the suppressive measures of the government to defend their rights—ATH. The government has decided to hand over all state corporations to the private sector so that local and foreign businessmen can exploit the people—JD.

**SUNDAY, JANUARY 20:** The Ceylon Tourist Board and the travel trade are deeply concerned that staggering rates now charged

My No. LA/1592  
The Kachcheri,  
Jaffna.

10 January, 1980

**Land Acquisition Act (Chapter 460) As Amended By The Land Acquisition (Amendment) Act No. 28 Of 1964**

Notice Under Section 7

The Government intends to acquire the land described in the schedule below for a public purpose. For particulars please see the Part III of the Gazette of the Democratic Socialist Republic of Sri Lanka No. 74 of 01.02.1980.

**Schedule**

*Name of Land :* Polwattai

Assmt. No. 188 Punnalai Road.

*Name of Village :*

Chankanai East (Ward No. 3 Maliyawattai within the T.C.'s limits of Chankanai)

*D.R.O.'s Div./A.G.A.'s Division :*

Valikamam West

*Lots Nos :* 1

*Plan No.:* P.P. Ya. 1460

**M. Panchalingam**  
Acquiring Officer,  
Addl. Govt. Agent,  
Jaffna District

by many hotels in Sri Lanka may result in the country being priced out of the market; "A tourist coming here for a tan often leaves feeling he's been skinned once he pays his bill", one trade source commented. The government has decided that there is an urgent necessity to prune some of the consumer subsidies that have long been a drag on the economy and it is likely that price adjustments in certain vital areas would be made in the next few weeks. The government has decided to crack a whip on public sector petrol consumption and limit it this year to 75 per cent—50. The Ministry of Defence has told the police to take immediate action to ensure that nude sea bathing by tourists is not permitted. Airlanka has signed a letter of intent with Lockheed-California Company, a division of Lockheed Corporation for the purchase of two Lockheed L 1011 500 Tri Star wide bodied aircraft—ST. Foreign experts stationed in Sri Lanka are costing Rs. 201 million a year,

a survey by the Ministry of Plan Implementation has revealed; the survey has estimated that there are 326 foreign experts in the country. Sri Lankan and Indian law enforcement agencies will hold bilateral talks on illicit immigration between the two countries, from January 29 at the Bandaranaike Memorial International Conference Hall in Colombo—WK. People over 18 years of age who have not obtained their identity cards will be liable to punishment—CM. The Police will add 1200 people to its cadre this year. A proposal to limit or to ban vehicles on poya days as well as on Sundays and from 10 p.m. to 5 a.m. every day is before the government the Ministry of Industries is considering the proposal—RR.

❁      ❁      ❁

### LETTER

Sir,

### Strength Of The Army

Apropos to matters concerning the strength of the Army which appeared in the *Tribune*, The Auditor General (if he has been kept in the dark!) will be glad to see the strength of the Army in full detail by Ranks and names, as they appear in Gazette No. 68 of the Democratic Socialist Republic of Sri Lanka, dated 21st December 1979—wherein officers and soldiers who have been awarded the President's Inauguration Medals, are named. (1) The Regular Force consists of 391 officers and 6887 other ranks; (2) The Regular Reserve (not mentioned); The Volunteer Force consists of 463 officers and 4943 other ranks; (4) The Volunteer Reserve (not mentioned). Total strength 854 officers, 11,830 other ranks. (5) The strength of the Civilian Staff is also not mentioned.

As the Regular Reserve, the Volunteer Reserve and the Civilian Cadre are part and parcel of the army, officers and other ranks of the Reserves and the Civilian Staff, appear to be members of the forgotten Brigade, without due recognition by the Higher Authorities!

**Watch Dog**

Colombo.  
Jan. 20, 1980

---

### The Land Acquisition Act (Chapter 460) As Amended By The Land Acquisition (Amendment) Act No. 28 Of 1964

(Notice Under Section 7)

Ref. No. EA/400/J 78 P 501

It is intended to acquire the land/lands described in the schedule below for a public purpose. For further particulars please see the Gazette of the Democratic Socialist Republic of Sri Lanka No. 74 (Part III) of 01.02.1980

**K. Parameswaran**  
Acquiring Officer &  
District Land Officer  
of Amparai District.

The Kachcheri,  
Amparai.  
16 January 1980

#### Schedule

- (1) *Situation*:—  
In the Village of Akkaraipattu Gramasevaka Niladarl Division in Akkaraipattu A.G.A.'s Division in Amparai District.
- (2) *Name of land*:— "Thottavalavu"
- (3) *Extent*:— Acres 1 Rood 27 Perches
- (4) *Plan No*:— PP Am/697
- (5) *Lots No*:— 1

## September Seventh

by S. P. Amarasingam

WHILST THE PLENARY SESSIONS went on Tuesday (4th), Wednesday (5th) and Thursday (6th), (vide *Havana Diary* No. 14, 15, 16 & 17), there were at the same time closed door meetings of the Foreign Ministers and also Presiding Body of the Summit of Heads of State or Governments. The Economic and Political Committees were also in constant session to complete their final reports. When Friday, September 7th dawned, it was known that in the early hours of the morning the presiding body of the Summit had concluded their discussions on the question of seating the Kampuchean delegation. It was officially announced that in the meeting a decision had been made to refer the question of the seat for Kampuchea to an *ad hoc* committee for study: that the Committee was to submit a report to the next Foreign Ministers' meeting; and that meanwhile Kampuchea's seat is to remain vacant. Before this decision was reached there had been a great deal of lobbying and politicking at the level of both the Foreign Ministers and the Heads of State.

On the 5th evening, I had sent a despatch which will give a picture of the situation at that time about the Kampuchean question and other matters: "A *Prensa Latina* communique on the Kampuchean question states that the Cuban Chairman of the Foreign Ministers had reported that as there was no consensus the matter should be put up to the Heads of State and that in the meantime the seat should be kept vacant. Those anxious to show that Cuba was taking unilateral decisions had made it out that the ruling was that there was consensus in favour of no-seat for either.

"Cuba, it is pointed out, was following the traditions of the movement in every way. Of the countries that spoke against the ruling that there was no consensus the matter should go up to the heads of state, Singapore had declared that their complaint was that Pol Pot Kampuchea had been excluded from the start. Niger, Somalia, Indonesia, Korea, Gabon and Bangladesh, though for

Pol Pot Kampuchea, indicated that it was best the matter go up the heads of state. Nepal did not want the seat declared vacant and Yugoslavia had stressed that even if a majority was in favour of the no seat formula it did not amount to consensus. The matter is now fully in the lap of the Heads of State and it is not known whether any decision will be arrived at before they conclude.....The official Yugoslav paper *Politika* has published a report from its correspondent covering the Sixth Summit that Fidel Castro in his inaugural 'speech was extremely harsh'. His complaint was that whilst Fidel had proclaimed his anti-imperialist, anti-colonialist, anti-racist, anti-zionist and anti-fascist position, he had failed to mention the two blocs nor about the bloc power politics. The *Politika's* position was that blocs and power politics was a permanent source of danger to the non-aligned."

ON THURSDAY, THE 7TH AFTERNOON, I sent a further despatch. "While the speeches are being made at the Plenary, the Heads of State have been in closed session to finalize various items on the agenda. The Foreign Ministers had sent up a recommendation that the no-seat formula for Kampuchea had the consensus. This had been questioned by some countries stating that there was no consensus. At the final meeting of the Foreign Ministers, it is reported that only 15 of the 80 odd countries had put their hands in favour of Pol Pot and when the Chairman announced that the consensus was for a no-seat for either party, four countries had spoken against this ruling, viz., Yugoslavia, Singapore, Malaysia and Korea. The matter is now in the hands of the Heads of State who were in closed session until the early hours of the morning. Observers report that as of yesterday Yugoslavia is once again on the war path against Cuba on practically every issue. They have begun to question the concept of consensus through private consultations; they do not want the west and the USA alone blamed for the troubles of the world—they want the other super-power also blamed; they take a different approach to OPEC from that taken by Castro and the Arab countries; they have revived the request for organisational and institutional changes."

"American correspondents have spread rumours that Peru and a few other countries

might stage a walkout if Cuba and its allies persist in certain formulations in the Final Declaration. Peru now has a rightwing conservative military government which had overthrown a popular government. This government had not been expected to attend the conference but the Head of State had come. Some western correspondent are hoping that some Asian countries would also stage a walkout. Whilst the West and the USA might want to teach Castro a lesson by getting a few countries to walk out, knowledgeable observers say that it was in the interests of the West to have these members inside the movement. Having failed to push the movement in the way they wanted, will a walk out be staged by a few countries to win world headlines? The conference hall and its lobbies are full of the most fantastic rumours as the summit nears its end. One interesting development is that President Carter has released four Puerto Rican freedom fighters who were held in the United States. It is recalled that a year ago Fidel Castro had offered to release four CIA agents held in Cuba if the USA would release the four Puerto Ricans. The Cuban side is expected to respond today or tomorrow.....*In the plethora of rumour and gossip, hard news is difficult to come by and when it does come it is set in the context of confusion. This is not different from what it was during the Fifth Summit in Colombo or the meeting of foreign Ministers in June this year. The last twenty four hours is the most exciting and it is not different in Havana.*"

On the same day, (Friday 7th) in his regular meeting with the press, Lisandro Otero, spokesman for the Conference stated the Peruvian Ambassador to Cuba, Edgardo de Habich, had asked him to convey his categorical denial of a number of inaccuracies in the French News Agency (AFP) reports to the effect that President Francisco Morales Bermudez, President of Peru, had withdrawn from the Conference because he was not satisfied with how it was progressing. The Peruvian ambassador had said these false and distorted news reports were a manoeuvre aimed at detracting from the success of the Sixth Summit, and had added that President Morales Bermudez was very satisfied with the results of his visit to Havana. On his return to Peru, President Morales Bermudez had made a number of statements to that

effect to the local press. Lisandro Otero was asked by some journalists if it was true that President Carter had sent a message of greetings to the Conference, as in the case of the Belgrade Foreign Ministers' Conference. "We can say that so far no message of greetings from President Carter to the Head of State participating in the Conference has been received."

ON THE PERUVIAN WALKOUT STORY, I had sent a despatch, "AFP news despatch about a Peruvian walk out from the Summit has brought a greater sense of togetherness in Latin America. The AFP calculation obviously was to make the early departure of the Peruvian President a stick on which to hang the story combining it with a visit to Marshal Tito a short time before his departure. Bermudez's date and time of departure was known from the time he arrived. It is likely that the AFP and other western elements, which have been trying to induce some Francophone and Asian countries to stage a walk out, thought the Peruvian President's early departure could be used to raise the red-herring about a walk out.

"The Peruvian Ambassador, the Head of the Peruvian delegation at the Sixth Summit, Valdiviesco, at a press conference in the Conference Hall itself said that he was 'forced to deny an irresponsible press despatch, which is not a product of journalistic inexperience (the journalist, Pvaldo Tcherkasy, AFP Correspondent in Washington), but rather has a very obvious purpose with broader implications' which were 'to down-play the success of the summit' and to create problems for the excellent and very friendly relations between Cuba and Peru. Valdiviesco said the best proof that the AFP report was false was the long exchange of views between Castro and Morales Bermudez. It was a pity he said the AFP had sent such a report. In the stories sent by this reporter the head of the Peruvian delegation and others with him had been described as 'underlings'. Valdiviesco said that the proof of the journalist's bad faith is that 'we had treated him very well' and now calls an Ambassador of thirty years standing and who presently represents Peru before international organisations in Geneva an "underling". The AFP journalist, whose stories were denied, did not attend

the Valdevesco press conference in a conference room a few metres from the office used by the News Agencies, among them the AFP. As a result of this, an interview given to the Peruvian TV by Fidel Castro about the new rule of the ANDEAN Pact countries were shown all over Peru immediately. The AFP story has boomeranged in a big way. Even those who had hoped to point to changes made in the Cuban draft as some kind of defeat for Cuba have quietened down the success of the Summit is assured."

On the morning of Friday 7th, after the decision of the Heads of States or government on the seating of the Kampuchean question was known I sent the following despatch: "The Kampuchean Ghost has been finally and completely laid to rest so far as this Summit is concerned. According to an official statement the Foreign Ministers had sent a report to the Summit that there was no consensus. The Board (Presiding Body) of the Summit which is chaired by Cuba and which consisted seven Deputy Chair-persons from Africa, seven from Asia, four from Latin America and two from Europe, decided after a long discussion that the seat will remain vacant and agreed to set up an *ad hoc* committee to submit its conclusions at the next Ministerial meeting of the Movement. It was also decided not to send invitations to either of the two delegations claiming representation until the Movement had made a decision. No sooner this decision was known the representatives of Pol Pot left Havana in a huff.

"This is no doubt a serious setback for those who wanted to seat Pol Pot under cover of continuing the *status quo*. According to observers only Singapore and Malaysia have entered their reservations on this decision so far. The Yugoslav delegation said it could not give its approval but that it would not object to it either. The highlight on the debate of the Kampuchean issue was a letter of protest from sixteen countries to state that the Cuban Chairman of the Foreign-Ministers had acted unilaterally by ruling, 'that there was consensus in favour of your text (no consensus) and that it would be transmitted to the Heads of State for their consideration. We strongly protest against your arbitrary decision and demand that the said text be not transmitted to our heads of state and government.' They also alleged that the

meeting had been adjourned abruptly. They wanted more discussion. The letter had been signed by sixteen (16) countries, Senegal, Zaire, Singapore, Malaysia, Burma, Nigeria, Somalia, Yugoslavia, Indonesia, Korea, Gabon, Bangladesh, Comoros, Nepal, Bhutan, Pakistan and Zambia. Observers say that there was no doubt that this group wanted to prolong the discussions interminably so that the work of the Summit would end inconclusively. Sri Lanka had not signed this statement. The Heads of State refused to pay heed to such procedural objections by sixteen out of over ninety countries. Only four, in the last analysis had spoken up for Pol Pot namely Korea, Malaysia, Singapore and Yugoslavia. Others had been near-silent camp followers. As this tussle over Pol Pot went on, there was an announcement, from Pyongyang that Sihanouk had formed a government in exile in the North Korean capital.....

"Burma is the only Asian country which has threatened to walk out if the rules of eligibility, organisation, aims and objects were not changed in accordance to the view of non-alignment as understood by it. Burma has also suggested that a new non-aligned organisation be formed if the present one does not accept Burma's proposal. Observers recall that Burma has in recent years not been a very active member of the Movement and her sudden interest is a matter for comment. All Latin American countries including Peru, observers say have made it known that none of them would walk out. The Committees it is reported have nearly completed their work and the final documents would be ready soon. The only question that has not been resolved is the Egyptian question. The Arab states insist that the Egyptian question be discussed in the plenary before the resolution is finalised.....". Finally, I had cabled-

"Very early this morning (Friday 7th) President Jayewardene left for Japan via Panama and Los Angeles. He had won the hearts of the Cubans and the Latin Americans by his graceful conduct, statesman like speeches and especially by initiating a fund to help victims of Hurricane David which devastated the Dominican Republic—presently at the Summit as a guest. Sri Lanka had begun with a donation of 25,000 dollars and within a short time the fund had grown to a colossal amount and is still growing.

(To be continued)

## What's Happening In Our Plantations?

by Grassroots

FOR THE PAST TWO MONTHS there has been a lot of news—newspaper reports, official communiques and statements and of course the usual rumours and whispers and guesses about major changes in the Plantations or Estate sector. We are referring here essentially to the TEA Plantations—not so much to Rubber and Coconut, although the management structure is interwoven. The new Minister of Plantation Industries, Mr. Montague Jayawickrema, made a statement in Parliament during the Budget debate of the votes of the Plantations Industry Ministry that a new Management structure will soon be introduced. It was also categorically stated by the Ministry that "Management of the Tea Estates will not be handed over to the Private Agency Houses. It was added that the new management will consist of Four Corporations and that there will be what is popularly called further Rationalisation between estates managed by the State Plantations Corporation (SPC) and the Janatha Estate Development Board (JEDB)". There is also authoritative information that Mr. Bradmon Weerakoon who has been functioning as Secretary, Ministry of Plantation Industries from July 1977 will soon relinquish that post and be full time Secretary to the Prime Minister (in which capacity he has been also Acting for the past 6 months).

Now, the latest news is that the entire re-organisation of the Plantations sector is being decided by a High-Level Committee of Bureaucrats—and is completely devoid of "practising planters"—except for the two Chairmen of SPC and JEDB. The High Level Committee it appears consists of the Cabinet Secretary, the Secretary to the President, the Secretary Public Administration and the Secretary, Plantation Industries. As to how these Four Bureaucrats can solve the future of the Plantations is a mystery to all—especially to the 800 odd planters who are eagerly awaiting (in silence) the final decision.

While we do not challenge the ability and integrity of the individual members of this committee, we do challenge their experience and expertise in the Plantations Sector. If the subject of their deliberations was, for instance, cyclone rehabilitation, we cannot complain—but anyone will agree the people who know best about the plantations are the planters themselves.

According to further information, it appears that the deliberations now revolve round the main structure of the future operation. That the present two Corporations are to become two subject Ministries, i.e. Ministry of State Plantations (SPC) and the Ministry of Janatha Estate Development Board (JEDB) and the two present Chairmen to function as the Secretaries of these two new Ministries. In addition there will be FOUR new Corporations (each headed by a Chairman and working Directors etc.) to manage all the existing estates, Tea, Rubber and Coconut. The Regional officers will go. (Most of the Senior Regional Managers being nominated as the Chairmen of the new Corporations). One of the undecided issues are where to site the EIGHT new Corporations—in Colombo or in the respective Regions—housing being a problem.

QUITE APART FROM ANY COMMENTS OR CRITICISMS as to whether what is now being proposed and discussed is the BEST for the Plantations, one can rightly conclude that the Government has been at fault in its approach to re-organising and revitalising the Plantation sector. After the Estates takeover in 1974, the sudden increase in world tea prices camouflaged the rot and the mismanagement that set in on our state-run estates. When world prices stabilised, the deficiencies began to show like a festering wound. The heavy export duty the Government levied, coupled with the wage increases, resulted in losses on several estates which made profits earlier. Political interference also was quite common. Replanting Targets were never achieved. Tea Factory modernisation also lagged behind. Machinery and Equipment for Tea factories were also not manufactured and delivered in time. The Manufacturing Agencies like Commercials and Browns blamed the SPC and JEDB for not placing orders on time while the two Cor-

porations blamed the Manufacturing Agencies for their liquidity problems and for not having sufficient raw material and staff and for delaying production and for asking for too much in advance payment. Moreover, still the common talk is that planters are more often seen in Colombo and holiday resorts and in the towns, markets and bazaars of their estate areas rather than in the field. It is also said that few planters—even senior hands—now attend Muster. The reputation of the planting community (the PD's and SD's) has indeed reached a low point—perhaps the lowest it can reach. There have been also instances of Superintendents robbing and selling Tea through the back-door. For example, when Estate "A" makes a profit, the neighbouring Estate "B"—with a similar acreage and statistics makes a loss. What is the Reason?

However, for the past 2½ years since July 1977, the Government did nothing drastic to arrest the deteriorating situation. Surely they could have appointed a Presidential Commission to look into the whole question (Mr. M. D. H. Jayawardena had himself proposed this) and also hear Public evidence—where field level planters (who do not have the ear of influential politicians) could also have contributed. But this was not done and only *ad hoc* measures were taken and they have been of no avail.

The Tea and Rubber Plantations constitute the life-blood of our economy. If this sector continues to fail as it has done for the past 2 1/2 years, the entire development effort of the Government will be nullified. It is still not too late for His Excellency the President to devote some special and extra-time to look-into the proposed re-organisation of the Plantation sector. Let not the Committee of Bureaucrats now sitting on this matter be made the scape-goats for future failure.

BEFORE WE LEAVE THIS MATTER, we like to ask the Government, i.e. the Leadership—as to why it permitted the Secretary of the Plantations Ministry, Mr. Bradmon Weerakoon to act as Secretary to the Prime Minister also for the past 6 months. Did the Government feel that the Plantations Industry was

not a full time job that its Secretary had enough time to spare to do a second job—and not an easy one being Secretary to the Prime Minister. Or did the Government feel that the Plantations Industry was doing so well that its Secretary could assist the Prime Minister's office as well. Mr. Bradmon Weerakoon himself should have realised that his fulltime services were required at Plantations Ministry and that he had no time to act in another post as well—about a month of which he had to spend abroad when the Prime Minister went for the Commonwealth Conference and also visited China. It is also a fact that while functioning as Secretary, Plantations Industries, Mr. Weerakoon has been out of the island for a considerable period of time on official work to Washington and Rome and Geneva and also as a Family Planning Consultant to India and Pakistan. The total number of days abroad might add up to quite a number.

*If the Government commits such blunders by depriving such an important Ministry of a full time Secretary—the highest executive—why blame the Chairmen of the two Corporations, the Regional Manager and the planters in the field. Someone must assume responsibility for such decisions.*

*What the Government must realise is that each TEA estate is worth a Bata Shoe Company or a large Government Corporation. That is the type of attention that our plantation Sector needs. Procrastination is indeed the thief of time when it comes to this sector. There is no question of hastening slowly.*



## BOOK REVIEW

### Kandyan

**RITUALS OF THE KANDYAN STATE.** By H. L. Seneviratne. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press (Cambridge Studies in Social Anthropology No. 22), 1978. xii, 190 pp. Maps, Figures, Tables, References, Index. \$ 19.95

Each summer in Kandy, Sri Lanka, thousands of tourists and Buddhists behold a remarkable procession known as the Asala Perahara, in which the Buddha's Tooth Relic is carried around the streets of the city ac-

TRIBUNE, February 2, 1980

accompanied by elephants, dancers, torches, costumed dancers, and the insignia of the gods. According to Seneviratne, Sri Lankans cherish the Perahara as a fine example of precolonial cultural glory, but their admiration for the rite is tinged with ambivalence. Many of the ritual roles in the Perahara and at the associated Temple of the Tooth are allocated by an old, anachronistic principle of organization that is seen as out of step with the modern, egalitarian political ideology of the contemporary socialist regimes. The Temple subinfeudates its lands to tenants of various castes, who in return are obliged to perform services at Temple rituals and in the Perahara. The servants must express their inferiority during the rites by demonstrating their subservience to the Temple authorities, who are members of the high ranking Radala subcaste. Despite the modern consensus that caste-based privileges and service obligations should be eliminated, the Peraharas continue to be held. The persistence of these anachronistic rites thus poses two problems: first, can an analysis of the Perahara and of Temple rituals tell us something about the society in which they arose, namely, the Kandyan Kingdom (ca. 1500-1815)? Second, how is it that these anachronistic rites, with their feudal and hierarchical paradigm of ritual relations, have managed to survive the recent rise of socialist administrations committed to dismantling vestiges of caste privilege?

Seneviratne addresses these two issues in a superb, if compact, monograph, using the potent tools for analyzing ritual developed by British social anthropologists. Beginning with a convincing argument that the core of pre-colonial Kandyan ritual has come down to us unaltered, the author maintains that the Perahara and the Temple rituals were cornerstones of political legitimacy for the Kandyan monarchs. The survival of the rituals after the collapse of the kingdom stems, in part, from their symbolic value for a people trying to redefine their identity in the wake of colonial subordination. But it is also the case that the rituals persist because they continue to perform some of their pre-colonial political functions. Aspirants for political office today, like the Kandyan kings of the pre-colonial era, commonly attempt to present themselves in the Perahara as the worthy

objects of veneration and deference, thus acquiring a religiously legitimated prestige that, for Buddhists, can be denied only with difficulty. Ironically, the socialist parties of Sri Lanka can be observed trying to control and to maintain the Perahara, which is the symbol par excellence of the old, feudal social order they say they wish to eradicate. Legislation was enacted years ago to abrogate the type of ritual obligations on which the Perahara depends, but implementation of these laws has not yet been extended to Temple lands.

Seneviratne's detailed monograph, with its sensitive analysis of the Perahara's enduring political role, should be read by anyone wishing to learn more about the vicissitudes of tradition in the new nations. This in itself is a significant contribution; yet the author, in his analysis of ritual in the pre-colonial Kandyan polity, presents material that will prove to be of great interest to students of traditional South Asian societies as well.

Studies of Theravada Buddhism in Sri Lanka have shown that, among the Buddhist laity, the distinction between the Buddha and the gods is not maintained clearly. According to the more orthodox monks, the Buddha cannot be propitiated, since his existence ended at the moment of his final release (*parinirvana*). Yet, at the Temple of the Tooth is worshipped as if it were a god. Seneviratne's meticulous and exemplary analysis of the Temple rituals demonstrates that they are similar to the rites carried on in the shrines (*devale*) of the gods. The Tooth's chief attribute is its absolute purity, a quality which it shares with the gods; furthermore, it is propitiated with the goal of ensuring the fertility of the earth and the timely arrival of the rains.

The success of the Temple rituals depended upon the performance of ritual roles by persons of the appropriate caste. While Buddhists concede that anyone can play a drum, it is nevertheless maintained that only members of the Drumming caste can drum in a way that is ritually effective; so it is with all those who are required to participate in the Temple rites and in the Perahara. In the Kandyan Kingdom, even the king had to play such a role in the Temple ritual. According to Seneviratne, the Kandyans believed



that only a king from a Ksatriya caste could govern righteously, a concept which for them included much more than canons of justice. A righteous king supported the Buddhist clergy and the Temple rituals with generous gifts and unwavering commitment. Just as a drummer of the Drummer caste had to drum in the rituals if they were to be effective, so too was it necessary for a righteous Ksatriya to support the rituals if the rains were to fail and the crops to grow well. The Temple rituals were, Seneviratne argues, an important cornerstone of the king's political legitimacy; if a Ksatriya held the throne and arranged for the performance of the Temple rites, and subsequently the rains fell abundantly, then his rule could not be questioned. Yet these beliefs imposed limits on the king's power. If the rains did not fall, nascent rebellions could gain considerable momentum. Furthermore, no one could claim the throne who could not claim Ksatriya descent, and the monks who shared custody of the Tooth at times refused to bestow it upon illegitimate usurpers.

Seneviratne's material shows that if the king accepted the Tooth and the Temple ritual as a basis of legitimate rule, he also accepted the feudal and caste principles of social organization that were the basis of Temple rituals and of land allocation in the kingdom. If the supreme manifestation of political power occurs in those regimes able to redefine social orders to suit the ruler's interests, it can be seen that the Kandyan king did not have great power. While he was free to crush illegitimate usurpers and engage in campaigns to enlarge the kingdom, the king was required to maintain the system of social relationships symbolized in the Temple rituals and in the Perahara. The king's righteousness, and therefore his legitimacy as ruler, were obtained at the price of his submission to ritually defined paradigms of social organization.

Students of South Asian religion and social organization will find some provocative implications in this monograph. It appears doubtful that, as Dumont has argued, the society of Sri Lanka departs fundamentally from the Indian cultural paradigm. In his *Homo Hierarchicus*, Dumont (following an earlier student of Kandyan ritual, A.M. Hocart) asserts that the king in Ceylon was the center of group religion and held the highest status in the

society. Therefore, in Dumont's view, Ceylon lacked the "crucial disjunction" of temporal power (kingship) and spiritual status (priesthood) that he finds in the Hindu caste system, in which political power is deemed inferior to sacerdotal purity (University of Chicago Press, 1970, pp. 215-16). In India, for example, the Brahman or priestly caste holds the highest rank even though its members are not infrequently poor and powerless. Seneviratne's analysis of the Kandyan case illustrates that, even by Dumont's criteria, the Sinhalese social order fits well within the cultural compass of India. The Kandyan king was by no means the center of the object of Temple rituals; on the contrary, he was, like the Drummer, a functionary in them whose proper social and ritual role in the whole emerged from his caste-ascribed mystical powers and capabilities (in the king's case, "righteousness"). The king, as the mundane "lord of the soil", was considered inferior to the monks, who, like Brahmans, achieve their superiority by withdrawing from the polluting and constraining world of social relationships based on reciprocity.

Thus, in pre-colonial Ceylon one finds another example of what Dumont takes to be the central culture theme of India. Yet the Kandyan example suggests that the "disjunction" between priesthood and power is an illusion—or perhaps a mystification—which obscures the real distribution of power in the total social order. The monks (and perhaps Brahmans in India, as well) wielded no small power in their ability to bestow the Tooth, and therefore legitimacy, on only those aspirants capable of supporting—and willing to aid generously—the ritual institutions. Seneviratne's monograph represents a milestone in South Asian studies, since it can no longer be said that analyses of society in Sri Lanka have little to tell us about the great themes of South Asian civilization.

Bryan Pfaffenberger  
Knox College.

—Courtesy: *Journal of Asian Studies*,  
XXXVIII (4) August 1979, pp. 835-837



# US - IRAN CRISIS

— who's to blame? —

by Baren Ray

IRAN

## SECURITY LAPSE?

When gloating Iranian students brandished a document purporting to show that two of their American hostages are spies for the CIA, one perplexing question arose: How could such a document be discovered? Prudent security procedures decree that "sensitive" cables (1) should not contain the real names of clandestine operatives; (2) should not be duplicated; (3) should be among the first documents to be destroyed in the event of an attack on the embassy. In Teheran none of these procedures seems to have been carried out. Security may simply have become lax, one well-informed observer charges, and top-secret cables may have been widely distributed among the embassy staff. Says an intelligence expert: "The problem is that everyone squirrels away in his office some of the stuff they invariably have to have on a day-to-day basis. As long as a project is active, the tendency is to keep a copy for yourself."

When the take over of the embassy began, embassy employees may not have moved quickly enough to destroy sensitive files. The locked filing cabinets were designed to withstand only a ten-minute attempt at forced entry or 20 minutes of lock picking. By the time the documents were released, the invaders had three weeks to work on the locks. Says a former CIA man of the Tehran employees: "They got caught with their pants down." Such sloppiness has angered Secretary of State Cyrus Vance who has ordered US embassies to use more care in safeguarding their secret files. One measure that has been largely abandoned is the dependence on thermite grenades for quick incineration of secret documents. US outposts are now instructed to rely on shredding machines. But no matter what technology is chosen, the vigilance of those handling it is the key to protecting US secrets. Observes an old embassy hand: "Vance's new rules will last until people forget about them."  
*Time*, December 17, 1979

THE US - IRANIAN POLITICAL CRISIS is now over a month old and does not yet show any sign of early or easy solution. In more senses than one the US-Iranian confrontation is different from any other previous conflict between imperialism and the people of a Third World country. It will be interesting to remind ourselves of the background of the present crisis which was triggered by the US Government admitting the deposed Shah into the United States against the well-known demand of the Iranian Revolution that the Shah must be returned to Iran to face justice.

Already towards the end of 1978, during the last weeks of the Shah's stay in Iran, there was a US decision envisaging the Shah to go

to the United States. When the Shah left Iran for Egypt on January 16, 1979, leaving his nominee, Shapur Bakhtiar as the Prime Minister, the very next day President Carter said: "He is now in Egypt and later he will come to our own country." But the Shah went to Morocco thinking he might still be called back to Iran and did not want to be "contaminated" by having taken political refuge in the USA. But after Khomeini's return to Iran, after the fall of Bakhtiar and the take over by the revolutionary elements, there was no more hope and he wanted to go to the USA, but by then US policy had changed.

By February, after Khomeini had assumed

real power, the USA decided not to sever rela-

tions with the new revolutionary regime and embarked on a new policy to save long-term US interests. Even in the face of massive anti-US actions by the Iranian people, the US government persevered with its efforts to maintain relations with the new regime, hoping to be able to influence the turn of events in Iran and save its interests. The strategy consisted of never recognising or directly contacting Khomeini but developing an understanding with so-called moderate elements like Prime Minister Mehdi Bazargan and Foreign Minister Dr. Ibrahim Yazdi and acting in various underhand ways to intervene in their favour in their struggle against the Khomeini radicals. On February 14 there took place a one-day take over of the US Embassy in Teheran by the Iranian masses—a foretaste of events to come.

By this time the Shah was approaching the US Administration through his former Ambassador Ardeshir Zadedi and later through old friends like Dr. Kissinger and Governor of New York Nelson Rockefeller. From January he had the services of Robert Armao, a Rockefeller public relations man who had been till August 1978 the official greeter of New York City. David Rockefeller, Chairman of Chase Manhattan Bank, gave him another senior aide Joseph Reed, who usually arranged Rockefeller's trips abroad. Reed visited 26 countries from January to arrange for the Shah's residence. King Hassan of Morocco did not want the Shah to stay for too long in his country, and the other countries approached were not agreeing. Meanwhile Kissinger was pressing the Carter Administration. Later it was Kissinger himself who got the British Government to agree to let the Shah into the Bahamas. On March 30 the Shah arrived in the Bahamas with Armao as his chief of staff. But it was understood that this would be a temporary arrangement.

KISSINGER met US Secretary of State Cyrus Vance in early April pressing him on behalf of the Shah, but it was still no go. President Carter shortly afterwards sent a message to Kissinger saying that perhaps the Shah would be admitted some time later but the time was certainly not yet right. In April Kissinger himself went to Mexico. The Mexican Government did not want the Shah but ultimately agreed to grant a three-month temporary stay visa. David Rockefeller and Kissinger

renewed their pressure upon the Carter Administration.

While these powerful pressures were building up outside the US Administration, the Central Intelligence Agency as well as the US Embassy in Teheran had warned against admitting the Shah into the USA. But these pressures would subsequently prove to be the stronger. By late July the State Department sent an urgent message to the acting US Ambassador Laingen in Teheran saying the pressures were mounting for the Shah's admission before October.

During the summer the Teheran Embassy was strengthened with additional steel doors and more marine guards were despatched to keep the mob away in the event of any mass attack, in order to gain time to destroy the secret code, papers and equipment. But when the attack did take place it was quick and massive that all the files were apprehended including papers about this particular decision.

Later in summer, the Mexican authorities agreed to let the Shah stay beyond the initial time limit and the State Department informed Ambassador Laingen accordingly. By this time Vice-President Mondale also joined the game and began to press the Administration in favour of the Shah. For eight months, it seems, President Carter and Secretary of State, Vance resisted pressure from the Shah's friends. During this period Kissinger accused the Administration of being weak and unable to stand by an old and trusted ally and reducing the Shah to the position of a "Flying Dutchman" unable to find a refuge. These pressures and approaches had become such a regular affair by then that the State Department appointed a senior official, David Newsom, Under Secretary for Political Affairs, specially to deal with all matters concerning the Shah. The Rockefeller man Reed was supposed to contact Newsom.

Meanwhile Ambassador Laingen had been made to understand that the Shah's admission would take place after the US policy of helping the so-called "moderate" elements like Bazargan and Yazdi to consolidate their position against Khomeini and the radical elements had succeeded. By September Reed began telling Newsom that the Shah was becoming ill in Mexico and

needed to come into the United States for treatment. In October Vance conferred with Iranian Foreign Minister Yazdi in New York at the United Nations in what was the first high-level meeting between the two Governments.

AT THIS STAGE the US Administration was hopeful and thought that with time some compromise would be possible with the Bazar-gan Government but the State Department did not yet accept the illness reports by the French doctors who have been treating the Shah. David Rockefeller arranged for US doctor Benjamin Kean of New York Hospital's Cornell Medical Centre to go to Mexico and examine the Shah. Kean diagnosed that the Shah had a history of lymph cancer. On October 16 Reed called at Newsom's office.

US officials were surprised by this new aspect and the State Department discussed the medical report. On October 19 there was discussion among the President's senior foreign policy advisers. The meeting did not think of denying a visa to the Shah. Vance said he had to be admitted on humanitarian grounds but the Iranian authorities must be told in advance and asked for assurances about Embassy security. In October 20 an urgent telegram was sent to Ambassador Laingen informing him that the President and the Secretary of State had decided to let the Shah in for a few days' treatment. On October 21 Ambassador Laingen met Yazdi and Bazar-gan.

For months the matter had been debated by the members and advisers of the Carter Administration and the danger of capture of the Embassy through massive mob attacks and all its members being held as hostages had been specifically expected. At one meeting President Carter is reported to have asked those pressing for admitting the Shah: "When the Iranians take hostages what will you advise me then?"

It has been argued in some reports that US officials thought that may be the Shah was really dying. But both calculations that the Shah was going to die soon or that the reaction in Iran to his admission to be totally wrong. After the Shah's arrival in New York, there were formal Iranian Government protests on October 26, 30, 31 and November 1.

On October 31, both Bazargan and Yazdi went to Algiers to participate in the celebration of the 25th anniversary of the beginning of the Algerian national liberation struggle.

Ambassador Laingen had arranged for their meeting there with Zbigniew Brez-zewski, the US President's National Security Adviser. This arrangement had been made in secret and kept unknown to Khomeini. When all this became known in Iran there was an explosion of mass anger. On November 1, Ayatollah Khomeini spoke on the radio and television calling on the Iranian people to act against this conspiracy against the Iranian Revolution. To be exact, Yazdi and Bazargan had warned the Americans that the Iranian people would never believe in the Shah's illness but had nevertheless promised protection for the Embassy.

On November 1, following Khomeini's call, demonstrations against the US Embassy had begun to take shape, but thanks to intervention by Yazdi and Bazargan they never moved towards the Embassy and the expected attack on the Embassy did not materialise. This made the US staff at the Embassy get caught off guard on November 4 when there were massive demonstrations to mark the first anniversary of the beginning of the mass uprising against Shah which had snowballed till Shah fled.

On November 4, there was a massive attack on the Embassy and the armed students succeeded in quickly entering the building and taking the entire staff as hostages. Just at the time of the take-over Ambassador Laingen and his deputy were at the Iranian Foreign Ministry. After this the Bazargan Government was dismissed and the Revolutionary Council was formally declared to be the real decision-making authority and the sources of all power, demonstrating the real state of affairs as it had actually become for quite some time.

THE ABOVE NARRATIVE has been gleaned from the American press. It is absolutely clear that the responsibility for creating this

present crisis rests firmly with the US Administration which, in spite of some initial hesitation, ultimately took a step of paramount hostility against the Iranian people, fully knowing what the consequences of its arrogant action would be. *They had known precisely that admitting the Shah would result immediately in a massive attack against the Embassy and in all its staff being taken as hostages. About the espionage and other illegal activities indulged in by members of the Embassy, of their being members of the CIA etc., many details have been revealed by the secret papers captured by the revolutionary students and subsequently duplicated and distributed to the world press.*

But the more serious matter is the role of the US Government in intervening in Iranian political affairs, seeking to turn the direction of the Iranian Revolution in accordance with its own interests. In fact this latest stage in US-Iranian relations, epitomised by the present month-old crisis, with the Iranians holding some fifty members of the US Embassy as hostages, cannot be understood and appreciated except against the background of 26 years of the USA's complete domination over Iran. One may remember that even the great mass upsurge that swept through Iran last year began with the movement to mark the 25th anniversary of the illegal and forcible overthrow of the legally constituted Government of Prime Minister Mohammed Mossadegh by a CIA—organised coup in 1953 that had brought Shah-en-Shah back and had imposed US domination of Iran behind the facade of the worst tyranny in modern history. In this larger sense the people's revolution in Iran is as much of a national liberation revolution as the recent transformations in many other newly-independent developing countries. *Since the official American brief only harps on one point, namely, the illegality of holding diplomatic personages as hostages, it is good to remember that the original sin started with the illegal action of the US-sponsored coup in 1953 apart from the continuation of a host of other illegal actions right up to the recent wholesale freezing of all Iranian assets in the USA.*

In order to counter the wholly-illegal reality of imperialist, fascist, racist or neo-colonialist domination and oppression, the

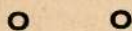
liberation forces have almost always had to use means and methods which by normal standard could be well called illegal. Clandestine armed struggle and guerilla warfare, not to talk of hijacking and holding of hostages, have been illegal but nevertheless many of these means have increasingly been in use in recent decades in conditions when other avenues had been closed to the fighters for freedom. It will of course be immediately pointed out that the events in Teheran have taken place not in the course of and during violent upheavals but after a new government had taken power which is also a member of the United Nations and therefore must abide by its obligations. The answer to this is both that the Iranian Revolution is not yet complete and is not through with its upheavals.

BEHIND THE NATIONWIDE DEMAND for Shah's return, lies his colossal crimes of murder and torture and mass detentions and the creation of the SAVAK, etc., as also the amount of Iranian national wealth salted away by the Shah as his private fortune which is so astronomically high that the Revolution cannot possibly let go of it. It is known that the greater part of the Chase Manhattan Bank's money belongs to the Shah. The Shah's holding of a quarter share of Krupps is equally well known. Probably this process of interpenetration of capital has gone to great lengths. All this makes it essential for the Iranian Revolution to get the US government formally to recognise the criminality of the Shah and the illegality of his possessions.

It seems this is not such an impossible objective with the given correlation of international forces. Apart from the question of the impotence of the USA's power to find a military solution to the crisis, it seems that a vast amount of information regarding all the criminal acts committed by the Shah in collaboration with various US agencies are today available to political circles in the USA. The same is true about the Shah's fabulous wealth carefully camouflaged in the stocks of perhaps a score of giant US multinationals. Though Senator Edward Kennedy has assured the US establishment that he will not rock the boat while the USA is engaged in efforts

to save the lives of the hostages, he has not withdrawn his statement about the Shah being a thief and a criminal. He also called for a kind of US self-criticism regarding its past record in colluding with the Shah. We can only presume that such an astute politician as Senator Kennedy is making such statements only because a great deal of this unpalatable information is now beginning to leak and offers the possibility of setting in motion a new wave of public opinion. There was also the statement of the Chairman of the US Senate's Commission on Banking who also seemed to have access to much of this information. Now there is the news of the arrival in Teheran of an unofficial six-member US group who have demanded that the Shah be returned to Iran and have even supported the Iranian action. This too is probably indicative of a growing new awareness in the USA about the criminality of Washington's policy towards Iran.

—Mainstream, December 15, 1979



## INSIDE AFGHANISTAN

### Karmal Takes Over

From a Special Correspondent

Kabul, Jan. 4.

Babrak Karmal who ended the reign of terror of Hafizullah Amin in the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan on December 27, 1979 with the help of numerous Soviet armoured units, declared a general amnesty for all those jailed under the previous regime. He also declared in his inaugural speech that the New Order in which he holds three key posts, namely, General Secretaryship of the (United) People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan, Presidentship of the Presidium of the Revolutionary Council and Premiership, would allow freedom of expression, assembly and press and the right to peacefully demonstrate. Further, according to a new humane Constitution which shall be framed soon, the people will participate in the affairs of state through local and National Assemblies.

Despite the rumours circulating in Kabul that he was out of the country when Amin was summarily executed, the heavy gates of the dreaded Pule Charkhi Prison to the east of Kabul were opened to allow groups of inmates come out daily while all the Ministers and other party bosses under Amin were taken to the basement of Radio Afghanistan the most well-guarded public building in Afghan capital from which Karmal's team-mates are running the whole show. Though Amin had also promised, after usurping absolute power from his mentor, Taraki, on September 17, 1979, that he would release all political prisoners, actually only a few scores from many thousands were set free. And contrary to the pledge he had made before the nation on TV that nobody would be jailed without the due processes of law, hundreds of men and women, especially "Parchamis"—a fraction of the PDPA supporting Karmal—were incarcerated daily.

Babrak Karmal has also declared that the former Ministers would be publicly prosecuted and freed if found innocent. But so far, so good. However, he is in deep waters as far as the presence in Afghanistan of the Soviet troops is concerned. The entire population, no matter of which ethnic group, is xenophobic. The tall tales told them by their fathers and grandfathers about the fierce battles they had fought against the British armies three times and how they safeguarded their independence are still fresh in their memories. And the British propaganda coming from British India since the "Forward Policy" days in mid-19th century has ingrained in the public mind an intense hatred toward Russians as cruel infidels during the Tzarist days and atheists after the establishment of the Soviet Government.

In his speech on the occasion of the 15th anniversary of the founding of the (United) PDPA, (1st January), Karmal declared, after incriminating the United States and naming Carter by name as the main culprit as far as insurgency in Afghanistan is concerned, that the limited Soviet units would leave after the provocations and aggressions committed by the internal and external enemies of the people of Afghanistan are ended and peace and security in the region are guaranteed.

Later, in an address to all the women in Afghanistan whom he greatly flattered by his usual rhetoric, he asked them to be cool and not listen to hostile propaganda. He also assured them that the new regime would grant them all their human rights. This was of course to ally their alleged fear of Soviet army men.

And Russo-phobia is overwhelmingly pumped into the veins of every Afghan who has got a transistor set primarily by the Voice of America and then by the BBC, the Deutsche Welle, Radio Peking, Radio Iran and Radio Pakistan as if these are all members of an unholy alliance. What they all try to achieve is to prove to the people the arrival in Afghanistan of the Soviet army units as a flagrant aggression committed against a non-aligned Moslem country by a neighbouring super power despite the fact that Soviet military was asked for by Amin who was in charge at the time and the protocol on this was signed by his Chief of General Staff in Moscow on December 8, 1979 or thereabouts.

According to the international law, Soviet military presence cannot be interpreted as an act of aggression but some people reason differently. They argue that all the left-leaning or socialist leaders from Taraki onwards have been groomed by the Soviets for future use and no matter which of them had made the demand, the nation was not consulted. Besides, since the majority of the population consists of staunch Moslems who resent socialism as a negation of religion or so they believe, Amin was not in a position to represent the people nor is Karmal authorised to agree to the prolongation of the stay in Afghanistan.

Therefore Karmal is in a real fix. On the one hand, his intentions seem very good because an underdeveloped country like Afghanistan has no choice but socialism. Also, cordial relations with its mighty northern neighbour is a must. But without the Soviet army units, when the Afghan army itself in a weak state Karmal's regime could be held to ransom by the rebels and other reactionary forces—some from abroad. As a staunch communist of long-standing, wearing a Lenin cap and no tie since his school days, he is too well-known to cover up his political leanings. Besides he has spilled "all the beans" in both of his speeches. He even went one step further

in comparison to Amin by saying that his government would collectivise agriculture, which is the most sensitive area in such an agrarian country.

Though peace in Kabul is from time to time disturbed by sporadic firing, probably some of the strong supporters of Amin who have not surrendered their arms to the new regime, yet fire at Soviet patrols, the situation is generally under control in the capital. But God knows how long would this last. And how would the people in the provinces who are mostly armed, traditionally, treat the Soviets on their sacred soil?

It is also a question of weather. Most of the country except in the east and south-west is covered by snow. Meanwhile, as a result of the lifting of American arms embargo on Pakistan, the bulk of Afghan rebels living in the North-west Frontier Province are expected to get sophisticated weapons from Pakistanis to fight the Soviets and Afghan army men both because they are now much more closer. That is why Indian Foreign Minister has asked the Soviet Ambassador in New Delhi to request the withdrawal of Soviet army units so that the arms race may not be escalated in this part of the world once more. On the other hand, Iranian religious leaders are also provoking the resident Afghans against the Soviets but they are too much involved with American hostages. However, nobody knows for sure what would happen tomorrow, but the two super powers can contribute a lot to peace in this area if they want to.

○ ○ ○

## WINDOW ON INDIA—24

### Challenges Facing Indira

by R. Varadachari

Press Trust of India Correspondent in Colombo

Mrs. Indira Gandhi, on her triumphal return to power after a lapse of three years has sought to enthuse the Indian masses to dynamic action and to face with fortitude the many challenges facing the country, both nationally and internationally. In a broadcast over the All India Radio soon after being

sworn in along with fourteen other cabinet ministers and seven ministers of state by the President of the Republic, Mr. Nælam Sanjiva Reddy, on January 14, she has given a broad outline of the country's problems, reserving the remedies for evolution in the immediate future.

She has observed with "dismay" that the solid political, economic and social infrastructure, so assiduously built up by the Congress over thirty years, had been dissipated in just thirty months of Janata Party and Lok Dal rule, which she characterised as an 'interlude of non-concern and non-governance'. Mrs. Gandhi said that she had assumed office in the wake of severe drought and acute shortage of vital inputs, aggravated by mishandling and negligence, a year and half of strained industrial relations, resulting in a loss of over five crores in man days, one year of non-utilisation of half of India's installed industrial capacity, a record deficit of over Rs. 2,500 crores and sharply declining rate of growth of exports. She bemoaned the fact that the Janata Party Government had sowed the seeds of bitterness, confrontation, division and destabilisation. In the name of democracy, the Janta Party leaders, she maintained, did not hesitate to perpetrate all kinds of irregularities even in the election process.

In her broadcast she made the perceptive observation that "we cannot invoke the ideals of justice, freedom and equality without fully employing our energies in combating the evils of poverty, superstition and social injustice. This is too stupendous a task to allow any time or scope for mutual recrimination and vindictiveness. Divisive urges should be tempered with the spirit of conciliation. Malice and politics of hate are self-destructive. Equally alien to the real task ahead are the oft-repeated confrontations such as rural versus urban, agricultural versus industry, labour versus capital and the multifarious configurations among castes and communities." Her broadcast indicates that she means business.

Significantly, her new Council of Ministers does not include the controversial figures of the emergence era like Mr. Vidya Charan Shukla who was then the Minister of Information and Mr. Bansî Lal who held charge of defence. As she had promised during her

election campaign, she has also not given any government post to her controversial son, Sanjay. Nor are the veteran politicians like Mr. H. N. Bhaguna, Mr. Brahmananda Reddy, Mr. M. L. Shukhadia and Mr. Vasant Rao Patil, who were prominent new comers to her party, find a place in the Council of Ministers. Eight are new comers in her fourteen-member Cabinet while four of the other six had held office before as Junior Ministers in her previous Cabinets. Mrs. Gandhi has included in her new team only two from her last Cabinet, Mr. Kamalpathy Tripathy (Railways) and Mr. P. C. Sethi (Works and Housing). The new comers are Mr. R. Venkataraman (Finance) Mr. P. V. Narasimha Rao (External Affairs), Rao Birendra Singh (Agriculture), Mr. Zail Singh (Home), Mr. Abdul Ghani Khan Chaudhury (Energy and Irrigation), Mr. Shiva Shaker (Law and Justice), Mr. Bshma Narain Singh (Parliamentary Affairs) and Mr. V. P. Sathe (Information and Broadcasting). It is also worthy of note that all the key portfolios like Finance, Home, External Affairs and Information and Broadcasting have gone to new comers. This is perhaps indicative of Mrs. Gandhi's desire to bring in fresh thinking and new vigour to these crucial ministries.

The position with regard to the seven Ministers of State appointed is no different. Six of them hold Ministerial responsibility for the first time but most of them are not new comers to the party. They had been close to her for a long time and as such they cannot be clubbed with those who joined her only when the tide starts turning in her favour before the elections. Since she has given temporary charge of other portfolios to the present team itself, it looks as if other aspirants for ministerial posts have to suffer a long wait with no immediate possibility of a cabinet expansion.

The two pressing problems in Mrs. Gandhi's hands now are the Afghan issue in the international sphere and the secessionist trends gaining ground in the strategic north-eastern region on the domestic front. She has begun to tackle these two sensitive issues with a sense of urgency, imagination and tact. Even before formally assuming office as Prime Minister, she gave a new dimension to the Indian stance on the Russian intervention in Afgha-



nistan which had been a long standing friend of India. While the caretaker Prime Minister, Mr. Charan Singh, had unequivocally condemned the induction of the Soviet troops into Afghanistan and had called for their withdrawal, Mrs. Gandhi has sought to impart a balance in India's attitude on the issue. While not condoning the Soviet interference in Afghanistan, she has also sought to focus the point that the Soviet Union alone was not guilty of this offence and other big powers have also been meddling with the internal affairs of that country. This balancing act on her part and India's abstention in the UN General Assembly vote on the resolution calling for withdrawal of Russian troops have elicited the expected comment from the western mass media that she was "pro-Russian"—a charge that they have been making against her since the signing of the Indo-Soviet treaty of friendship and co-operation in 1971 at the height of the liberation struggle in Bangladesh.

Lord Carrington, the British Foreign Secretary, was recently in Delhi as part of his tour of the region to have consultations with the Governments concerned on the Afghan issue. The occasion has given an opportunity to Mrs. Gandhi and her foreign minister, Mr. Narasimha Rao to explain the niceties of the Indian stand on the Afghan issue and the Indian concern over escalation of tension in the region. After Lord Carrington met her, Mrs. Gandhi made it clear to pressmen that her government had never supported the Soviet action in Afghanistan. Asked if it would be correct to say that she had disagreed with Lord Carrington on the assessment of the situation, she said "we have not disagreed entirely. In fact we are in agreement on many points" like the increasing danger in the region.

Mrs. Gandhi has however made it clear more than once that the tension had come to India's doors because of the American and Chinese decision to rearm Pakistan. Apparently, Lord Carrington is not in agreement with the Indian view that arms aid to Pakistan would only bring further instability in the region and trigger a cold war in the Indian subcontinent. He has been justifying military aid to Pakistan as necessary for the country to defend itself from Russian expansionism. He also sought to play down the Indo-British

differences on the question at his meeting with pressmen in India. He however conceded that he could not say that he had convinced the Indian leaders that military aid was necessary to Pakistan as its military capacity was not adequate. It is also doubtful that he had allayed the Indian apprehension that the United States in its anxiety to halt Russian expansionism in the region was set on the course of over-arming Pakistan and roping in China also in a joint co-operation to build Pakistan as a bulwark against any further Soviet advance in the region. At the same time India has not turned down the Pakistani invitation for a visit to Islamabad by the Indian Foreign Secretary, Mr. R. D. Sathe, for wide-ranging talks. India has informed Pakistan that Mr. Sathe would visit the Pakistani capital as soon as he was free from the impending visits of several foreign dignitaries to Delhi. His mission is not going to be easy.

The Indian National Daily, the *Hindu*, has analysed the question in depth as follows: "Before the foreign secretaries can engage in a meaningful dialogue to pave the way for a ministerial level meeting and perhaps even a summit at a later stage, the two governments have to evolve a mutually agreeable basis for it. As India sees it, the real issue is not the Afghan crisis alone, but also the proposed re-arming of Pakistan by China and the United States which will inevitably lead to an intensification of tensions and creation of a cold war atmosphere in the subcontinent. The central problem therefore is now to maintain peace in and around the subcontinent. The Indian and Pakistani perceptions differ on what should be done, but both are agreed to some extent that the initiative for war or peace in the region will pass into the hands of the big powers if nothing is done by the two countries to halt the precipitous drift towards a major confrontation between the US and the Soviet Union. The Indian view is that the two countries should engage in a wide-ranging dialogue within the framework of the Simla Agreement without prejudice to their known positions on bilateral issues". It may be added that the aim of the Indo-Pak dialogue at this critical juncture should be confidence building and evolution of stability through mutual co-operation among the countries of the Indian sub-continent without giving any scope for big power inter-

ference. It is in this context that India has rejected President Carter's proposal for a co-operative security arrangement in Asia in alliance with the US.

On the domestic front, the north-eastern border states have been posing a law and order problem for quite some time, with parochialism and regional and linguistic chauvinism gaining momentum. In Assam in particular it took an ugly turn on the eve of the general elections with students spearheading the agitation for removal of "foreigners" from the voters' list. While they mainly expressed anger of inclusion of the alien Bangladesh refugees as voters, their opposition to non-Assamese Indians like the Bangalese who had settled in the state for several years making it their permanent home was also not very concealed. Herein comes the rub. About twenty persons had already lost their lives in the agitation. The agitation was so widespread and intense that elections to twelve of the fourteen parliamentary seats in the state had to be postponed. Even after the elections the tension has not ended. Actually there are signs of aggravation of tension.

Mrs. Gandhi's assessment is that "some sort of secessionist movement is sought to be encouraged in Assam and that some Anti-India posters are also being brought out there." Extremist groups have taken control of the situation and are exploiting the genuine apprehension among the local people that they may be outnumbered by people other than Assamese. She is now in search of a solution to the tricky issue. The task is by no means easy in view of the emotional nature of the issues involved and the ircomplexities. As border state issue, it needs to be delicately handled. The security of the country is involved. Firmness combined with sweet reasonableness are needed. Mrs. Gandhi does not lack these qualities.

Colombo.  
25/1/80

X X X

## FROM THE WORLD PRESS

### :: IRAN :: AFGHANISTAN

#### WE WERE WRONG TO BACK SHAH, TOPPLE MOSSADEGH, ADMITS YOUNG

New York, Dec. 14, 1979.

Former US Ambassador to the United Nations, Andrew Young said in an interview broadcast yesterday that the United States had been wrong to support the Shah of Iran. "We were wrong in our long support of the Shah. We were wrong to overthrow the government of Mossadegh and install the Shah", he said. In the interview, recorded last week for the ABC Program 'Like It is', he said: "We were wrong, you know, in allowing the Shah to develop a very sophisticated weaponry which he tended to use to persecute his own people. We were wrong to train him in intelligence methods, to allow SAVAK to torture and persecute Iranian students."

Young said he believed Iran would pardon and release the 50 American hostages held in the US Embassy in Tehran after putting them on trial. He said such a trial would in effect be a trial of the deposed Shah, whose extradition from the United States is being sought by the students holding the hostages. Young said: "He (Iran's revolutionary leader Ayatollah Rouhollah Khomeini) might use those hostages and their trial to say the things that the Shah had done, but once having done that, I fully expect him to pardon them and send them back to the United States." He said he would prefer to see the Shah eventually seek asylum in South Africa "because I think they deserve each other." *News & Views, Vol. 1 No. 109, December 15, 1979.* Department of Information & Publication of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Islamic Republic of Iran. AP

X X X

#### SHAH BLAMES US CARTELS FOR HIS DOOM

New York Jan. 18.

The deposed Shah of Iran has blamed some of the American oil companies for his downfall. He said in an interview telecast

by ABC-TV last night that oil companies were involved in a conspiracy "in order to have a shortage of oil, to make the prices go up". The deposed Shah said that according to what he heard from his "sources, two years before the change in my country. One country should have been chosen for the sacrifice. The chosen country to drop oil production would have been mine." In the one-hour interview in Panama, where the ousted Shah is now in exile, the Shah alleged that there was a conspiracy involving "two different companies" which he identified only as "american oil companies". Asked about his wealth the Shah refused to give a figure on his holdings. He denied allegations from Iran officials that he contributed money to US political campaigns.

In the interview, part of a 10-hour conversation with Frost, the former Shah was asked whether he could accept responsibility for alleged torture in Iran during his regime. "How could I accept responsibility?" the Shah said, adding that he was not told about specific details on torture and that he first heard about it from abroad. He said "torture stopped in 1976" and that it was "much less than has been publicised." The Shah said that it is not he who should be tried as a criminal by the current Iranian regime, but the regime itself. "Who are they to try me?" he declared. "They should be tried first". The interview was recorded over a four-day period last week with the Shah. The Shah was also asked what the US could have done to help him when he was facing the overthrow of his monarchy. "Well, nothing," was the initial response. Then he added: "I think that instead of the US and the UK coming out so strongly with words, by saying like 'we are 100 percent behind the Shah', 'we support him' and this and that, if they had just kept quiet from the beginning and not mixed into our affairs, that would probably have been best." —AP

X X X

**KHOMAINI ON CARTER**

Teheran,

Ayatollah Khomeini yesterday called President Carter a traitor, urged Americans not to vote for him in the presidential campaign

and blamed the US for fomenting a major crisis in northwest Iran. "Carter has been a bad politician and president for the American people and is not qualified to be president," Khomeini told students in the Holy City of Qom. "He has been a traitor to the American people. The people of America must know this and not vote for Carter".

He said Carter is trying to "take over" Iran. Khomeini told Americans they should "Remove Carter from the political scene." Khomeini blamed Carter's "spies" for the uprising of Iranian Turks in the north-western region of Azarbaijan. Khomeini directly implicated the United States in the current troubles in northwest Iran. He said dissidents who seized the broadcast complex here were "American spies.....These are men from the (occupied American) embassy. The Ayatollah said that files on these spies and traitors had been uncovered at the embassy, proving their roles.....Unfortunately, among some strata of the population there are corrupt people, inspired by America and foreigners, are conspiring against us. No doubt you have heard about the disturbances they created in Tabriz. These people are not from Tabriz. Citizens of Tabriz are not like this, fighting Islam.

"Tabrizis have always, like other Moslems, fought for Islam ahead of anybody else. These are people serving foreigners, and the dossiers of some of them have been discovered in the spying Dep. They were leaders of these people who occupied the radio and television building in Tabriz and were subsequently thrown out. These dossiers showed that (they) were in contact with America and that they are American spies. We are not frightened of economic blockades. Does the world follow Carter so that when he says there should be an economic blockade against Iran, an economic blockade is automatically imposed on us? This is one of the mistakes of these brainless superpowers, who think that now they have such power all the world, all the universe, should follow them" the Imam said.

—News & Views.

X X X

## A CONSTRUCTIVE SUGGESTION FOR IRAN

Washington, January 3,

The US Government has consistently made clear its willingness to discuss with Iran any and all aspects of Iranian-American relations—but only after the American hostages are released. Such discussions, in whatever forum they might be held, could obviously include Iranian complaints about American policies in Iran during the reign of the Shah. American willingness to proceed with such discussions has been underscored over and over again. That American position, drawn in quite specific detail, was stated on New year's eve by David Newsom, the US Under Secretary of State for Political Affairs, during a *Voice of America* interview. Newsom reiterated the American wish to reach an early resolution of the hostage crisis. In language shorn of diplomatic ambiguity, he said the United States has informed Iran that, once the American hostages are released the United States will, in his words, "not be deaf" to Iran's grievances. Not only is the United States court system open to Iranian claims against the assets of the former Shah, but, as Newsom pointed out, the United States will not oppose such action.

Beyond that, just as the United States has used available international mechanisms such as the United Nations Security Council and the International Court of Justice in the Hague to press its case against Iran for holding US hostages, so is Iran free to use the same mechanisms to press its case against the former Shah. In other words, from the American point of view, the only non-negotiable aspect of Iranian-American relations is the continued holding of the hostages. Newsom made these statements shortly after the Soviet invasion of Iran's neighbour, Afghanistan. So there was special significance to his suggestion that a resolution of the hostage situation which respects the dignity of both nations is more important than ever in the context of current threats to the peace and stability of South Asia following the events in Afghanistan.

As any number of observers have pointed out, Iran and the United States, in recent days, have found themselves in agreement on at least one matter. Tehran and Washington

have both condemned Soviet aggression against Iran's neighbour. As Newsom noted, the United States hopes that Iran will come to recognise that the threat to its integrity comes not from America or America's allies but from the Soviet Union next door.

—VOA Commentary, USICA

OO OO OO

## WHO DOES THE UN SERVE ?

By Fariborz Khasha

Teheran,

The pleasant, musical sound of "Allaho Akbar," this familiar cry of protest against oppression and injustice, was once again echoed throughout Tehran and other cities on Friday night. Calling out, "God is great!", millions of Iranians were thus registering their unmistakable protest against the United Nations Security Council, which in its latest resolution, has taken the side of Washington in its economic and military aggression against Iran. The pre-determined UN condemnation of Iran coupled with its total muteness in the face of US war games, raised the question of the UN's real character; who does this world body serve?

"United Nations" was the name adopted on January 1, 1942, by the wartime alliance led by the US, British and Soviet governments. In October 1943 the foreign ministers of these governments, along with a representative of Chiang Kai Shek's regime in China, agreed that after the war, "United action..... will be continued for the organisation and maintenance of peace and security." However, rhetoric about peace did nothing to change the real objectives of the powers involved. Britain and France were determined to hold on to their colonial empires. While they talked about "peace" in the United Nations, the French carried out colonial wars in Indochina and Algeria, while the British fought to contain anti-imperialist upsurges in India, Kenya, Malaya, Aden and other countries.

Washington, for its part, backed the colonial wars of its allies, while preparing to take their place after the fighting was over. Instead of opposing the imperialist aggressors and calling for them to withdraw from their

colonies, the United Nations opposed the revolutions sweeping the colonial world. The US invasion of Korea was carried out under the UN flag, while UN "peace-keeping" forces in the Congo helped to destroy the anti-imperialist upsurge there in the 1960s. Most of the countries that are currently members of the United Nations, however, are former colonies that have won independence since the UN was formed. Has the character of the organisation changed now that semicolonial countries and workers' states make up the majority of the UN General Assembly?

It is true that the General Assembly has served on certain occasions as a forum in which crimes of the imperialist powers have been denounced and exposed. The appearance of Yasser Arafat, head of the Palestine Liberation Organisation, the revolution citing the colonial status of Puerto Rico; and the denunciation of the Bay of Pigs invasion by the Cuban revolutionary government are all examples of this.

But only the Security Council can take ACTION, and the Security Council is dominated by its five permanent members, each with veto power over its decisions. Who controls the United Nations has become especially clear in regard to South Africa. Repeated resolutions against the apartheid regime have been passed with massive majorities in the General Assembly. But such resolutions have never resulted in any more than token action because of the veto power of Britain, France and the United States. In fact, because of the UN's more independent image, the imperialists have been able to use it as a more effective tool in situations in the Middle East and Southern Africa where direct imperialist initiatives were not opportune.

In short, the United Nations remains dominated by the same imperialist powers that are the greatest threat to world peace.

Agreements between such governments have never led to peace and never will. The drive for profits forces the imperialist powers into an endless search for markets, sources of cheap raw materials, and arenas for profitable investments. The need to maintain and expand these holdings leads to continual aggression against the colonial and semicolonial countries, and to assault against the

workers' states, whose very existence challenges the capitalist order. A prime example was the Vietnam war.

If the United Nations didn't serve imperialist interests, the imperialist powers would split it wide open and withdraw their financial support. The UN allows the imperialist powers and their satellites to pose before their people as well intentioned seekers of peace. The myth of the United Nations as an instrument for peace is part of the ideological structure that helps maintain capitalist rule.

The bureaucracies that rule the workers states in Moscow and Peking lend their support to the United Nations and uphold the myths about its role. They have the power to expose its real nature and thus neutralize its effectiveness as a pro-imperialist force. But to do so would cut across their desire to trade political support to capitalist regimes for economic and diplomatic deals. This fact was clearly shown once again when both Moscow and Peking refused to utilize their veto-power over the Security Council's decision to condemn Iran.

—News & Views

x x

## IRAN'S BEST INTERESTS

Washington, Jan. 4.

The Soviet invasion and takeover of Afghanistan raises serious questions for Iran, which is already enmeshed in international controversy over its holding of American hostages. Iran, like any independent state—even one that is going through a popular revolution—still must focus on its own long-term interests. So it was no surprise that the Iranian government strongly protested the Soviet takeover of neighbouring Afghanistan. But, beyond protest, the real question is whether Iran's present isolation from the community of nations as a result of the American-hostage crisis serves Teheran's interests in a time of potential external threat to its own national integrity.

Putting it plainly, as a US government spokesman did this week: "At some point, it must dawn upon those in control

In Iran that the enemy to the stability and security of their country, is neither the United States nor the American prisoners, and that whatever Iran may feel about the past, the reality of the present and the future is that there is one aggressor and the one imperialist power operating in that region, and it is not the United States." Against this background, common sense would suggest that the most reasonable course for Iran would be to resolve its present crisis, resume its rightful place in the world community, and test the repeatedly stated American willingness to discuss—in an atmosphere of mutual respect—the whole range of United States-Iranian relations, past and present.

In other words, Iran's own interests would best be served by ensuring the quick release of the American hostages. This action could quickly be followed by a full siring of any and all of Iran's claimed grievances. Iran can make that decision with loss to its dignity. Certainly, by now any impression that the prolongation of the present crisis can somehow force the United States to address grievances has been disproved. The United States stands ready to discuss all Iranian-American issues—but only after the hostages are released.

—VOA Commentary, USICA



## STUDENTS REVEAL PLOTS TO DIVIDE THE NATION

Teheran,

The publication of a series of documents by the Islamic students occupying the US embassy have thrown new light on clandestine attempts in the country to drive a wedge between different groups and sections in the Iranian society. Document Number One relates to Mehdi Roghani, who was head of a group that intended to create a large committee which would act as an inter-mediary between the government of Mehdi Bazargan and the Imam's Committee. This document, released to the press by the Islamic Students, has expressed the hope "that by March 10 all the final arrangements in this regard will be completed by Roghani who on March 5, told the political emissary of the US Embassy

that he is busy trying to set up a co-ordinating committee between the government of Bazargan and the Imam's Committee. While pointing out that relations between Bazargan's government and the Imam's Committee are "very bad," Roghani had said that in a number of cases the Imam's Committee did not even obey the wishes of the government of Premier Bazargan. On the basis of evidence released by the Islamic Students, Roghani was busy setting up a group consisting of 100 individuals divided into smaller groups of 8 to 10 individuals, who would concentrate on specific problems that had caused dissension in the country.

A second document, which was a letter addressed to Cyrus Vance from the US Embassy in Teheran and classified as "confidential", revealed the Roghani would be leaving for the US for a period of four to six weeks. The letter pointed out that Roghani had been "strongly advised" to contact a certain "Presht" in the US and said that in view of his close family ties with Imam Khomeini, Roghani could be a source of valuable information to the American authorities. Delving deeper into Roghani's background, the document had pointed out that the latter's father had once given refuge to Ayatollah Khomeini in 1963 for 15 days before Khomeini was sent into exile by the former regime.

—News & Views

x x x x

## GHAFFAR KHAN

Kabul, Jan, 18,

Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan has decried the anti-Soviet propaganda launched in the wake of the latest development in Afghanistan and held the "Americans, British and their lackeys" responsible for such a campaign, the Afghan news agency *Bakhtar* has disclosed. The venerable "freedom fighter in both greater India and Loy Pashtunkhwa" brought out, in recent interview, the contrast between the Soviet role in Afghanistan and that of the British in the past. He pointed out that the "Soviets not only did not interfere in our internal affairs but also helped us." The Fron-

tier Gandhi, who stays in Jalalabad near the Pak-Afghan border called for resolution of problems between Pakistan and Afghanistan through peaceful negotiations and maintained that a war between the two nations would be a blow to Islamic unity and brotherhood. The following is the text of Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan's interview to local journalists in Jalalabad:

*Q. How do you look at the changes that occurred last December qualitatively affecting the Saur revolution?*

*A.* I was at Jalalabad at the time. The people very warmly welcomed the changes that occurred last December saying that this augury was a festive occasion for them. They were happy about the Soviet aid. However, after a few days, propaganda was launched against the Soviet Union and I was astonished where we originated from. Evidently, these propaganda were circulated by the Americans, the British and their lackeys.

*Q. Imperialist powers and their lackeys, led by China and the US have now begun a large-scale propaganda against the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan Government trying to smear Afghanistan's domestic and foreign policies and hurt the traditional friendship between Afghanistan and the Soviet Union. What would be your opinion on this?*

*A.* If you look at Afghan history, you will find that the British do not allow us to make progress. Whenever there arises among us a progressive man, they call him an "infidel" and drive him out of the country. When the "Khudal Khidmatgars" and the Congress Party won in India and expelled the British, Afghanistan was eventually rid of them. When Afghanistan was located between the two big powers, British and Russian, the British always contributed to Afghanistan's destruction. They did not allow us to make progress. However, the Soviets do not only did not interfere in our internal affairs but also helped us.

*Q. What would be your view on seeking ways to ameliorate relations between the two Moslem nations, Afghanistan and Pakistan?*

*A.* It would be against Islamic unity and brotherhood if a war breaks out between these two nations. Hence they better resolve their problems through peaceful negotiations.

—Patriot, 18/1/80

## PAKISTAN SEEKS DEFENCE PACT WITH US

Washington, Jan. 18,

President Mohammad Zia-ul-Haq has called on the United States to convert its 1959 defence agreements with Pakistan into a treaty of friendship guaranteeing its freedom and territorial integrity. He made the proposal in an interview with several American correspondents published today in the *Washington Post*. General Zia said he wanted a good treaty of friendship, economic and military assistance, in that order of priority. Gen. Zia suggested that the friendship treaty be like the 1971 treaty between the Soviet Union and India. Gen. Zia ruled out the possibility of US land bases in Pakistan but he said aid including fighter planes, anti-tank weapons and radar systems, would give the United States its only influence in the region.

The Soviet move in Afghanistan, "has larger implications". He said, "the whole region of the Gulf of Iran, Saudi Arabia, are threatened. The back door is being wide open. Let us close it." Asked about reports of 200 million dollars US military aid and an equal amount in economic aid spread over two years, Gen. Zia replied, "That is peanuts. If this is true I have not heard it officially this is terribly disappointing. Pakistan will not buy its security with 400 million dollars (the reported figure) will buy greater animosity from the Soviet Union which is now more influential in this region than the United States." Gen. Zia declined to say how much aid would be sufficient. "I do not expect the United States to send troops to Pakistan (and) it would be foolish on my part to expect that the Americans or Chinese would fight for the freedom of Pakistan."

Materially Gen. Zia said Pakistan needs warplanes, ground-to-war missiles, anti-tank weapons communication systems to share up its defences along its border with Afghanistan. American bases in Pakistan would not be permitted, he said, because they would "earn the animosity of the Soviet Union." Nor did he want weapons that could arouse the fears of Pakistan's neighbours, India in particular.

—AFP, Ap

## PAK PAPER WARNS AGAINST US AID

Lahore,

Pakistani weekly *Viewpoint* in its latest issue has editorially criticised the US arming of Pakistan. Referring to events in Kabul and the "international future" over it, the weekly says: "Suddenly, America has, by an executive order, removed its restrictions on military supplies and has even offered military assistance—on a cash-and-carry basis—invoking a long-forgotten bilateral treaty which stipulated American help to buttress Pakistan's defence potential. What seems more ominous, it has been hinted, that America would come to Pakistan's assistance militarily—in the unexpected event of Soviet troops crossing the Pak-Afghan border."

"Pakistan's painful experience of its treaties with America cannot allow anyone to hope that America has, in a gush of newly discovered altruism, decided to act in the interest of this country. The US government is obviously concerned only with what it considers to be the defence of American interests." The paper goes on to say: "There can be no doubt whatsoever that Pakistan must continue to adhere to a policy of non-alignment and avoid embroilment in Big Power squabbles. It seems to be America's intentions to use Pakistan as a pawn in the game of Big Power rivalries and involve it in confrontation that could lead to armed conflict. Pakistan should, of course, take every possible measure to protect its borders and guard against development in any neighbouring country that may affect its sovereignty and integrity. It needs to be understood, however, that this cannot be achieved by going back to a policy of alignment which in the past has done the country a great deal of harm." —*Patriot*, 12/1/80

x x x

## NEW YARDSTICK FOR BONN'S ROLE IN WORLD AFFAIRS

By H. W. Kettenbach. *Kolner Stadt-Anzeiger*,  
15, December 1979.

Bonn's role in world affairs is under probe because of two issues; the Iran crisis, and the modernisation of Nato's nuclear arms arsenal. Until now, questions about

Bonn's policies have tended to be in a different form. Because of this country's economic performance, and the fact that it has coped much better than most other countries with the energy crisis, unemployment and inflation, the demands were for economic help. On the whole, the nation responded well. In the Uni-

---

## Notice Under Section 7 Of The Land Acquisition Act, (Cap. 460) As Amended By The Land Acquisition (Amendment)

Act. No. 28 Of 1964.

Reference No. 3/2/3/9/813(4)

It is intended to acquire the land described in the schedule below. For further particulars, please see Part III of the Gazette of the Democratic Socialist Republic of Sri Lanka. No. 74 of 01.02.1980.

### Schedule

A.G.A.'s Division : Mirigama & Attanagalla

Village : Pasyala, Kalalpitiya

Name of land : Demataowita, Paluoya alias Demataowita, Waliowita, Batadombagahawatta, Imbulgaswata, Owitewatta, Imbulgahawatta alias Ketakalagahawatta, Ketakalagahawatta, Imbulgahawatta Hiriliyadda, Polwatta alias Bandarawatta, Kahatagahawatta, Parapolwatta, Kammalewatta, Polwatta, Madatiyagahawatta, Ihalawela alias Udiyawela, Gallindawatta, Delgahawattakumbura, Udiyawela, Ihalawela alias Udiyawela pillewa, Bandarawatta, Pandiyalawatta alias Nagahalanda, Bandarawatta alias Parana Usawiwatta, Kongahawatta, Nugagahawatta, Tembilkotuwa, Maragahalanda, Kahatagahawatta alias Paselwatta, D,yamotawewatta, Wandurapolawatta.

Plan No. P.P. Co. : 4879

Lots : 1 to 108

S. Wimalasekara

District Land Officer of Gampaha District.  
The Kachcheri,  
Gampaha.

Date : 11-01-1980

---



ted Nations, the European Economic Community, Nato and a number of other international organisations, it pays contributions well above the average. The claims being made on Bonn in the Iran crisis and the question of modernisation of nuclear weapons in Europe are more worrying. Financial sacrifices are not enough in either case. Both cases involve political complications which, in the extreme event could lead to war. With this in mind it seems appropriate to ask why the Federal Republic should be involved. Or to put it even more simply; what are the Americans' problems to us?

The case of the hostages in Teheran can, from one point of view, be regarded as a problem which concerns the United States alone and which they ought accordingly to solve for themselves. Washington supported the Shah's regime because it served American interests and thus sowed the seeds of the so-called Islamic revolution. Why then should a country such as the Federal Republic boycott Iran, risk economic disadvantages for example in oil supply and put our own interests in second place just to back American pressure? In addition, can a country such as this not make a far greater contribution to peace by not taking sides with the Americans and, instead, playing the role of the honest broker—as long as it still has a certain amount of credit in Teheran?

There is an argument against this which not only the friends but also the enemies of the USA should bear in mind: here a state is using terrorism, namely the taking of hostages, for political ends. Khomeini's Iran is thus devaluing the already limited stock of rules for solving international conflicts. So anyone who says he is not affected by this clearly cannot see beyond the end of his nose. He is indeed provoking this and other regimes to select victims from one case to the next and to force political concessions by using them. For this reason alone an international boycott of Iran, as long as it refuses to release the hostages, would not only be defensible but would also be in the interests of all other states.

For West Germany, another consideration comes into play. It is not very pleasant but there is no way around it: our commit-

ments to the USA as an ally. And this is precisely where the problems facing Bonn in Iran and the problems of modernisation of nuclear weapons converge. In the case of modernisation, it has been argued, though not so cogently, that it serve the interests of the USA as a world power but not those of this country. The objections of the Belgians and the Dutch—who accepted the Nato decision only with serious reservations—run along similar lines. If, and the possibility cannot be excluded, these reservations were to become a definite "no", then this country would be in the highly precarious situation where Moscow felt threatened by weapons stationed mainly on West German soil. In a conflict between the two world powers, West Germany would thus be even more than before the major target. The question is just to what extent Bonn can uncouple itself from the USA as a world power. To answer this question, we do not need to appeal to emotional arguments such as feelings of gratitude or friendship. It is enough to realise that this country alone would not have been able to resist Soviet pressure on Berlin and indeed still could not do so. This country could survive economically on its own but not militarily—because not only our neighbours in the East but also our neighbours in the West would not accept a militarily independent West Germany. West Germany's influence in world politics will only be accepted as long as it remains within limits; in other words is balanced out by others.

Our dependence on the USA does not mean that this country would have to go along with every extravagance of American foreign policy, consenting to reprisals against Iran for instance, or a stepping up of the arms race. But if this country wants to argue for moderation and balance it can only do so if it has the trust of the USA. Whether we regard it a congenital defect or a moral commitment, the fact is that the West German state can only make a positive contribution in world politics with the Americans and not against them.

—Courtesy: German Tribune, 6/1/80

x x x

TRIBUNE, February 2, 1980

# Confidentially

## What Is To Be Done?

IS IT NOT APPROPRIATE that we should in this Column this week, use a letter (it is more in the nature of a sermon) we have received from our regular contributor K. Kanapathipillai? "The table of living costs for family of five given on page 32, *Tribune*, 12/1/80, reflects the true state of affairs obtaining in Sri Lanka, and is starkly revealing. It serves as an eye opener to all concerned, and to every patriotic citizen of Sri Lanka. *Pray, what does the table reveal?* That well over 80% of our people or even more are either on starvation or semi-starvation level of subsistence; in other words, they are either beggars or are well on the way to beggary; that suffering as they evidently do from a crippling of feeling inferiority they make an all out effort to put up an outward appearance of affluence. By doing this they are literally eating into their own vitals, and thus their existence tends to become cankerous. That sooner or later the health of the nation, both mental and physical, will, of necessity, record a drastic decline; that very dismal and trying times are ahead of us—a gloomy prospect indeed! *Well, what is the way out?...*" The more affluent section of the community must learn to be wise, prudent and discreet in their dealings with the less affluent section of the community. They shall not lead the less affluent section of the community into temptation by vulgarly flaunting their prestige super-status symbols such as costly jewellery, expensive sarees, wristlets, cars etc., in the face of their less privileged brothers and sisters. They shall severely cut down on their expensive ways of dressing, feasting, entertaining. They shall be reasonable in paying a living wage to labour they employ. They shall lead a frugal, abstemious and austere life, and shall devote their leisure, in useful ventures such as promoting cottage crafts, educating the children of the less privileged section of the community, providing employment opportunities to the unemployed and helping to produce swadeshi articles.....

*'WHAT SHALL THE LESS AFFLUENT DO ?* They shall not ape the lazy rich in their dress and in their wasteful ways of spending the leisure. Everyone of them past the age of 18 shall learn a useful cottage craft, and thereby qualify to become a useful member of the community. This shall be their cardinal religious duty; for it shall serve them as a discipline. They shall cut down their expenses on spirituous liquors, showy, expensive clothes, time-consuming costly past-times. They shall guard against big families with more than two children. *And what is the function of the welfare State in this respect?*

In the words of John Milton: "It shall safeguard the liberty of the individual citizen whereby complaints are freely heard, deeply considered, and speedily reformed. It shall be the repository of justice and true liberty" In Sri Lanka today it should effect a drastic cut on the import of luxury items of food, clothing, toys, vehicles, spirituous liquors, cosmetics etc. It shall put a stop to all forms of 'tamashas' such as public receptions dinners, parties, processions etc. where man-hour and man-power and money are wasted. It shall promote all forms of cottage industries by reviving those that have been strangled by imported articles, and assign their due pride of place to the swadeshi products. It shall stabilize labour rates, and price levels of the essential goods and make them available at the stabilized level of prices. It shall take drastic steps to bring to book all black marketeers and hoarders and bribe-takers. It shall effectively control the rapid increase of population. Our productive land area will be considerably less in terms of average per family, and we are likely to be brought to the semi-starvation level. The state shall abstain from basing its economy on borrowed funds." That this is only one of the many letters we have received from our readers, but this letter is a true reflection of what many thinking sections of the population seem to feel?



# THIS IS HOW A BURGLAR ENTERS YOUR HOUSE

\* By scaling drain pipes, ladders or by using ropes to scale over walls. Even trees close to buildings are used by burglars to gain entry. \* By breaking the bathroom windows or by creeping through the fan light. \* By making a hole or opening in the wall. \* By entering through open doors and windows. \* By entering through roof by the removal of tiles, asbestos or zinc sheets and ceiling boards. \* By force-opening doors and windows and in some instances by picking the locks of the doors or by using master keys on the lock. \* By intimidating the inmates with bodily harm or by giving false excuses to gain entry.

## YOU CAN PREVENT YOUR HOUSE BEING BURGLED?

- \* Do not inform the breadman, the milkman, the newspaper boy, the neighbour's servant etc., that you are leaving on a vacation, where you are going, how long you would be away and so on.
- \* Lock your communicating door between the bedroom and the toilet/bathroom.
- \* Take precautions by reinforcing your doors and windows but do not neglect the roof.
- \* Be careful when employing masons, carpenters for renovations some of whom can be professional criminals.
- \* If and when you notice bulbs removed from the outer lights during the night inform the nearest police station immediately and also keep a watch for strangers lurking in the vicinity of your house.
- \* When you return after dances, parties, work etc., towards the early hours of the morning do not retire to bed promptly leaving doors and windows open. This is what the professional burglar looks for because he himself keeps a watch on such houses.
- \* Burglars sometimes gain entry into houses and business places unnoticed by the occupants. Do a careful search before a place is locked up for the night and ensure that no strangers are about the place.

SPACE DONATED

# to kindle the flame of knowledge...

The concept of free education  
attains new dimension  
when text-books are distributed free  
to more than three million  
school children.

Every one of them  
receives a text-book  
on every subject offered,  
in the language of instruction.  
It is fitting that this  
epoch-making event  
in the history of free education  
in Sri Lanka should be

implemented by a Government  
led by his Excellency J. R. Jayewardene  
Executive President of Sri Lanka.

For, as member for Kelaniya  
in the old State Council,  
on the 25th January 1945,  
it was His Excellency  
himself who proposed that  
text-books be given free  
to all school children.

Today in 1980, over three decades later,  
we see an ideal achieved....  
the fruition of his proposal.

**May the flame of knowledge now kindled, burn brightly today,  
tomorrow and always.**

## Ministry of Education Services

Tribute must be paid to the many who rallied round with enthusiasm  
and burnt the midnight oil to make possible within a matter of weeks  
the production and distribution of text-books dead on time.