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Letter From The Editor

ON THE COVER we have a picture of village girl resting on a pestle in between pounding the little paddy still left over from the last harvest. It was a small crop like everybody else's, but what the family had garnered had been made to stretch a great deal. Our photographer caught the girl in a whimsical mood. What was she smiling about with a twinkle of mischief in her eye? Was she thinking of the young man next door or the daring Romeo from the next village? Or was she amused about the manner in which our photographer was setting about his business of trying to capture the mood of joyous happiness which still flits across our villages in spite of all the hardships the rural peasantry have to put up with? Our people are a long suffering tribe, but there is a last piece of straw that will break any camel's (or buffalo's?) back. It is not necessary to go into that now, but many people are thinking about it. Sooner or later this smiling lass will awaken to some of the realities which keeps her below the poverty line. Poverty in our villages is not so grim as in the slums and tenements of the urban areas. This is so throughout the world. A resourceful and hardworking peasant can still find something to eat—unless a total drought or a devastating flood submerges him temporarily. But in the towns it is different. This is probably why the President of the World Bank, Mr. Robert McNamara, in his latest report, has paid so much attention to poverty, especially urban poverty. Whilst putting forward plans for the further expansion of the Bank's operations in rural development, Mr. McNamara was chiefly concerned about assisting member governments to attack poverty among 200 million poor in the cities and slums of the developing world. Addressing the Bank's International Board of Governors at their annual General meeting in Washington recently, he said, "What is required is a strategy that will attack absolute poverty and substantially reduce income inequalities, not merely through programmes of welfare, or simply through re-distribution of an already inadequate national wealth, but rather through measures designed specifically to increase the productivity of the poor." The World Bank has lent more for rural development than for any other sector and was expected to commit \$ 7 billions in additional financing in this field during the next five years benefiting 100 million people. But the Bank, Mr. McNamara said, was now giving increasing attention to the problem of the poor in the cities. It was a problem even more complex than that of rural development. He said that the conditions of the urban poor were "unspeakably grim". He stressed that "violence and civil upheaval are more common in cities than it is in the countryside. . . . If cities do not begin to deal more constructively with poverty, poverty may well begin to deal more destructively with cities." Cities, he said, should not be thought of as "sanctuaries of the privileged who wish to put a decent distance between themselves and the masses of the rural poor" but rather as centres for promoting productive employment. Just as the Bank's rural development strategy was focussed on the productivity of the small farmers, so the Bank would retain emphasis on the productivity of the urban sector. Mr. McNamara went on to stress that governments should plan to increase urban employment in both the "informal sector" of the small-scale and often traditional enterprise as well as in the "modern" sector. A bias in favour of the large capital-intensive enterprise should be moderated. And city authorities needed to establish realistic housing policies and provide equitable access to public utilities, transport, education and health services. In order to promote this development, the Bank planned to establish within a few weeks an intermediate lending facility—the Third Window—as an interim measure to assist lower income member countries. A total of at least \$ 500 million—and possibly \$ 1 billion—would be lent at a concessionary interest rate midway between that of the Bank and its affiliate, the International Development Association (IDA) which makes interest-free loans. This Third Window facility would be financed by an interest subsidy fund which I2 OECD and OPEC countries had already agreed to support. Will Sri Lanka be in a position to utilise such World Bank assistance, or will she insist on going-it-alone into "socialism" hindered by blinkers which made some ideologues think that the World Bank can be compelled to lend Sri Lanka money under threat of ideological blackmail and intimidation. For five years we have tried out this technique of bluster, bluff and humbug—and have failed. We are nowhere near the road to socialism. And we are as far removed from a viable economy—a dangerous term because US Ambassador Van Hollen had used it—as the man in the moon is from us. What next?

EDITOR'S NOTEBOOK

First Post-Mortems On
The United Front

AFTER A TRAUMATIC EVENT like the breakup of the United Front, with the LSSP being compelled to quit the Government and the Government Parliamentary Party, after a five-year partnership in power, post-mortems are inevitable. It would be first useful to set out the official statements made by the different parties to the dispute.

But before that it would be useful to consider Dr. N. M. Perera's statement in the National State Assembly. The English version of this 4-hour speech has been reprinted in full in *The Nation* (5/9/74), and lengthy extracts were also published in the *Daily News* and the *Daily Mirror*. It was a long and rambling speech for the record setting out history as Dr. Perera (and probably some others in the LSSP) would like to have it. An objective and impartial historian will not only dispute some of the facts mentioned by Dr. Perera (in all periods he referred to, especially in the postwar period), but will also find it difficult to accept the interpretations (and analysis) of men and matters which Dr. Perera has propounded in his speech.

After tabling the (so far) published and unpublished correspondence between himself and the PM after his ill-fated hartal day speech on August 12 and other relevant correspondence of this period, Dr. Perera gave his version why the split occurred. It was a simplistic explanation which history will, at best, find, a half or a quarter truth—that SLFP mudalalis had wanted him and the LSSP out and that they had been helped by international finance capitalists, reactionary PL 480 intriguers and the CIA to de-stabilise the Government.

He did not think it necessary to indulge in any selfcriticism—as every honest Marxist should—and examine whether the break had come because of any acts of commission and/or omission of the LSSP,

its leadership and even its membership. But historians and researchers will find that the main cause for the break had stemmed from the conduct and behaviour of LSSP leadership in the five years of power, and that it is only a smokescreen to claim that LSSP's ultra-radical revolutionary policies were alone responsible for the break-up of the United Front. When a truthful and impartial history of this period is written it will not please or palatable to some of the present leaders of the LSSP, because when history of the period 1970-75 is viewed from many angles and facets, it will reveal a totality of truth which some of those who now provide the raw material for such history will not expect.

Dr. Perera's theme was that the Prime Minister, Mrs. Bandaranaike, assisted by "Satan" (Mr. Felix, R. Dias Bandaranaike), had been won over by American imperialists, PL 480 manipulators and the CIA, at the behest of the local SLFP mudalalis (frightened to death by LSSP-motivated budgets), and that she had therefore provoked a situation (owing to an innocuous speech he had made on Hartal Day), to throw out the LSSP. Dr. Perera's speech was doomsday-gloomy, that a terrible calamity will befall the SLFP for breaking with the LSSP. He wanted fresh elections immediately (in the same way the UNP wanted) because Mrs. Bandaranaike had broken the mandate on which the Government was elected. This argument was no different from what the UNP used when it demanded elections in 1975—that the Government had been elected on a specific mandate.

The other positive demand made by Dr. N. M. Perera was that all the progressive forces within the SLFP (no doubt those led by T. B. Ilangaratne, T. B. Subasinghe, Ratne Deshapriya Senanayake, Nanda Ellawala, and the Janawegaya group led by Kumar Rupasinghe), within the Government, (the Communist Party still clinging to power), and outside the Government (the JVP and all other exinsurgent and miscellaneous groups (whom LSSP Vasudeva Nanayakkara has been wooing for a considerable length of time), should get to-

gether into a "genuine" United Left Front to win power to march forward to socialism. (Conscious of the many brickbats that might be thrown at the LSSP about its conduct vis a vis the 1963 ULF, Dr. Perera had hinted that it was because of the inhibited obsessions of the wife of the MEP leader, Philip Gunawardene, that the LSSP had abandoned its MEP and CP allies in the ULF to join the SLFP in June 1964. A great deal will be said about the LSSP and the June 1964 Coalition but that need not complicate the present situation).

Dr. N. M. Perera's speech on September 4 did not act as a clarion call to the people of Sri Lanka: it provided argumentative guidelines for LSSP loyalists speaking from public platforms, but it brought confusion to many LSSP sympathisers who had been persuaded to believe in a kind of LSSP infallibility after 1970. But it angered the overwhelming bulk of the SLFP rank and file, and it did not rouse the progressives within and without the Government to any kind of immediate action to reach out for a new and genuine United Left Front. On the other hand, many SLFP "progressives" have been reduced to silence and inaction, and some of them, it is whispered, might take a holiday from politics. The CP continues to stay within the Government making high falutin' claims that it will continue to work for unity and that it was hopefully awaiting Resurrection Day when the LSSP and all other progressives will once again march under the banner of the United Front.

Dr. Perera's speech left the UNP and the FP unimpressed—although some intermediaries had thought of a possible link-up between the FP and LSSP to fight for the "rights of the Tamils". (Whether this was an LSSP stunt or an FP tamsaha, it is nothing more than a traditional *gundu* to intimidate the SLFP and the Government that a stronger Opposition was growing. This kind of tactic will do neither the FP or the LSSP any good—and ever since 1965 the LSSP had branded the FP as a reactionary communal group which was almost fascist.)

Dr. Perera has been repeating the highlights of his September 4 speech at the various public

SLFP Statement

meetings he has addressed thereafter together with a prediction that the Government would not last six months, (Dudley and JR had given the UF 18 months or less in 1970), varnished with such gems that there was nobody in the SLFP who could present a Budget, that Satan will bring ruin and so on and forth—displaying a high degree of political and intellectual arrogance, the canker which has eaten into LSSP's popularity.

On September 18, in the National State Assembly, Dr. Colvin R. de Silva is expected to make a statement for two hours and Mr. Leslie Goonewardene for one hour. The Prime Minister is expected to reply Dr. Perera's September 4 speech (and possibly some of the statements made by the two LSSP speakers on that date.) It will be possible to comment on these speeches only in a subsequent issues of Tribune.

ON THE DAY Dr. N. M. Perera had made the statement in the NSA, the General Secretary of the LSSP, Mr. Bernard Soysa, issued an official statement. It is reproduced in full below:

"Mrs. Bandaranaike has thrown out the LSSP Ministers and wrecked the United Front. The intrigues of foreign imperialists and local capitalists have succeeded. The masses who brought about the victory of the United Front and brought the Coalition Government to office have been betrayed. The people's struggle for socialism has to go forward amidst new difficulties. Mrs. Bandaranaike has wrecked the United Front at a time when the local capitalists feared more than ever the pressure of the masses on the Government to take it further and faster towards their desired socialist objectives. It has happened at a time when foreign imperialism, after the defeat in Vietnam and Cambodia, is engaged in a renewed effort to halt leftward moving regimes in South Asia. It has happened at a time when the UNP is regrouping for a renewed onslaught on the progressive forces in the country. Since 1970 the UNP has been engaged in two ways of attack. It tried to bring the masses into collision with the United Front Government on the basis of economic hardships. At the same time it also tried to enter the government seeking thereby to ally itself with Rightist forces within the Government and the United Front. They

hoped to be able to arrest the further imposition of anti-capitalist measures and to drive the Left out of the Government. Mrs. Bandaranaike's action in driving the LSSP out of the Government serves to give new opportunities to the UNP. The leftward moving masses of Sri Lanka will view Mrs. Bandaranaike's action with dismay. However, the LSSP is confident that the masses in their organisations will recover from this setback and carry their struggle for socialism forward to victory.

The General Secretary of the SLFP, Mr. S. K. Suriarachchi, issued a statement in reply Mr. Bernard Soysa's on September 6. The full statement is published below:

Mr. Bernard Soysa, General Secretary of the LSSP, in the course of a newspaper statement has made the totally unfounded charge that the Prime Minister had wrecked the United Front by expelling the LSSP Ministers. This statement received publicity in newspapers on September 5. To those who know the true circumstances which led to the expulsion of the LSSP Ministers, this statement would appear as a distortion of the truth. Until the LSSP leader, Dr. N. M. Perera, sought at the hartal commemoration meeting on August 12 to raise doubts among the people about the handling of the company estates take-over issue by Mrs. Bandaranaike's Government there was no threat to the United Front. It is clear that when Dr. Perera made the statement that the LSSP would leave the UF if the estates take over was not done properly he had the intention of wrecking the United Front. It is also clear that Dr. Perera resorted to distorting the past about the SLFP and its late leader with the idea of creating an advantageous position for his party in order to create in the minds of the people a climate for leaving the Government.

Therefore can it not be said that the LSSP Ministers having made up their minds earlier to wreck the Front prepared the ground in advance by making distorted statements publicly? In fact, the charge that they now make that the Prime Minister has wrecked the UF is only the latest example of that campaign of distortion which they launched at the hartal meeting. The LSSP tries to make out that the conspiracy of the foreign imperialists and local capitalists has triumphed. If this is true the conspiracy would have

been hatched not by the SLFP or the Prime Minister, who never had any intention of expelling the LSSP, but by the LSSP Ministers themselves. It is indeed futile for the LSSP to think it can advise the Prime Minister or the SLFP on the people's socialist objectives. It should be clear to the LSSP that it was not on their advice that the people of this country launched the socialist programme under the late Mr. Bandaranaike in 1956. The SLFP has a history of opposition to imperialist forces and the SLFP and the politically-awakened people gathered round it have the strength and determination to carry that struggle forward.

Whatever the LSSP Secretary may think there cannot be any fresh danger to a South Asian country like ours in a world where imperialism has been defeated in Vietnam and Cambodia just because the LSSP has left the Government. The attempt of the LSSP to belittle the leadership of the Prime Minister who has in the past boldly faced the onslaughts and campaigns of the UNP and defeated them thereby safeguarding not only the people but the LSSP itself, is an insane mumbling born perhaps out of a forgetfulness of history. It is the opinion of the LSSP Secretary that the left-oriented people of Sri Lanka would be shaken by the Prime Minister's move.

It is difficult to believe that the people who know the progressive socialist record of the SLFP, since its inception, would not have confidence in the SLFP's future progressive measures, as the LSSP expects. The Prime Minister has already declared emphatically that the forward march will not cease. All progressive patriotic peoples are sure to gather round the Prime Minister's leadership as the struggle for socialism surges still forward.

AN OFFICIAL STATEMENT from the CP came only after a meeting of its Central Committee on September 11, 12 and 13 (at which meeting Dr. Wickremasinghe was relected Chairman of the Party and Mr. Pieter Keuneman as General Secretary—reverting to the original positions before the "hard-line" split). A statement on the LSSP's exit from the UF was issued on behalf of the Central Committee by Mr. K. P. de Silva, Chief Organiser of the Party. The full statement appears below:

Communist Party Statement

"At its first session on 11th, 12th and 13th September 1975 the new Central Committee of the Communist Party of Sri Lanka elected at the 9th Congress elected the following office-bearers of the Party. President—Dr. S. A. Wickremasinghe, General Secretary—Mr. Pieter Keuneman, Chief Organiser— Mr. K. P. Silva. The Central Committee also elected members of the Political Bureau and the other bureau and departments of the Central Committee.

The Central Committee also discussed the new situation that had arisen after the exclusion of the LSSP Ministers from the Cabinet and the resulting departure of the LSSP from the United Front Government. The Central Committee deeply regretted that such a situation has been allowed to develop. It felt that this situation represented a setback for the anti-imperialist and progressive forces. The Central Committee analysed the factors, both objective and subjective, that had contributed to this unfortunate development, as well as the reasons why the efforts of the Communist Party and other progressive forces to resolve the differences that had arisen and to maintain unity had not been successful.

In the opinion of the Central Committee the only forces that could rejoice at the breach that had occurred in the United Front were: 1, the imperialists who were seeking to "de-stabilise" progressive governments in the Third World and especially in South Asia; 2, the UNP and the reactionary forces behind it; and 3, the other capitalist forces who were striving to bring into existence a so-called "National" Government of right-wing forces. Assessing the situation within the progressive forces, both within and outside the present government, the Central Committee was of opinion that the overwhelming majority of them are unhappy about recent developments and are seeking ways and means by which the unity of the progressive forces can be re-established in this difficult and complicated situation.

The Central Committee was also of opinion that the gain made by the right-wing forces should not be accepted as final or permanent. The progressive forces, both within and outside the Government, can reverse this trend if they act unitedly and decisively. The Central Committee considered that, although the right-wing forces had been able to

take the upper-hand at the moment, they were not yet strong enough to do away with the gains that the progressive forces had made under the United Front Government in the past five years or to carry through a decisive reversal of the progressive policies to which the United Front Government was committed.

The Central Committee welcomed the decision of the Government to place the law to nationalise company-owned estates before the National State Assembly immediately. It was of opinion that the attitude of the progressive forces towards the Government in the future will mainly depend on the policies that the Government will follow. The Central Committee reaffirmed that the Communist Party was ready to honour all obligations and commitments that the Party had made when it entered the United Front. It continues to support the policies and measures set out in the Common Programme and the Joint Election Manifesto to the United Front.

The Central Committee was strongly of opinion that the welcome decision to nationalise the company-owned estates should be followed by early action to fulfill the general election pledge to nationalise the banking system and also to implement necessary socio-economic measures that will help to complete the struggle for economic independence. The Communist Party is ready to co-operate with the Government and other progressive forces to ensure that such progressive policies are carried out. The Central Committee again emphasised the imperative need for every section of the progressive movement, whether within or outside the Government, to be constantly vigilant in regard to the intrigues of imperialism in the region, to the growing fascist threat, and to the repeated boasts of the UNP leader that the Government will be defeated and a general election forced in 1975. In this regard a special responsibility lies with those who are genuinely committed to socialism.

The Central Committee was of opinion that everything possible should be done to maintain and expand the field of common actions between the parties which signed the United Front agreement, especially at the level of the mass organisations. All forces in the former United Front who stand for radical and socialist policies should do all they can both

separately and in common, continuously to promote conditions that will favour new initiatives to restore the unity of the progressive forces. If the Government itself resolutely pursues radical policies, this will be an important factor in creating a more favourable climate for further efforts to restore unity. As the new situations that has developed is not one that was envisaged at the time that the Common Programme and the joint election manifesto of the United Front were drawn up, the Central Committee decided to write to the President of the SLFP requesting a discussion between the two parties in order to clarify policies and to regulate their future relations in the light of the new situation.

APART FROM THESE STATEMENTS of the three parties of the former United Front, the only significant statement has come from Mr. Bala Thampoe, Secretary of the Revolutionary Marxist Party, (a section of the Fourth International). It is a lengthy statement which will be examined in a subsequent issue of *Tribune*. It is to be hoped that by that time Mr. Shanmugathasan (Marxist—Leninist) would have issued a statement on this matter enabling the public to know the views of the most orthodox of the Maoist groups in the country.

In the meantime, it will seem that the Central Committee of the Communist Party wants the progressive forces both within and without the Government to stay with the Government and to work for united socialist action in all fields. The CP, unlike the LSSP, does not want SLFP progressives or the CP itself to quit the Government ranks to join the LSSP in a new ULF, but wants consistent mass work to bring about a new transformation which will push the Government to implement the original Common Programme of the United Front to the fullest. The statement also suggests that common actions between the parties which had signed the United Front agreement be carried and extended "especially at the level of the mass organisations." With this appeal to the trade union and other mass organisations to work together, there is a faint hint that there has been

a breakdown at the level of top leadership. This is a realistic approach to the current situation.

The LSSP leaders have also embarked on a campaign to debunk and denigrate the top leadership of the SLFP which they identify with Mrs. Bandaranaike, her son Anura and Mr. Felix R. Dias Bandaranaike. One wonders whether the LSSP leaders think that such vituperative attacks would help to win over sections of the SLFP leaders as well as the rank-and-rank masses to accept the leadership of the presently holier-than-thou LSSP leaders. If the LSSP leaders think that they will win over the mass SLFP support in this way, they will find their mistake much sooner than they expect. What the LSSP does not seem to realise, among other things, is that the SLFP has matured in its politics in a way that many could not have imagined some years ago. JR and the UNP discovered this sometime ago, but at that time LSSP seemed to have consoled themselves with the belief that it was their presence in the Government that had made the difference—which had compelled the UNP to change its attitude to the Government.

The persistent LSSP attack on Anura Bandaranaike may have an impact on ordinary people quite different from what the LSSP leaders expect. The vicious personal campaign and character assassination of Anura Bandaranaike may boomerang on the LSSP in the

same way that LSSP attacks on S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike and the then newly formed SLFP (characterised by the LSSP as a bourgeois splinter party) had boomeranged on the LSSP and the disunited Left movement in the early fifties. It must be recognised that Anura Bandaranaike, quite contrary to the expectations of many people, has now developed into a serious politician with a future. He seems to think that centrism, like that of his father's, will pay the best political dividends in the parliamentary politics of today. He may well be correct in his assessment of the situation, and the LSSP with their call for immediate socialism may find themselves compelled to continue as a minority for a long time to come.

The LSSP attack on Felix R. Dias Bandaranaike as the Satan may soon lose its sting. FRDB, with an unusual flexibility and a purposeful detachment, seems to have decided to meet the vitriolic attacks of the LSSP by offering the other cheek by proclaiming that he has no personal disagreement or dislike of the LSSP leaders with whom he had worked. But at the same time he is not averse to prodding the LSSP into recollections of a number of skeletons in the LSSP cupboard. And above all, FRDB seems determined to show by deeds, "within the next six months", that he can deliver the economic goods which the LSSP wizards, whose "golden brains",

according to the PM, have gone a little rusty, had failed to do.

There are people with long memories who recall that FRDB as Minister of Finance in the 1960-62 period had been drawn into policies, schemes and programmes which should have been avoided (although he adopted some fundamentally correct measures in the matter of import control and the like). They are hoping that FRDB in 1975 would not be tempted to adopt exotic and spectacular measures which may prove as self-defeating as nearly as all the LSSP chieftain's financial policies have turned out to be. FRDB is a much older, more experienced man today, and has the benefit of the experience of what many developing countries on this matter.

The Lima Declaration has also set out a blue-print in centrist economics for developing countries—nationalisation, (control of national resources), approach to foreign capital, stabilisation of commodity prices, etc. etc.—and if our new Minister of Finance draws his proper lessons from the Lima Declaration and the conclusions of the Group of 77 he may bring about, very quickly, a major miracle in economic development. The twenty-point programme of Indira Gandhi for economic development in India, wedded to Gandhian cum Nehru centrism (with a strong flavour of nationalised socialism), will also provide many answers to Sri Lanka's current economic problems.

CHRONICLE

Sept. 5—Sept. 9

A DIARY OF EVENTS IN SRI LANKA AND THE WORLD
COMPILED FROM DAILY NEWSPAPERS
PUBLISHED IN COLOMBO.

CDN—Ceylon Daily News; CDM—Ceylon Daily Mirror; CO—Ceylon Observer; ST—Sunday Times; TOC—Times of Ceylon; DM—Dinamina; LD—Lankadipa; JD—Janadina; VK—Virakesari; ATH—Achtha; SM—Silumina; SLD—Sri Lankadipa; JS—Janasathiya.

FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 5: According to the *Daily Mirror*, there will be major changes in Cabinet within the next three weeks: the Prime Minister, Mrs. Sirima Bandaranaike, has advised the new Minister of Finance, Mr. Felix Dias Bandaranaike and the Minister of Irriga-

tion, Power and Highways, Mr. Maithripala Senanayake, to return to the island in two weeks time to enable the reshuffling of the Cabinet. The Secretary to the Ministry of Justice has told the *Daily News*, that following a recent ruling by the Constitutional Court draft legislation to be presented to the National State Assembly will henceforth not carry the designation of the Minister who would be required to implement the law. Mr. Felix Dias Bandaranaike, the new Minister of Finance, in an interview to the *Daily Mirror* correspondent in Washington soon after he was sworn in as the Minister of Finance, has told that he was in favour of nationalisation and the laws had already been gazetted to this effect in Sri Lanka. In a statement to the Press the LSSP accused the Prime Minister as having given into the plans of the imperialists and national capitalists and the statement also accused her as having broken the United Front—VK. The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Sri Lanka (Moscow wing) meets on September 12 to review the present political situation in the country and to decide what course

of action it should follow—VK. The *Janadina* in an editorial said that in view of what the Prime Minister has done to break the UF she cannot describe the late Mr. C. P. de Silva as a man who stabbed her from behind. The *Janadina* said several meetings are organised by the working class masses all over the island to receive the ousted LSSP leaders. The *Aththa* editorially said that the break up of the UF was a big loss both to the Government and the LSSP and stressed the importance that without resorting to accuse each other all progressive forces must unite to achieve a socialist Sri Lanka. The Prime Minister, Mrs. Sirima Bandaranaike, was present at the General Post Office yesterday on the occasion of the issue of the Sir Ponnambalam Ramanathan commemoration stamp—CDN. The CID was yesterday asked to investigate whether certain banks are acting in connivance with a ring of non-nationals in the overloading of invoices racket—CDN. The Ministry of Education appointed a committee to go into the matter of arrears of teachers salaries due to them on the recommendation of the Salaries Anomalies Committee's report accepted over five years ago: nearly 20,000 teachers are yet to get their arrears—DM. Israeli Prime Minister, Yitzhak Rabin offered Egypt a permanent peace treaty—but told critics in the Parliament that Israel would not relax in defence in Sinai meanwhile. The Portuguese Navy and the Air Force will decide today whether to follow the lead of the Army, which has overwhelmingly rejected Communist domination of the 17-month old revolution. The *New York Times* reported that in October, 1970, the Pentagon ordered US military attache in Santiago, Colonel Paul Wimert, to give secret assurance of US support to Chilean officers preparing to overthrow President Salvado Allende.

SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 6: The new Minister of Plantation Industry, Mr. Hector Kobbekaduwa, on his first visit to the Ministry told employees that legislation to take over company-owned estates was ready and would be presented in the National State Assembly on September 18: he expected the bill to be law by October 15: he further said that over five lakhs of tea, rubber and coconut land would come under the new law—CDN. The new Minister of Transport, Mr. P. B. G. Kalugalle, on his first official visit to the Ministry office paid a tribute to the former Minister for the good service he has rendered with the co-operation of employees and sought the same co-operation from all employees for him to continue a program of work—CDN. The rift between the SLFP and the LSSP has now filtered into the newly registered SLFP trade unions led by Mr. Kumar Rupasinghe: at the conclusion of the general membership meeting on September 3 which ended in a near free-for-all the MP for Dehiowita, Mr. Dhanapala Weerasekera, backed the decision taken by the Prime Minister to sack the LSSP Ministers and opposed the stand taken by the Prime Minister's son-in-law, Mr. Kumar Rupasinghe, who favoured the stay of the LSSP in the United Front—CDM. The *Aththa* editorially welcomed the attitude taken by the new Minister of Transport, Mr. P. B. G. Kalugalle, who paid tribute to the former Minister for the services rendered by the latter in the country's transport services. The *Janadina* editorially endorsed the view of Dr. N. M. Perera, who in a statement to the NSA said that national capitalists planned to oust him from the Government from the very next day after his budget pro-

posals in the NSA in November, '74: the editorial further said the ousting of Dr. Perera from the Government will not throw him in political wilderness instead he will get more and more support from the masses of this country. The capital levy tax of 8 per cent introduced by the former Minister of Finance in his last budget is still stuck in the Legal Draftsman's Department and has not come into operation—JD. According to the *Virakesari* there will be a major Cabinet reshuffle in three weeks time and four new Ministers will be appointed in the new Cabinet: the paper further said that Mr. Ratne Deshapriya Senanayake, Mr. S. K. K. Suriyarachchi, Mr. Lakshman Jayakoddy and Mr. Ratnasiri Wickramanayake will be appointed as Ministers. The Deputy Minister of Finance, Mr. K. B. Ratnayake, told the *Virakesari* yesterday that all promotions, transfers and new appointments in all departments and corporations under the Ministry of Finance has been suspended. Prime Minister, Mrs. Sirima Bandaranaike, will preside at a mass rally of the SLFP to be held on September 14, at the Bogambara grounds Kandy—DM. Two new telephone circuits one between Colombo and Moscow and the other between Colombo and Kuwait were put into operation recently: the services will be operative between 1.30 and 2.30 p.m. on Sundays between Colombo and Moscow and between 6.30 and 8.30 p.m. between Colombo and Kuwait on all days excepting Sundays—CDM. A young woman with a gun apparently attempted to shoot the American President, Mr. Ford yesterday on the grounds of the state capital in California but the gun did not go off and she was swiftly seized by bystanders. Egyptian President, Anwar Sadat, hitting out at critics of Egypt's interim peace agreement with Israel, angrily attacked the Soviet Union accusing it of trying to deceive the Arabs.

SUNDAY, SEPTEMBER 7: Mr. S.K. K. Suriyarachchi, General Secretary of the SLFP, in a statement to the press said that the LSSP Ministers created the atmosphere to break the United Front by a well planned strategy: this statement was in reply to a statement by the LSSP General Secretary who last week in a statement to the press said that the Prime Minister should take up the responsibility for the breaking up of the United Front—ST. According to the *Virakesari* the Federal Party will seek the support of the LSSP to win the demands of the Tamil speaking public: the paper further said that with the ousting of the LSSP, anti-Government forces will form a new front to oppose the Government: at a meeting held at the LSSP party headquarters yesterday Dr. Colvin R. de Silva was unanimously elected President of the LSSP controlled Lanka Estate Workers' Union: Dr. N. M. Perera speaking at this meeting said that the LSSP and the Tamils of this country have close connections and no force could disrupt this unity: he further said that in future he would devote most of his time in solving the problems of the estate employees—VK. The *Janasathiyā* published an agreement that was signed between late Mr. S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike and Dr. N. M. Perera, on September 24, 1955 in which a no contest pact had been reached between the SLFP and the LSSP: the paper said that it was publishing this pact for the benefit of those who broke the unity of the United Front to safeguard the name of late Mr. Bandaranaike. Mr. Felix Dias Bandaranaike, Minister of Finance, addressing the

IMF in the United Nations said that one-sixth of the International Monetary Fund's proposed gold distribution be invested in buffer stock financing fund as a long-term loan: the Minister endorsed British Foreign Secretary James Callaghan's call for immediate action to deal with the special problems of tea and jute—CO. The new Chairman of the CTB, Mr. P. B. Karandawela, has directed that some of the old systems existing in the CTB before 1970 should be reviewed and promotions should be granted solely on merit—CO. A prosecutor in the 1971 trial of Charles Manson said he believed the jailed murder cult leader has master minded the attempt by one of his girl followers to kill President Ford: Mr. Steve Kaye, assistant prosecutor at the Manson murder trials, said he believed that 26 year old Lynotte Fromme had acted on Manson's orders. Miss Fromme charged with attempted assassination of President Ford was held on one million dollar bail. Singapore's Minister of State and Environment, Wee Toon Boon, was yesterday granted bail in £ 100,000 in a court decision sentencing him to 4 1/2 years jail on charges of corruption.

MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 8: The Prime Minister will make a statement in the NSA on September 18 in reply to the statement made by Dr. N. M. Perera, former Minister of Finance, in the Assembly on September 3—CDN. On the 18th of this month the Prime Minister will also make a policy statement of the Government in which she is expected to mention the new course of action of the Government without the LSSP in it—LD. The Prime Minister addressing a meeting at the Attanagalle electorate said that though she felt moved that the LSSP should have left the United Front Government there was hardly anything she could have done about it: she further said that during the last five years Rs. 90 million had been granted to farmers as loans are still not repaid by them—CDN. Addressing the seventh special session of the UN Development and International Economic Co-operation Mr. Felix Dias Bandaranaike, Minister of Finance said that the real solution to problems of developing countries is in trade and not in aid: Mr. Bandaranaike who was making his first major address at an international gathering as Sri Lanka's Finance Minister said that what has caused concern to the country is that developed countries have used their economic and financial power not to establish a relationship of independence, but one of total dependence by developing countries on developed countries—CDN. The Prime Minister has requested all Ministers to postpone their trips abroad and be ready to present themselves for Cabinet meeting at short notice: according to Political observers this request has been made in view of a proposed Cabinet change: meanwhile the Minister of Finance, Mr. Felix Dias Bandaranaike, is expected to return to the island today—VK. Addressing a meeting in Homagama, Dr. N. M. Perera, said that the present Government will not last for more than six months—ATH. On September 12 a mass rally has been organised at the Hyde Park Colombo in which the three ousted LSSP Ministers and other prominent LSSP leaders are expected to speak—VK. The *Janadina* published the names of the 40 families who monopolised the industries and thereby the economy of the country and said that with the ousting of the LSSP from the United Front Government these national capitalists have once again raised their heads. The *Aththa* editorially demanded from the

Government to make the public know the conditions governing the PL 480 agreement between the Government of Sri Lanka and the United States. The Minister of Plantation Industry, Mr. Hector Kobbekaduwa, said that any damage to property or sabotage in estates to be nationalised will be debited from the organisations and individuals who administer these estates now—DM. The well-known Colombo lawyer, Mr. Isadeen Mohamad, Q.C. died yesterday after a brief illness—DM. The annual Sahitya Day celebrations will start in Galle today—LD. The world famous Indian Yogi Maharishi Mages Yogi, on Transcendental Meditation, popularity known as T.M. arrives in the island today on a two day's visit—VK. French Prime Minister, Jacques Chirac announced that this country will sign a nuclear co-operation with Iraq next week. At least 1,500 people are feared to be dead at Eastern Turkey in a violent earthquakes. Israeli Prime Minister, Yitzhak Rabin said yesterday that the new Interim peace agreement with Egypt would not necessarily bring calm to the nation. President Ford who arrived back at the White House dismissed the attempt on his life as a 'distraction'.

TUESDAY SEPTEMBER 9: Mr. Felix Dias Bandaranaike, Minister of Finance, arrived in the island yesterday: Mr. Bandaranaike told the *Daily Mirror* that he would first have to report to the Prime Minister the outcome of his talks with the IMF and as such it would not be possible to divulge to the press anything. A senior spokesman for the Communist Party said that there is no dispute between the SLFP and the CP: commenting on an interview sought from the Prime Minister the spokesman said that this was purely to clarify the position of the party within the United Front Government since the LSSP ceased to be a constituent of the United Front—CDM. The Politbureau of the LSSP yesterday decided to extend support to the progressive actions of the Government—VK. Speaking at a public rally at Yatiyantota, the LSSP leader, Dr. N. M. Perera, said that the reactionary leadership of the Government has joined hands with the imperialists and this is a fact that cannot be hidden from the masses of this country—JD. The *Janadina* editorially said that the leader of the United Front who was zigzagging towards the Left and the Right since the formation of the United Front has now joined the imperialist forces and this is a fact in view of the present political crisis, the editorial stressed the need of the formation of a Leftist Front. According to the *Daily Mirror* a major shake up in 25 state sponsored corporations, statutory institutions and certain government departments which came within the purview of the former LSSP Ministers is in the offing. Mr. Rukman Senanayake, MP for Dedigama, has requested the Working Committee of the UNP to take up the question of his suspension from the party at the Working Committee meeting of the party on October 8—CDN. President Anwar Sadat of Egypt yesterday discussed far-reaching industrial and other projects with his Vice President, Premie and other senior aides: Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin yesterday accused the Soviet Union of interfering with efforts to bring peace to the Middle East. Portugal's out-going Government was forced to abandon its caretaker role in the face of continuing pressure from the opponents of the pro-Communist former Prime Minister General Vasco Goncalves.

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CHANGING WORLD

BY KAUTILIYA

An Asian Helsinki ?

AT LIMA and at all nonaligned nations' conference in recent years there has been a growing demand that the concept of nuclear-free zones should underlie every demand for peace zones, whether in the Indian Ocean, in the Mediterranean, in Southeast Asia or anywhere else. There is also no doubt that this demand will be stressed at future at all nonaligned nations' conferences. In fact, the vast majority of the non-nuclear powers—(there are only six nuclear powers as yet)—find a sense of security in making this demand.

But, the chances of nuclear-free zones being set up throughout the world, as a means of preventing mankind's self-destruction, look slim, according to the most detailed study ever made of the subject. The 30-nation Geneva disarmament conference will report to the current U.N. General Assembly that the idea, widely canvassed for the past two decades, is excellent in theory, but extremely difficult to apply in practice. A survey prepared by conference experts makes sad reading for those who contend that the establishment of zones where nuclear weapons are banned is essential if the world is not to end in an atomic holocaust. Only one populated area, Latin America, is covered by a nuclear free zone treaty, although there have been repeated calls for such areas to be set up in Europe, Asia, Africa and West Asia.

Nuclear-free zones in highly-volatile areas such as West Asia might be of special value since confrontations could spread from such regions to other parts of the world. But the experts from 21 nations who produced the report for the conference at the request of the U.N. said they could not agree on when these zones should be created. Some experts said the creation of these "peace sectors" could lead to moves to limit conventional arms while others ar-

gued that the establishment of the zone must be preceded by a reduction of tensions. This study does not take us much further forward. "We have recognised, that the problem is complicated delicate and beset by political considerations" one western delegate had said. The 60-page report said that if the six-nation nuclear club were enlarged, as it easily could be "it could present new threats to the security of states and could add new dangers of nuclear war to an already dangerous world situation. World security is interrelated with regional security. The establishment of a nuclear-weapons-free zone, wherever suitable conditions exist, could make a positive contribution to the achievement of the objectives of the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons and the cessation of the nuclear arms race", the report said.

The whole problem, however, is finding these suitable conditions. Despite 65 meetings at the U.N.'s European office in Geneva between April and August, the experts did not manage to come up with any proposals to be put before the General Assembly. They contented themselves with saying that "it is (our) considered view that circumstances in different regions vary so widely that a pragmatic and flexible approach would need to be adopted in each case."

IT IS IN THIS CONTEXT that many commentators have pointed out that the Conference of 33 European and 2 North American nations was able to adopt a final document at Helsinki on security and co-operation in Europe without bringing into the picture the demand for nuclear-free zones. In fact, the four bigger of the six world nuclear powers were involved in the Helsinki Conference. It has been shown, say commentators, that a general peace and security agreement was possible without insisting on nuclear-free zones.

The concept of a Helsinki was first mooted by the Soviet Union in 1954 when the cold war was at its highest. It took over 20 years for Soviet diplomacy to achieve its objective. Helsinki has now regularised boundaries which had arisen after the second world war and has laid the foundations for peace in Europe which over the last

three hundred years was the scene of many wars and armed conflicts and which had also generated two devastating world wars in this century.

Whether one likes it or not, the implications of Helsinki go far beyond the boundaries of Europe. Helsinki's significance lies in the fact that all countries in Europe and the USA and Canada (as countries deeply involved in European affairs) have been able to sit together and hammer out agreements which (seemingly at any rate) take Europe forward to peace. And, today, the talk about an Asian Helsinki has begun to gather momentum. Brezhnev and the Soviet Union have raised the need for an Asian Security Plan some years ago but this had not made any headway at all. But now, after Helsinki, there is a new urgency in discussions in different Asian capitals about an Asian peace treaty covering the whole continent—and more especially after it has begun to dawn on Asian statesman that nuclear-free regional zones were not likely to materialise into realities in the foreseeable future.

THIS FACT WAS REFLECTED in press interview in West Germany in which the Pakistan leader, Mr. Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, had figured. The West German daily, *Die Welt*, had interviewed the Pakistani Prime Minister on August 28 when he was in that country for a few days. He had evidently been asked questions about an Asian Helsinki and Mr. Bhutto had said that he was opposed to any "Asian Helsinki" and that Pakistan would on no account join a collective security scheme that excluded China.

An agency despatch summarising the interview had reported: *The Pakistan Prime Minister, Mr. Z. A. Bhutto, said in an interview on Thursday with the West German daily "Die Welt" that he was opposed to any "Asian Helsinki" and that Pakistan would on no account join a collective security system that excludes China. Mr. Bhutto was also asked why Washington's "tilt" in favour of Pakistan in the 1971 crisis with India had failed to develop the envisaged stepped-up activity with Washington. Mr. Bhutto said that the "tilt", a term used by the U.S. Secretary of State,*

Bhutto on Asian Security

Dr. Henry Kissinger, at the time was only a pendulum and that a pendulum invariably remains a pendulum. In the hour of acute crisis "fundamental decisions are preferable to a swing of the pendulum which can never eliminate the root of a crisis." These were Mr. Bhutto's thoughts on the Soviet-proposed Asian collective security system which Mr. Bhutto described as an Asian Helsinki. Pakistan is not negatively disposed to any plan intended to serve peace or stability in Asia. We never said that we would reject an Asian security conference. Our view is that the situation in Europe is very different from the situation in Asia. Since World War Two Europe had undergone changes that made Helsinki possible. European nations have settled most of their territorial differences. In Asia, however, most territorial conflicts have remained unresolved. As of yesterday we did not even maintain trade relations with India. In Europe you have the Common Market. In Asia, China rightly or wrongly takes the view that a collective security plan has the sole purpose to isolate Peking."

He asked: "What would be the value of a security conference without China's participation? It is just as impossible as a European security conference without France or the Federal Republic of Germany. Once the time is ripe for a conference dedicated to security and open to all States including the People's Republic of China, Pakistan will not make an exception."

Mr. Bhutto was also unhappy that West Germany had changed its earlier warm friendship for Pakistan to one where it regarded Pakistan as an "area of tension"—in the words of Pakistan's Prime Minister. This is how the agency report summed up the Bhutto reaction. He regretted the fact, however, that West Germany regards Pakistan as an area of tension. He also "deeply regretted" that without any reason the momentum and state of our relations with Bonn are not on the same level as before," and recalled that there was a time "when we were the only country with a clear attitude towards the Berlin Wall." He said this dated back to the time "when your (West many's) relations with the Soviet Union were not as good as today. Now you discriminate against us and you classify us as a tension area. Perhaps now that we are only a peo-

ple of 70 million instead of 120 millions we are no longer as interesting as before."—UNI.

In spite of Russia's repeated assurances that China was not and could not be excluded from any Asian Security Conference or Treaty, Mr. Bhutto has taken the stand that, as it stood, the suggestion of an Asian Security Conference was intended to exclude China. This may be because of the continuing cold and ideological war between Russia and China, but Pakistan (and Bhutto) must realise that no Asian country would agree to participate in a Conference for a peace and security treaty for the whole continent without China. It would be absurd to conceive of such a conference without China—the biggest and most populous country on the continent besides being one of the two nuclear Asian powers.

China, fiercely involved in its cold war against the USSR, has bitterly opposed the suggestion of an Asian Security Conference just as vigorously as she had opposed Helsinki. The Chinese arguments are now familiar to all interested in current affairs. Peking's view is that anything out of the Soviet Union under the present leadership was bad: that Russia was peddling the idea of Asian security for its own hegemonistic ideas: that while declaring itself to be a European power the Soviet Union described itself as Asian country and in so doing "it has no other purpose than to seek control of the two continents by means of its vast land and huge military power." China also feels that the Brezhnev plan was only a Russian strategic device to step into the Asian region after the withdrawal of US and British forces from the area. China wants Asian powers and countries to fill the vacuum created by the departure of the USA, Britain, France and other Western powers from the continent (in a military sense). And Peking's final verdict was that any attempt to think that a European Helsinki would set in motion a new impulse for an Asian Security Conference was only wishful thinking on the part of Moscow.

Similar views had been expressed in the fifties by cold war enthusiasts like Dulles when Russia had

suggested an European Security Conference in 1954. But there has been a transformation in the cold war in Europe and (at worst) what has taken its place is a cold peace—which is a far better state than a cold war which had persistently threatened to turn itself into a hot war. But in spite of China's objections and Pakistan's reservations, there is a growing desire in all Asian countries for an advance towards peace, security and co-operation. In the fast changing and growingly sophisticated world of ours such a development is only natural.

IT IS WELL TO RECALL that at the time of Dulles it was thought that diplomacy was possible only from "positions of strength". Adenauer, for instance, was still obsessed with ideas of revenge and had wanted to recarve the boundaries of Europe once again and at the same time "absorb" East Germany into the West. At that time, the idea of detente and co-operation was regarded as utopian, or at best as something totally unrealistic. But great changes took place on the European continent and one factor undoubtedly was that the Soviet Union had developed as a powerful nuclear power with a strong economic base. The cold war, it was discovered, could not kill the Soviet Union and the socialist countries of Eastern Europe and a hot war had become a gamble which even the worst cold war champion was unwilling to risk. President de Gaulle of France was the first European statesman to recognise this reality: and he was willing to take the Soviet offer of detente on its face value as genuine and not merely a crap or a propaganda stunt.

It was the France-Soviet detente which had set the pace for further European detente. Chancellor Willy Brandt had followed the French example with his *ostpolitik* and had signed treaties with the USSR, Poland and Czechoslovakia—recognising post war boundaries and renouncing the use of force.

This detente in Europe was completed when the process of USA-USSR detente, which began in the Nixon-Kissinger years, became a reality. It was on this basis that that the foundations of all-European conference became possible. There was still considerable opposi-

tion to the European Conference on Security and Co-operation. Though European governments had accepted the need for such a conference, there were still many cold war warriors who opposed this conference tooth and nail as a surrender to the totalitarianism of the socialist system centred on Moscow. But the most vociferous critic was China, but in Europe she was able to find only two small allies, Albania and Malta (whilst the former refused to attend the Helsinki summit, the latter did to plug the Chinese line propaganda-wise).

Helsinki, however, has shown that a treaty to prevent war was not something unrealistic. It was a difficult but an attainable goal. It has also been pointed out that the ten-points enshrined in the Helsinki Declaration was originally conceived in Bandung's *Pancha Sila*. The content was the same although there are differences arising from the time factor and the specific features of the current situation on the continent. The question today is why Asians cannot work out a Security System and Peace Treaty among themselves in the best traditions of *Pancha Sila* and Bandung. Helsinki has enlarged the scope of such an agreement or declaration. Economic, scientific, technological and cultural co-operation has been brought under the scope of Helsinki and there is no reason why a similar development cannot take place in Asia, and thereafter greater co-operation between Asia and Europe (and the West) could be established for everybody's mutual benefit. What was done in Europe cannot obviously be copied in Asia. The conditions and the situation on this continent are more complex in some ways but simpler in others — than what obtains in Europe. But this cannot prevent an Asian summit on lines similar to Helsinki. THE CLIMATE IN THE WORLD seems appropriate today for such a summit in Asia. The disarmament and other talks in Geneva and Vienna provide a helpful backdrop. The ending of the war in Indochina and stabilisation of the situation on the Indochina peninsula is another welcome development which paves the way for an all-Asian dialogue. The Shah of Iran has already gone on record that Helsinki should induce Asia

to take steps to improve security and peace in Asia. China's recognition of Bangladesh, following on Pakistan's, is an undoubtedly a further step in reducing tension in Asia, especially on the Indian sub-continent. The Hindu commentator, G. K. Reddy, writing from New Delhi on September 1 carefully set out reactions in India:

Despite its persisting differences with China over various issues, India is prepared to look upon Peking's belated recognition of Bangladesh as a hopeful development in the belief that the very logic of the sub-continental situation would sooner or later compel China to adopt a more realistic attitude to the problems of the region. Better late than never, China has at last extended *de jure* recognition although it has been dealing with Bangladesh on a *de facto* basis for quite some time by reconciling itself to the reality of the break-up of old Pakistan.

The recent events in Bangladesh have, no doubt, hastened the Chinese recognition, but the moves for the establishment of diplomatic relations were set in motion a year ago after Bangladesh's admission to the United Nations. From then on it was only a question of time and tactics on China's part to choose a politically advantageous moment for announcing the recognition. After an absence of nearly four years, the Chinese will be re-establishing their presence in Dacca soon. It remains to be seen whether they will be descending on the scene determined to make their presence felt by creating difficulties or lending a helping hand in consolidating Bangladesh's hardwon freedom. The Chinese had placed themselves in such an unenviable position by initially supporting the Pakistani savagery and later on refusing to accept the emergence of Bangladesh as an independent nation that the recent events had provided the hardheaded men in Peking with an excellent opportunity to extricate themselves from this embarrassing position with the pretence of some tactical gain in the long run.

As far as India is concerned, it has never considered the recognition of a country as the conferment of a favour, only an acceptance of the realities of a changed situation. It never deviated from its policy of consistent support for the restoration of China's rightful place in the United Nations even after the

1962 aggression. So India has been taking a dim view of the Chinese manoeuvres to use the recognition of Bangladesh as a political lever for deriving some tactical advantage in the region. The new leaders of Bangladesh have sought Chinese recognition with the firm conviction that there is nothing incompatible between their policy of preserving the special relationship with India and establishing closer ties with other countries like China. But as realists they know only too well that neither China nor Pakistan can really replace India as the most important neighbour with which Bangladesh has so many common interests. The Chinese can certainly extend their influence and gain a firm foothold if they are prepared to play a positive role by co-operating with other friendly countries in helping Bangladesh to tide over its difficulties, instead of attempting to dig in their toes all too soon with divisive tactics and disruptive manoeuvres.

The announcement of the Chinese recognition has not come as a surprise because it is an overdue development that would have lost all its relevance if Peking had chosen to procrastinate any longer. So it has not come as a climatic event casting an ugly shadow over the sub-continent. Hence a country like India is well placed to view this development with quiet confidence in its proper context as the logical conclusion of a process that began long ago but lost some of its impact through inexplicably long delay that had no relation to the political realities of the situation. There can be no rationale behind a gesture of this nature if China has allowed itself to be swayed all this time by its blind prejudice against India or pathological hatred of the Soviet Union in coming to what it now considers to be the right decision. The so-called parallelism between the Chinese and US policies of containing Soviet influence in Bangladesh cannot make much headway unless it is matched by a readiness to co-operate with all those who are prepared to help this hapless nation. There can be real competition in constructive endeavours, not in disruptive manoeuvres. And whatever, their predilections, the new leaders of Bangladesh are shrewd enough to know which countries can really come to their rescue at this crucial time with sustained assistance and an abiding interest in their country's welfare.

Capital For Development

Who will give the lead for an Asian Helsinki?

Will it be the Shah of Iran who has visions of Asian and global leadership? Or, will the Shah combine with his new found ally in Iraq set the ball rolling? Or will King Khalid of Saudi Arabia, looking into the outer world in a way King Faisal never did, provide an Initiative on Asian matters in a way that no West Asian country has so far done? It must be mentioned that Iran and the West Asian Moslem countries have so far not been involved in the cold war which has plagued the continent as between Russia and China with India in the picture in a big way.

East Asian countries like China, Japan and Korea have problems among themselves and with the rest of Asia to provide leadership at this stage. The Indochina countries of Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos are still too new on the scene to be able to play a leading role. Indonesia, another big and populous nation, has its own cold war with China, on the one hand, and Russia, on the other, to be able to take the lead in the matter, and the southeast ASEAN countries still feel too insecure in the midst of the continuing Big Power geopolitics to be able to take any initiative on an Asian scale.

Sri Lanka is one of the few countries which is neutral and nonaligned enough to be able to give a lead in this matter, but economic and political difficulties within the country will tend to inhibit such attention on an Asian scale. Moreover, Mrs. Bandaranaike now has her hands full with the August 1976 nonaligned summit and it is doubtful if she can devote any time or attention towards working for an Asian Helsinki. For the moment, at rate, it looks as if the Soviet Union will endeavour to sell the idea single-handed with China waging a furious cold war against it.

HELD OVER FOR NEXT WEEK

● GAME RANGERS' RESOLUTION

● RAIL JOURNEY TO KANDY

TOWARDS A NEW ECONOMIC ORDER—2

Accelerating Economic Growth

—US Proposals—

By Dr. Henry Kissinger

IT IS NOT ENOUGH to ensure the minima¹ economic security of the developing countries. Development is a process of growth, of acceleration, of greater productivity, higher living standards, and social change. This is a process requiring the infusion of capital, technology, and managerial skills on a massive scale.

Developing countries themselves will have to provide most of the effort, but international support is indispensable. Even a moderate acceleration of recent growth rates will require some \$ 40 billion a year in outside capital by 1980. The requirement for technological innovation, though impossible to quantify, is similarly great.

How can these needs for capital, technology, and skills be met?

Bilateral concessional assistance from the industrialized countries has been one important source. Last year it amounted to some \$ 7.2 billion. This must continue to grow. But realistically, we cannot expect the level to increase significantly over the coming years. To put it frankly, the political climate for bilateral aid has deteriorated. In the industrial countries, support for aid has been added to domestic economic slowdown, compounded by energy problems in the developing countries. There is resentment at forms of assistance which imply dependence.

The oil exporters have only begun to meet their responsibility for assistance to the poorer countries. Last year their concessionary aid disbursements were roughly \$ 2 billion; it could—and must—rise substantially this year. But the industrial nations and the oil exporters cannot, even together, supply all the new resources needed to accelerate development. It follows inescapably that the remaining needs for capital and

technology can only be met, directly or indirectly, from the free flow of private sources. This investment will take place only if the conditions exist to attract or permit it. The United States therefore believes it is time for the world community to address the basic requirements for accelerating growth in developing countries;

—First, developing countries must have better access to capital markets; Second, we must promote the transfer of technology; Third, it is time to reach an international consensus on the principles to guide the beneficial operation of transnational enterprises.

First, access to capital markets. The private capital markets are already a major source of development funds either directly or through intermediaries. The World Bank and the Regional Development Banks borrow extensively to lend to developing nations. The United States urges the expansion of these programs. We are gratified that advanced countries outside of the western hemisphere are joining us shortly in a \$ 6 billion expansion of the Inter-American Development Bank. We will participate in negotiations for replenishment of the Asian Development Bank; and we are seeking Congressional authority to join the African Development Fund.

BUT THE DEVELOPING COUNTRIES that have been most successful and that no longer require concessional aid, especially in Asia and Latin America, have relied heavily on borrowing in the capital market. Their future access must be assured. We must now find new ways to enhance the opportunities of developing countries in the competition for capital. And we need to match in new ways potential sources of capital with the investment needs of developing countries. Several courses of action offer promise. First, the United States will support a major expansion of the resources of the World Bank's International Finance Corporation—the investment banker with the broadest experience in supporting private enterprise in developing countries. We propose a large increase in the IFC's capital, from the present \$ 100 million to at least \$ 400 million.

Secondly, the United States proposes creation of an international

investment trust, to mobilize portfolio capital for investment in local enterprises. The trust would attract new capital by offering investors a unique opportunity—participation in a managed broad selection of investments in developing country firms, public, private and mixed. The International Finance Corporation would manage it and perhaps provide seed capital, but most of its funds would come from government and private investors. Investors would have their exposure to major losses limited by a \$ 200 million loss-reserve, provided by governments of industrialized, oil-producing, and developing nations. This institution could be a powerful link between the capital market and the developing world, and could provide billions of dollars of essential resources.

Thirdly, the United States will contribute actively to the work of the IMF/World Bank Development Committee to find ways to assist developing countries in their direct borrowing in the capital market. It is encouraging that the Latin American countries are considering a regional financial safety net to underpin their access to capital markets by mutual commitments of financial backing.

Finally, we believe that all industrial countries should systematically review the conditions for developing-country access to their national markets, assure that they offer fair and open opportunity. The United States is prepared to provide technical assistance and expertise to developing countries ready to enter long-term capital markets, and we ask others to join us.

Developing countries need not only new funds but also new technology. Yet the mechanisms for the transfer of technology and for its local development are limited, and are seldom at the sole command of national governments, and the technologies of industrial countries must often be adapted to local economic and social conditions. New institutions and new approaches are therefore required.

For technology to spur development, it must spur growth in priority areas: energy, food, other resources strategic to their economies, and industrialization itself. First energy is critical for both agricultural and industrial deve-

lopment. The enormous rise in the cost of oil in the last two years has more than wiped out the total of the foreign aid that developing countries have received. It has undermined their balance of payments and has mortgaged their future by forcing them into larger borrowing at higher interest rates. There is no easy short-term solution, but if energy dependence is to be reduced, efforts to exploit new and diversified sources must be intensified now.

—The United States invites other nations to join us in an increase of bilateral support for training and technical assistance to help developing countries find and exploit new sources of fossil fuel and other forms of energy.

—Methods of discovering and using less accessible or low-grade resources must be fully utilized. So must technology to produce solar and geothermal power. And these techniques must be suited to the conditions of the developing countries.

—The United States believes the topic of energy co-operation should be high on the agenda for the forthcoming dialogue between consumers and producers. We will propose, in this dialogue, creation of an International Energy Institute bringing together developed and developing, consumer and producer, on the particular problem of energy development. The international Energy Agency and the International Atomic Energy Agency should both find ways to give technical assistance and support to this institutes.

A second critical area for technological innovation is food production and improvement of nutrition.

—During the past decade, a number of international agricultural research centers have been established to adapt techniques to local needs and conditions. In 1971 the consultative group for international agricultural research was formed to coordinate these efforts. The United States is prepared to expand the capacity of these institutes. In collaboration with national research organizations with more skilled manpower and funds, they could grow into a worldwide research network for development of agricultural technology.

—We are also supporting legislation in the Congress to enable our universities to expand their technical assistance and research in the agricultural field. Non-food agricultural and forestry products are a third strategic area for technological assistance. The export earnings of many of the poorest countries—and the livelihood of many millions of their people—depend on such products as timber, jute, cotton, and natural rubber, some of which have encountered serious problems in the face of synthetics. They urgently need assistance to improve the productivity and competitiveness of these products and to diversify their economies.

—The United States therefore proposes the creation of an organization to coordinate and finance such assistance. Its task will be to attract manpower and capital for research. The financing of this effort should be a priority task for the new international fund for agricultural development. But developing countries' need for technology is not only for development of strategic sectors, but for the broad promotion of industrialization itself. This requires the broadest application of skills, resources, and information.

—This is not an easy task. The store house of technology is already huge and is growing geometrically. Developing practical devices to transfer technology beyond those which already exist will require careful thought. We are prepared to join with other nations in examining new initiatives.

—To this end the United States supports creation of an International Industrialization Institute, to sponsor and conduct research on industrial technology together with the governments, industries, and research facilities of developing countries.

—We support creation of an international center for the exchange of technological information, as a clearing house for the sharing of on going research and new findings relevant to development.

—We will expand our bilateral support of industrial technology appropriate to developing country needs.

—We will work with others in this organization in preparing guide-

Transnational Enterprises

lines for the transfer of technology and in the planning of a conference on science and technology for development.

Access to capital markets, and special programs to transfer new technology, are but two factors of accelerated growth. There is a third—which may well be one of the most effective engines of development—the transnational enterprise. Transnational enterprises have been powerful instruments of modernization both in the industrial nations—where they conduct most of their operations—and in the developing countries, where there is often no substitute for their ability to marshal capital, management, skills, technology and initiative. Thus the controversy over their role and conduct is itself an obstacle to economic development.

It is time for the world community to deal with the problems, real and perceived, that have arisen. If the nations assembled here cannot reach consensus on the proper role of these enterprises, the developing countries could lose an invaluable asset. Let us make this issue a test of our capacity to accommodate mutual concerns in practical agreement. For our part, the United States is prepared to meet the proper concerns of governments in whose territories transnational enterprises operate. We affirm that enterprises must act in full accordance with the sovereignty of host governments and take full account of their public policy. Countries are entitled to regulate the operations of transnational enterprises within their borders. But countries wishing the benefits of these enterprises should foster the conditions that attract and maintain their productive operation.

The United States therefore believes that the time has come for the international community to articulate standards of conduct for both enterprises and governments. The United Nations Commission on Transnational Corporations, and other international bodies, have begun such an effort. We must reach agreement on balanced principles. These should apply to transnational enterprises in their relations with governments and to governments in their relations with enterprises and with other governments. They must be fair prin-

ciples, for failure to reflect the interests of all parties concerned would exacerbate rather than moderate the frictions which have damaged the environment for international investment.

Specifically, the United States believes that:

—Transnational enterprises are obliged to obey local law and refrain from unlawful intervention in the domestic affairs of host countries. Their activities should take account of public policy and national development priorities. They should respect local customs. They should employ qualified local personnel, or qualify local people through training.

—Host governments in turn must treat transnational enterprises equitably, without discrimination among them, and in accordance with international law. Host governments should make explicit their development priorities and the standards which transnational enterprises are expected to meet, and maintain them with reasonable consistency.

—Governments and enterprises must both respect the contractual obligations that they freely undertake. Contracts should be negotiated openly, fairly, and with full knowledge of their implications. Greater assurance that contracts will be honored will improve the international commercial environment, increase the flow of investment, and expand economic transactions. Destructive and politically explosive investment disputes, which spoil the climate for large commitments and investment, will occur less frequently.

—Principles established for transnational enterprises should apply equally to domestic enterprises, where relevant. Standards should be addressed not only to privately owned corporations, but also to state owned and mixed transnational enterprises, which are increasingly important in the world economy.

A statement of principles is not the only or necessarily a sufficient way of resolving many of the problems affecting transnational enterprises. We must develop others:

—Governments must harmonize their tax treatment of these enterprises without coordination, host-country and home-country

policies may inhibit productive investment.

—Fact-finding and arbitral procedures must be promoted as means for settling investment disputes. The World Bank's International Center for the settlement of investment disputes, and other third-party facilities, should be employed to settle the important disputes which inevitably arise.

—Laws against restrictive business practices must be developed, better coordinated among countries, and enforced. The United States has long been vigilant against such abuses in domestic trade, mergers, or licensing of technology. We stand by the same principles internationally. We condemn restrictive practices in setting prices or restraining supplies, whether by private or state-owned transnational enterprise or by the collusion of national governments.

—Insurance for foreign private investors should to the extent possible be multilateralized, and should include financial participa-

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tion by developing countries to reflect our mutual stake in encouraging foreign investment in the service of development.

—And there must be more effective bilateral consultation among governments to identify and resolve investment disputes before they become irritants in political relations.

The United States believes that just solutions are achievable—and necessary. If the world community is committed to economic development, it cannot afford to treat transnational enterprises as objects of economic warfare. The capacity of the international community to deal with this issues constructively will be an important test of whether the search for solutions or the clash of ideologies will dominate our economic future. The implications for economic development are profound.

(To be Continued)



A POINT OF VIEW

The LSSP And The United Front

By A Student of Left Politics

THE CRISIS between the SLFP and the LSSP has been resolved with the removal of the three LSSP Ministers from office and the allocation of their portfolios among SLFP Ministers. A qualitative new situation has thus arisen in the country. What led to this? What resulted in the break-up an alliance that has been in existence for over 11 years, that is since June 1964 when the first SLFP-LSSP Coalition Government was formed? Though that Government lasted but for a brief period, a united front on an agreed Common Programme was formed between those two parties as well as the Communist Party while they were in the Opposition in 1968. On an agreed election manifesto, the United Front went to and swept the polls in 1970. The UF had come to be accepted as an almost permanent feature on the local political landscape.

Then what has happened to upset this political apple-cart? How did differences between the SLFP and LSSP become so acute that they had to part company with mutual recriminations and general distrust? To those unaware of what was going behind the scenes these last few months, the sudden collapse of the UF would have come almost like a bolt a from the blue. But to those versed in the history of local Left politics and the theory and practice of multi-class united fronts, the latest developments come as no surprise.

The fact is that though the LSSP came to accept the policy of a united front with the SLFP, they did not base it on a correct theoretical foundation. On the contrary, it would be more correct to say that they rather blundered into it largely through empiricism.

A GOOD EXAMPLE of this was the way they revised their opinion of the class character of the SLFP. Ever since the SLFP was formed in 1951 the LSSP had characterised it as a capitalist party. Thus, Dr. Colvin R. de Silva wrote:

"What is the SLFP as a political party? What is its class character? The answer is that it is a capitalist party though, like every major capitalist party, it has also a wide petty-bourgeois membership and following. The SLFP is in fact the alternative party of the Ceylon capitalist class. It is nurtured and maintained by the capitalist class itself to hold the Leftward moving masses within capitalism's general framework, if and when the capitalist UNP Government is defeated or overthrown. In other words, it is the Ceylon capitalist class' alternative to the UNP, the alternative capitalist party held in reserve by the Ceylon capitalist class—and its foreign imperialist masters!—against the eventuality of the UNP going down in defeat before the masses.

Even after the MEP under the leadership of Mr. Bandaranaike was elected to power in 1956 and for the entire period of his Premiership, the LSSP did not shift from its position of characterising the MEP Government as a purely capitalist one. Thus their 1957 annual conference stated: "Nine months of the MEP in power have demonstrated the bankruptcy of anti-UNPism and have begun to drive home to the masses the fundamental fact that

the MEP Government is operating wholly within the framework of capitalism and fundamentally refusing to go outside it." Their annual conference the following year characterised the MEP Government not only as one that had entered into "open and direct service of the capitalist class" but as "openly in the service of foreign capital too."

After the break-up of the MEP Government in 1959, the LSSP described the "change in class composition" of the Bandaranaike Government as follows: "From a Government of a bourgeois party in alliance with a petty-bourgeois group and responding within limits to the pressure of this group and other similar petty-bourgeois elements in the Government party, it has been transformed into a Government of a bourgeois party pure and simple. Apart from the fact that the main support of the SLFP comes not from the big bourgeoisie but from the economically less powerful sections of the Sinhalese bourgeoisie, the present SLFP Government is not very different from the UNP Government of the past."

The LSSP went all out to win a majority by itself at the General Election of March 1960. It nominated or sponsored 109 candidates in all and made cocksure of coming out on top and Dr. N. M. Perera, its leader, becoming Prime Minister. Vain hopes! The LSSP won a mere 10 seats. In order to join hands with other Opposition parties to oust the minority UNP Government that was then formed by Dudley Senanayake, the LSSP too was forced to express their readiness to "help the formation of an alternative Government of the SLFP." But it should be noted that even at that time it did so "while reiterating that the SLFP is a capitalist party."

It was not until June 1964 when the LSSP entered into a coalition government with the SLFP that it revised its opinion of its class nature. Having fulminated against class collaboration for years, the LSSP had naturally to make a change in their characterisation of the SLFP to avoid this charge being hurled at them then.

IT IS WORTHWHILE quoting at length from the resolution adop-

LSSP Somersault?

ted by the majority of delegate at a special LSSP Conference to make this clear. That resolution stated:

"Does coalition with the SLFP in this setting mean class collaboration? Nobody would dispute that the UNP is a party of the capitalist class in Ceylon. The SLFP is a party based on the radical petty-bourgeoisie and the lower middle class. Admittedly, the leadership has feudal connections, but from the policy that was followed since July 1960 it is clear that the main pressure on the government has been from the lower middle class and to some extent even from the working class.... If this characterisation is not correct, it will be difficult to explain the various measures for nationalisation the party has embarked upon since 1956.... The cumulative effect of these measures must result in a serious inroad into the capitalist structure of the economy. The SLFP Government and the MEP Government before it has carried forward a national struggle in this country.. When the cumulative effect of these changes are considered, it will be quite apparent that the SLFP is not a capitalist party. The fact that it is functioning within the capitalist framework does not necessarily make it a party of the capitalist class. Its fundamental character as a centrist party drawing its main support from the peasantry and the lower middle class elements of the country remains unchanged. A coalition government between the working class party like the LSSP and the SLFP can still further change its class character."

Commented V. Karalasingham in his *Politics of Coalition*: "It is hard to believe that even a Right-wing faction in an allegedly Trotskyist party could have produced a resolution containing so much arrant nonsense. That a Right-wing faction did produce it shows how much the Trotskyist LSSP was eroded by alien and hostile elements who found in Dr. N. M. Perera their natural leader. The underlying idea of the Right that stultification of certain sectors of the economy is socialism, or that the party introducing it is "not capitalist" betrays a truly amazing ignorance not only of scientific socialism but even of the real world of modern capita-

lism. Clearly the authors' conception of socialism belongs to one of the varieties of pre-Marxian utopian socialism while their knowledge of capitalism is limited to the early Victorian era."

IT WAS THIS CONFUSION over the class character of the SLFP that made the LSSP leaders even risk a split in their own party and break-up the United Left Front which had come into being less than a year earlier in a mad rush to form a coalition government with the SLFP.

Even worse than this confusion was the LSSP's ignorance of how to work and act inside a multi-class united front. One flowed from the other. Losing sight, as Lenin said, of basic class considerations could lead to the most serious mistakes on the part of a working class party.

This was made clear by the way that the LSSP acted during the first three years of the United Front Government. It would seem to the casual observer that the LSSP had almost shed its independent existence and merged with the SLFP. From one extreme to another—from unbridled criticism and opposition to SLFP Governments from 1956 till 1964, the LSSP from 1970 to 1973 appeared to be nothing more than a subservient yes-man to the SLFP inside the UF Government. Nowhere was this made clearer than in the incident connected with the enactment of the Criminal Justice Commission Bill when even the Communist Party put up a fight and had to face the music for its troubles.

The Criminal Justice Commissions Bill which the Government introduced in 1972 was ostensibly to deal with the insurgents of the 1971 uprising and foreign exchange racketeers. But its provisions were not confined to these persons only.

Its draconian provisions could be used for other purposes also. Among those provisions were the admissibility of confessions made to police officers or extorted by them under various forms of duress or third degree methods and the admissibility of the confessions of one accused to convict his other co-accused, both of which were against the provisions of the normal law of the land. There was to be no appeal from the decisions of

the Criminal Justice Commissions which the Bill proposed to set up—not even on a point of law.

These draconian provisions may have been justified if they applied only to the 1971 insurgents or the foreign exchange racketeers. But what should have been reprehensible to any party with a working class base was that they could be invoked even in the cases of 'rebellion' or 'widespread destruction or damage to property'. 'Rebellion' was nowhere defined in the Bill so that even a series of widespread strikes in the country could be construed as 'rebellion' and the provisions of the law enforced.

And what was worse, this extraordinary law was to remain in force for eight years, that is till 1980. This period covered not only the full term of the present National State Assembly but three years of the next. It worried even the trade union leaders of the LSSP. The late D. G. William, then General Secretary of the LSSP-led Ceylon Federation of Labour issued a statement that "the Criminal Justice Commissions Bill which is supposed to have been formed to deal with insurgents and foreign exchange racketeers can be seen to be capable of being used for other purposes also.. This Bill can be a threat not only to the working class but also to the common people.... We call upon the leaders of the United Front who well know the desires of the working class and the people to reconsider the provisions contained in the Bill. We strongly appeal to them not to include any provisions in the Bill which can put an end to the rights and freedoms of the working class."

But all these appeals notwithstanding, the LSSP leaders went the whole hog with the SLFP in pushing through this Bill. During that period the LSSP's solidarity with the SLFP, the senior partner in the UF, was stronger than its solidarity with the working class which had raised its leaders to the status of Cabinet Ministers in the Sirimavo Bandaranaike Government.

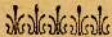
And now during the last two years, as the class nature of the SLFP became more and more clear making nonsense of the 'theoretical' gen-

eralisations the LSSP had made for opportunist purposes, the LSSP found itself in increasing confrontation with the SLFP leading to the final rift and the removal of LSSP Ministers from the Cabinet.

During the first three years after the formation of the UF Government, the LSSP had, as we said, almost lost their separate identity in the merger. The last two years were characterised by increasingly blatant moves on their part to assert their independence. This could not but lead to the split that has now taken place. It is an object lesson of what happens to those who take a political line purely for pragmatic and empiricist reasons without a clear ideological or theoretical understanding of their actions.

Now that the split has taken place, the question is: What next? Will the LSSP revert back to their old, 'revolutionary' line of going all-out against the SLFP Government? And then what if the SLFP invokes against them those provisions of the draconian laws the LSSP itself helped the SLFP to put on the Statute Book?

The immediate future will be very interesting to all students of Left politics in the Island, to all those who have followed the shifting changes within the Left movement during the last 40 years, their ups and downs in and out of power.



LETTERS

• On Unity • On Tribune

Sir,

My hearty congratulations on the fair and just manner in which you have dealt with the present political situation in the country, in the last two issues of your esteemed journal. I am aware that, with much foresight, you had given timely warnings, for which you received no thanks but only abuse.

I am not a politician, and I hold no brief for any party, though I had been a pioneer in the Trade-Union movement in this country,

and am still interested in "Socialism" on a spiritual basis.

There is no wall of 'ISM' between God and the Soul. The world is One. Humanity is One. All racial divisions, religious distinctions and political party differences are the mental hybrids of separative egotism. In my humble opinion, the scriptures of the world are far safer, saner and sounder treaties on laws of Economics and Socialism than many of the modern text-books.

From the dawn of Independence for Sri Lanka, there had been six distinct handicaps, working against Unity and Peace. The first three belonged to one category and they have all been eliminated. The other three are entirely due to frustration. It is from the Latin word meaning 'to disappoint'. Frustration is man's reaction to his inability to achieve his plans and ambitions, in simple words, 'not having our own way.'

If we are sensible enough, we can recognize Frustration as an impersonal teacher or guide. He may not scold or discipline us but he is sure to stay with us indefinitely as long as is necessary so that we may learn the basic and valuable lessons of life which we have missed earlier.

I am here forcibly reminded of the words or wisdom of a learned author, and I quote them below:—

"We cannot do whatever we choose to do without consideration of others whose lives are inter-twined with ours, unless we are prepared to encounter difficulties and frustration."

"Because human beings are so numerous, each with personal likes and dislikes, ideas and desires, life is complex. But it also allows for equitable harmonious, and compatible resolutions for all problems in human relationships. However, this necessitates that we 'give a little, take a little' and share willingly, enthusiastically, and generously. Eventually, we must learn of, and practise, patience, tolerance, sympathy, kindness and love. Sooner or later we WILL learn."

Being freed from passions, prejudices and preferences, through spiritual practices extending to many decades, I am in the privileged position to write this letter with-

out references to the personalities involved in the conflict.

K. Ramachandra

Jayanthipura,
Talangama.
8th September, 1975.

Sir,

TRIBUNE is, in my view, a favourite with many people who have developed a sense of critical analysis. Your contribution to the build-up of this valuable trait among the educated is immeasurable.

I deem it therefore fit to offer you a few suggestions for an overall improvement of this valuable journal.

1. Foremost among them is the size of the types used to print the main body of the journal. The types are too small and inevitably tire the eyes within a short time. One is therefore compelled to put aside the journal until the eyes recuperate and is ready for further onslaught. It is therefore advisable to print the main body with large clear easy-to-read types. Printing with large types will automatically tend to increase the number of pages if the size is kept the same. This means increased cost of production. However if you take care of the readers, in return, they will take care of your journal.

2. A journal that is welded to the principle of expressing objective views on news both local and foreign is obliged to cultivate among its readers the faculty of critical outlook. This, in part, is achieved by entertaining and publishing articles and letters on issues of topical interest.

Trust these suggestions will induce a little re-thinking regarding the Tribune.

M. Kangatharam

Sarasalai,
Chavakachcheri.
8th September, 1975.



NEXT WEEK

- L.S.S.P. and U.F.
- ELEPHANTS

Sitale Gets The Dish (1)

—to be concluded—
By Herbert Keuneman

I lie at this moment under disapproval, not to say disgrace, in Pinhamy's eyes.

In his wife's too, I think (though usually there exists far more understanding between her and me than between me and Pinhamy) but that is because, motherlike, she is at the moment exclusively concerned with the establishment of an unimpeachable exculpation of any member of her own family from being involved in an embarrassment—or a tragedy: it depends on how one looks at it—that has recently overtaken this household. Perhaps she might have been less rancorous if all her kinsfolk had always been equally guiltless.

This is what has happened....

On Tuesday the 22nd of July I had to leave Ehetuwewa hurriedly—there had been a death in my family—at a couple of hours' notice instead of making the leisurely departure I had planned for three days later. Dinga, to whom I normally entrust the house and all its contents and thereafter have no unease, had to be in Colombo, too, so that the best obstetrician we could find might check that all was well with her and her coming baby (it was) and though her appointment was for Friday I took her with me to save the expense of a special companion's accompanying her later in the week. The keys I handed to Pinhamy until Dinga should return.

Now, I think I have explained that half my house is lock-upable and the rest exposed to the four winds (and the Forty Thieves, should they happen to be about) and that if the door from the Kitchen is shut access to the Dining Room, where are stored the only things of any value that I now possess, is possible only from the Hallway. Anyone, of course, can enter the open half of my house on the ground floor; and anyone with a ladder—or a very moderate scaling ability—can enter my

upstairs Living Room. But either to enter my Bedroom or reach the Hallway from above he would require keys. He would need separate keys, similarly, to enter either the Kitchen (if the passage door from the Dining Room were shut) or the Hallway, on the ground-floor.

When I said that I handed the keys to Pinhamy I meant the keys of the upstairs doors, which no one would need save in an emergency. I should have handed over the key of the ground-floor door to the Hallway, as well; but that was on another ring, with the Kitchen key (which P.B., Pinhamy's son, and Sitale, Dinga's 'water-boy', both of whom would share actual charge of the house until Dinga returned, would need in order to keep the kerosene in the frig. topped up) and it did not occur to me in the confusion of getting away on time to separate the keys and entrust to Pinhamy's safekeeping the Hallway key the boys would not require.

They did not require it. But one boy used it.

On the Monday, Banders—who had met his wife in Colombo to take her to the obstetrician and then escort her back to Ehetuwewa bearing, good news, stopped off while returning to work, because he had bad news to bear to me. Or, as he more fittingly put it, sad news. Sitale had been arrested in the act of trying to dispose of items filched from the house of which he (with P.B.) was temporarily in charge. Banders specifically mentioned 'a silver dish' and 'some cutlery'. A few days later Sitale's brother-in-law, who works in Colombo but had also gone home for a weekend, and called at my Colombo address and whom I questioned whether he knew anything of the matter, said nothing about the dish but had heard about 'a silver hot-water bottle.' Shortly after, I had a letter from Dinga and she said that both were missing; besides the cutlery. She confirmed what Banders had heard as a rumour: that some things were in the hands of the police, but apparently not all.

The morning after Banders' visit I made a trunk call to the Galgamuwa Police Station. The connexion was very bad, and I was able to discuss nothing; indeed,

I am not even sure that I succeeded in getting across the message that I was temporarily yet indefinitely held up but would call in person as soon I returned to the area. This I was unable to do until the 6th of August. But on that very day I stepped in at the Police Station on my way from the train, shortly before 4.0 p.m., only to find that the Officer-in-Charge (a new man; very well spoken of, and reputedly the last—of many—to arrest the notorious ex-insurgent Maru Sira) exhausted by the rigorous of a departmental enquiry into the alleged dishonesty of a subordinate had retired to the quiet of his bungalow and could not be disturbed. I learned that the police had indeed recovered the 'hotwater bottle' and a couple of spoons, but there was no response to my offer to identify these; it was suggested I return 'in about three or four hours' time.' Nobody knew or seemed to care very much about the 'dish'.

Nobody, in fact, seemed greatly interested in the matter save one fierce-looking officer who made the following contribution: 'So, you lodge a complaint; and then we will catch him and soon as we hit him he will tell.' This seemed likely, but I didn't like it; and when I made it clear that I hoped to avoid lodging a formal complaint—I shall give reasons why, in a moment or two—even that much interest faded. However, my explanation that I could not possibly at that time stop for three or four hours was sympathetically entertained and so also was my plea that I ally was not well enough to undertake to return on the morrow if I was at all able to avoid doing so, and it was mooted whether 'Boss' was not in fact thinking of going into Ehetuwewa the next morning and it was concluded that he was and would in that case call on me. It dawned on me now that if he was, and if I for my part had accepted the suggestion to go into Galgamuwa, we should have missed each other; from which we can only conclude a certain discrepancy, calculated or otherwise, between fact and overt conjecture! For the timebeing, though, I was well satisfied. I did want my 'dish' back—it proved to be merely the lower half of an entree dish of prince's plate, not of silver; yet it had for me a great deal of sentimental value—but I did not want it back,

at the cost of having Sitale subjected to third degree methods and still less at the cost of having him sent to jail. Not anyway in my then frame of mind. I therefore welcomed the opportunity to talk the situation over with 'Boss'—I still do not know whether he is Inspector or Sub-Inspector; so I shall call him Inspector, for courtesy's sake—and engage his co-operation on a humane rather than a punitive level. But nobody called: not the next day or the next after or the day after that.

Meanwhile I am ashamed to say, my frame of mind underwent a deterioration; and with some trouble (for my ailments—some of them, perhaps, only psychogenic; yet they are painful enough—render the walk to the bus-stop quite sincerely difficult for me) I went in the end to the Police Station a second time: on Monday morning, August 10. If it could possibly be avoided I still did not want Sitale formally arrested and charged; but I had grown to feel that his evident assumption that with the help of a lot of hypocrisy it is easy to get away with a little crime and make it pay should be once and for all contradicted.

I have already written about Sitale at some length (7 June 1975) Only those three months ago I said of him: '...in order to ease Dinga's 'labour' pains I have taken on Sitale, to sleep here and each morning fill our water-bins and then go off, if he liked, the rest of the day. He had once been Nesan's successor and quite as full of personal charm, charm moreover of a wholly engaging extrovert and outgoing kind, and I was and still am particularly fond of him because of all the servants I have ever employed only he would come upstairs at a leisure time and—quite without forwarding but also without special bidding, as though, bless him! he regarded the egalitarianism I profess as a fact and not merely an ideological piece of claptrap—sit down and regale me with the village's gossip.' I then went on to relate how he had apparently fallen in with a particularly undesirable group of village delinquents, ex-insurgents for the most part, who kept a gaming-cum-dope-den-*lb* cum-kade, stocked chiefly with stolen or shop-lifted goods, and how he had become mixed up with this cell of young ne'er-do-wells,

'from, I believe, sheer easy-goingness: through nodding acquaintance to some degree of friendship to an eventual dependence on them for the "kicks" of all sorts they had to offer.' Finally... 'he came to pinching my Seconal Sodium as a home substitute for whatever it was the kade supplied him with outside home. He had to go.'

Now history had pretty much repeated itself, or indeed developed itself, and I was beginning to doubt whether there was much hope for Sitale unless something drastic occurred (though 'drastic' did not have to mean either 'violent' or 'catastrophical').

In Tribune's issue of August 2 I reported a brush Sitale had recently had with the law (for harbouring stolen property, if not for stealing it himself) a *contretemps* from which he escaped with being put on 5 years' probation. I was aware that he still consorted with, to put it generously, the sub-criminal elements; but he could hardly help this, seeing that his own father had been caught red-handed feasting upon a stolen calf and—in justice summarily administered by the aggrieved owner and a group of self-appointed village vigilantes—had been forced to eat what was left raw of the calf until he vomited, had then been daubed with calf's blood and made to parade the village wrapped in the calf's skin, and now, feeling himself intolerably disgraced (by the punishment, not by the crime) had left Ehetuwewa; and seeing, also, that Sitale now occupied his father's Ehetuwewa house together with a tenant who organised popular gambling-parties in it, and with his brother and brother-in-law who were known thieves but hitherto unpunished ones.

It could be said that in these circumstances I was asking for trouble in re-employing Sitale. But (a) there would be very few employables in the rural areas if one sought only those with no reprehensible connexions (b) I very badly needed someone early to come to Dinga's rescue (c) there is something of the Neville Chamberlain attitude—'Ah! but this time he promised me—in most of us, even if in me more than most; and (d) I sincerely trusted that even Sitale would not be such a fool as to expose himself again to the law, legally circumstanced as he now was.

We were both fools. But Sitale turned out, in addition, unlucky!

Poor Sitale! He took his pitiful loot—apparently after hawking it unsuccessfully about Ehetuwewa; and I will say this for the local receivers: either out of goodwill or out of precaution they all refused it, evidently recognizing it as mine, and this seems to be how the 'dish' came into the picture—he took it, I say, to a notorious fence in Galgamuwa, a small jeweller and electro-plater on the Nanneriya Road, and for moral support took with him an accomplice called Kiri Banda, a boy from the neighbouring village of Manakulamayagama (another hot-bed of juvenile delinquency). Kiri Banda was sent in to make the actual deal, while Sitale hung about the door, and the dish looks to have been snapped up without a great deal of bargaining since by the time the *denouement* occurred it had disappeared, but there was some lively chaffing concerning how much for the Thermos jug. Actually, Sitale had brought the wrong stopper, not a stopper at all but a detachable ring which formed a handle to another dish, Kiri Banda came out to consult with Sitale, and a rare display of cupidity, ignorance, and vacillation followed. Alas! listening to the conversation with increasingly engaged interest was a bystander.. who turned out to be a police constable in mufti! And on suspicion he took the two boys in. He also took with him the Thermos jug and the 'stopper' which had begun the trouble.

In the Police Station Sitale also confessed to 'two spoons'. He was given time to produce them, and did so. No word, or official knowledge, of a dish.

Inania of this, that and the other

Bribery and Palm Oil

By INNA

One cannot but admire the determination of the Prime Minister "to go it alone" as she fights for her convictions and for the rights of people. But how sad when we see subtle ways in which officials try to sabotage her plans and work for the people's disadvantage.

I refer to the scourge of bribery in nearly every sphere in some parts of the country. The Police department is good, but now and again one sees a traffic-hound who is hell-bent on tracking a lorry-driver just to challenge him with "a bit more slow, please" and then suddenly discovers a licence-folder being passed for signature, and the 'note' easily juts out or slips out.

It is slipped into the pocket, the book is signed, and the officer goes on as if nothing has happened. He is sure of his daily 'gain' which is neatly put aside the monthly income which may not be so big after all. That is why "they stoop so low", said an understanding person the other day. But it isn't right. This happened in a remote region far away from nowhere, but certainly somewhere. It's no lie.

Then the lethargy which delays letters or official documents partly to sabotage the regime, partly to delay in the hope of getting a little palm-oil, for the wheels that usually grind slow till "oiling" is done for wheel or palm. Where and when will it all end?

—"Oh, I could give you the document in a day or two"

—"Is that so. I'm so glad. I'll come day after!"

—"Yes, that will be fine. Come here and I'll hand it to you"

—"Now please don't fail, it is important"

—"Nothing to worry. I'll get it endorsed. Ok, very easy.

(two days later: exact time)

—"Ah. You came. Yes I was about to....."

—"Then you haven't done it? When....."

—"Two days more. I'll be having it ready. Sure, sure....."

(Our friend hasn't the least desire to bribe or push it. He's within his rights....and by Jove, he thinks he'll have it.)

(Such scenes go on for at least five or six times). Sometimes some would wish that Mrs. B. would come and thrash such recalcitrant officers, since there is no Ombudsman in Sri Lanka in the Govt. departments.

Once out of sight and out of Colombo, files, papers, etc are well-kept only in Kachcheris, I presume. The rest gives the appearance of nonchalant 'I-don't care' attitudes, of heaps of cigarette butts, empty trays with cups o

tea and early departures, from about 1.30 p.m. onwards.

Who's fooling whom? Was this the way they asked for promotions or sailed through interviews?" "Who will see our plight" ...*ape dukkha dakinne kauda*.... is a constant plea on their lips. Then, what of the poor kandyan peasant or villager who hauls his burden from afar and brings his tale of woe. Who will pity them? Who will listen?

Why not a sudden raid? If the interests of the people are at heart, love for them would easily find a way of self-expression in the teeth of such secret, subtle exploitation. I've seen a "ticketing officer" at a Sunday fair not far away: "What's this? Carrots?" (a nice bundle he'd hold up and take away in his bag, without protest).

Shame on you, you coward! feathering your nest through shameful ways.

IN INDIA

Green Fodder For More Milk

Intensive efforts are being made in India to evolve better breeds of cattle by upgrading the local ones with the help of exotic breeds. Some superior crossbreeds have been evolved like Karan Swiss to demonstrate the scope for improving milk yield by upgrading the indigenous cattle. But the efforts to improve the breed would be hardly purposeful unless accompanied by an equally fast rate of development of feeding facilities. The situation at present with regard to feeds and fodder is far from happy. It is computed that India produces merely one third of its requirement of green fodder, one seventh of the necessary feed concentrates and a quarter of the crop residues needed. The poor performance of the cattle is in no small measure due to the rampant malnutrition.

Research has shown that the cheapest way to improve the quality of the feed is to go in for more green fodder and the Indian Grasslands and Fodder Research Institute at Jhansi (U.P.) established in 1962 started work on development of high-yielding nutritious fodder varie-

ties and utilisation of natural grasslands. Superior varieties of sorghum, oats, cowpea, guar, lucerne, berseem and some important indigenous grasses were identified after screening 8,000 species of grasses and legumes. Alongside, agronomic practices for ensuring supply of green fodder all round the year were also worked out. The multiplication of seeds of the better fodder species developed was taken up at the two regional stations at Hissar (Haryana) and Kalyani (West Bengal). Five more Regional stations were set up during the Fourth Plan period at Dhamrad, Surat district (Gujarat), Jawaharnagar (Jammu and Kashmir), Vidyannagar (Hyderabad A.P.), suratgarh (Rajasthan) and Alamadhi (Tamil Nadu). All the seven stations were developed into regional stations for storage Production and Demonstration.

The seven regional stations are located in different agro-climatic zones of the country to make the farmer in these regions aware of the latest research findings and help him to take up the package of practices recommended. Further filip will be provided for this promotional programme by the assistance of the United Nations Development Programme through supply of modern equipment and technical know-how. The stations will work in close collaboration with State agencies and priority will be given to grasslands and fodder development in the livestock-dairy sector.

Fodder production has not attracted many farmers. Consequently cattle nutrition is mostly managed through use of straw of wheat, paddy, jowar or bajra which is poor in essential nutrients like protein, and minerals like calcium and phosphorous. Barely 4.4 per cent of the cultivated area is devoted to fodder crops. To obtain the best from the limited resources devoted for the purpose high-yielding varieties rich in nutritive value would be necessary. Research is therefore focussed on developing high yielding grasses with 15 per cent crude protein. Drought resistant varieties are also being evolved to exploit land resources in regions with less than 25 cm. (10 inches) rain.

—Hindu

Confidentially

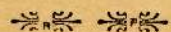
More About Railways

IS IT NOT A FACT that a special Supplement in the *Daily News* of August 30 reminded the people of Sri Lanka, *inter alia*, of the generosity of a country that has always been a good friend? That earlier we had received an outright gift of a number of locomotives which has given the CGR good service in spite of poor maintenance they may have received over the years? That the present supply of 14 diesel engines is almost a gift as the payment is spread out over half a century, certainly over a period much longer than the life of the locomotives? That the late lamented LSSP administration of the CGR had made a song and dance that the 14 new locomotives would pull the Railways out of the mess it had got into? That it is now discovered that the new locomotives have run into a number of snags which are certainly not due to any fault of the Canadian manufacturers? That if these new locomotives have shortcomings of a fundamental nature it is because the paper specifications required had not been furnished to the suppliers? That already the new locomotives have hit a number of platforms? That clearances inside the tunnels are dangerously low according to responsible Railway officials? That the locomotive wheels are grinding and groaning round curves up-country? That the wheel-base size is a wee bit too large for the CGR with the result that the locomotives are pushing our rail tracks outwards? That this will lead to major problems in the immediate future? That it is not too early to find out who prepared the specifications on which the manufacturers supplied these 14 engines? That it will also be necessary to find out if the purchase of these engines was based on the correct specifications or whether it was outside such requirements? That it is essential that the new Minister and the new Administration should inquire into this and take remedial measures (if any are feasible) before major accidents mar the operation of the Railways in the coming months? That the Minister must also find

out whether technically qualified professionals who had been pushed out of the CGR by the political hordes of the LSSP had not (for the most patriotic of reasons) warned the Minister (who has now departed) that the specifications about the height of the engines and the wheelbase (and the like) of the 14 new engines should be double and treble checked to see that they could operate on the rail tracks of the CGR? That if such inquiries are now made it will be seen that such warnings had been brushed aside as reactionary sabotage?

IS IT NOT A FACT ALSO that the LSSP administration had set out to bamboozle the public that the mess (and accidents and derailments) in the CGR was due to old rolling stock, lack of spares, old tracks, reactionary saboteurs and what not? That *Tribune* has pointed out that although the matters mentioned above may have constituted one element in the making of the mess the most important factor for the catastrophe which has overtaken the CGR was due to the large number of political promotions of unqualified persons? That in the past (in the bad old reactionary days) only senior drivers had been given in charge of express trains? That the ill-fated Hitachi express was, it is alleged, driven by a top trade unionist of the right colour (of the time) with less than 4 years experience? That if an investigation of all railway accidents and derailments since 1970/71 are made it will be found that more often than not they could be traced to the ineptness and ignorance of political loyalists who had been given charge of responsible work which they could not handle? That the Public Relations Department and the Press Publicity Bureau of the LSSP Railway Administration had turned several somersaults in order to "prove" that the CGR was in the present deplorable state (admitted by all) because of the legacy they had taken over from the UNP? That regular train commuters on the long distance trains will testify that in 1970 the Railways were in a good condition? That it was possible then to travel in the CGR with a sense of security and with reasonable comfort? That the railway restaurant car and catering then provided a good

service? That regular railway travellers (for many years) know that in 1970 the condition of the CGR was in good shape, certainly compared to what it is today? That, at that time, all the trains were lit? That nine months later the whole of the railway on wheels was virtually plunged into darkness? That according to the GMR the drive belt of the dynamos were stolen, many no doubt by the Railway staff themselves? That everybody also admits that discipline in the Railways had sunk to such a low ebb that nothing could be done? That even trade unions today complain about the total lack of discipline in the CGR? That even a cursory survey will show that this indiscipline had grown because of favouritism shown to employees who were accepted as political and trade union loyalists and activists (they enjoyed total immunity)? That one aspect of this indiscipline is that nobody seems to be able to ensure that the grass growing on the railway lines in many areas is cut? That these lines are overgrown with grass and weeds? That nobody seems able to get the employees cut this grass? That no engine driver will be able to see the line—to see whether it has been disconnected by mischief-makers-saboteurs or criminal elements? That the eternal cry of the LSSP Railway administration was that the CGR had got into a mess because of the lack of foreign exchange (to get spares etc)? That foreign exchange is not needed to cut the grass on the lines? That foreign exchange is not needed to maintain discipline? That it is one of the most disheartening things is to see the lines and the yards in Maradana station area overgrown with grass and small bushes? That the story is no different all over the entire railway mileage in Sri Lanka? That even if a conscientious staff officer had insisted upon the lines being cleared of grass, employees insisting on following the example set in the more important centres where no alteration was paid to over grown grass? That if a staff officer had tried to pull up employees who did not cut the grass, they (the staff officers) were branded as "reactionaries" who were tormenting the "proletarian workers"?





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is the best

It is the

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of the

PLAYERS

and my

FAVOURITE



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— without selective favouritism

Discipline

— without corrupt nepotism

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— without vituperative politics

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