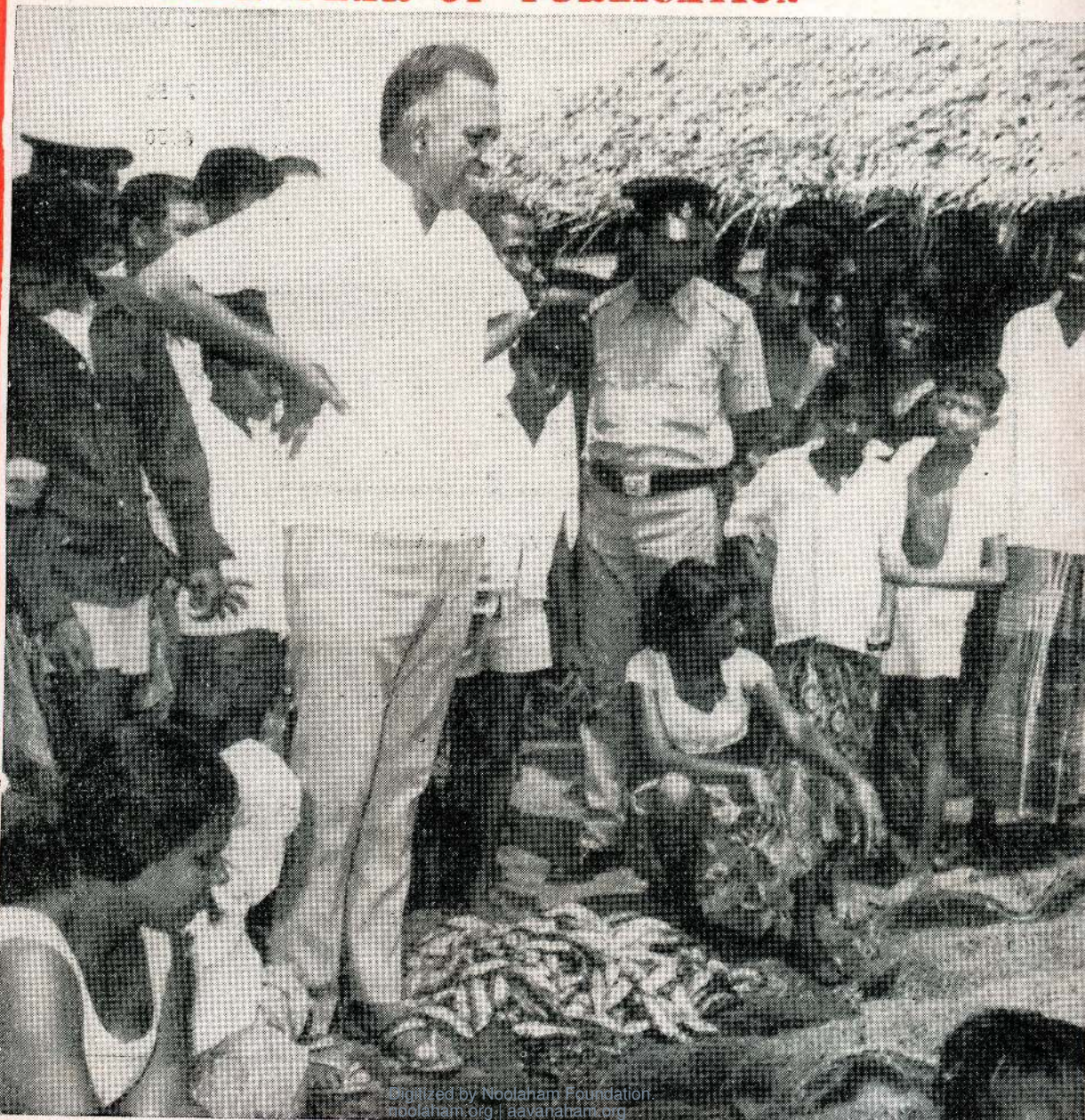


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Letter From The Editor

LAKE HOUSE papers were recently full of words of wisdom from the lips and pen of Susan George, a young American social scientist, who has specialised in the study of the exploitative greed of transnational agribusiness giants. *Tribune* has for years, from a time much earlier than Susan George's 1974 book *How The Other Half Dies*, urged the basic points made by her for the Third World agriculture be applied in this country. Her pleadings, no doubt, have great validity because of the statistical dissection she has made of the global food business. Whilst we will return again to the valuable suggestions made by Susan George, especially her plea that Sri Lanka should not fall victim to the myopic and suicidal IMF formula of an export-oriented agriculture (however diversified), in this note we want to draw attention to an even greater menace that stems (and has already stemmed in some countries) from IMF austerity policies—namely the increase in the cultivation and export of narcotics-producing plants like ganja. There has recently been an outcry against ganja in Sri Lanka and lurid stories have come over the airwaves of the SLBC how vast quantities of raw ganja leave the island to be smuggled back as hashish for the delectation of our tourists. Nobody knows how much ganja is really grown in the island. Official statistics, totally incorrect so far as paddy and other agricultural produce are concerned, cannot but remain silent about ganja. In the old days—until imperialism made opium and other narcotics a marketable commodity for profit—ganja was grown in Sri Lanka, as in other countries in the region, as a plant for herbal medicine and a tenderiser in meat. Now, although ganja has been made a dirty word and its possession an offence, it is now being grown commercially here on an ever increasing scale. The overwhelming bulk of agricultural department officials cannot differentiate a ganja plant from any other. Police, Excise and even Army units are led to vast ganja plantations in the midst of our jungles only when rival underground groups fall out. In the ongoing crisis in agriculture in Sri Lanka today that has arisen mainly because of the IMF-inspired liberalised imports in a free economy without controls, our farmers have been driven to the wall. And many in remote areas bordering jungle have taken to the cultivation of ganja in a big way. The simple position is that ganja is today the only agricultural product that is easy to grow and fetches good prices and high profits. It has, moreover, a fabulous export market. Late in 1979, the paperback *Dope Inc. Britain's Opium War Against the United States*, astonished global anti-narcotic circles by demonstrating the astonishing link between the international drug traffickers and the august financial institutions that control world credit. The book showed that the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank (IBRD), which demand austerity conditions for loans to developing countries, are more than happy when a victim nation turns to drug production to fulfil debt payments. *Tribune* has already referred to the fact that IMF conditionalities have driven Jamaica to the cultivation of marijuana for export. (The natives in Jamaica call it 'ganja', but it is marijuana to the Spanish and the Europeans). Such a situation has already begun to emerge in the rural countryside of Sri Lanka. ***More Next Week**

TRIBUNE

Ceylon News Review

Founded In 1954

**A Journal of Ceylon
and**

World Affairs

Editor, S. P. Amarasingam

Every Saturday

April 26, 1980

Vol: 24 No: 41

TRIBUNE

43, DAWSON STREET,
COLOMBO-2.

Tel: 33172.

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Festus And Fish

ON THE COVER we have Minister of Fisheries Festus Perera with fish, fishermen and consumers. It is not often that we feature a Minister or a political luminary on our cover, but we feel that Minister Festus Perera merits that distinction for the work he has already done not only to rehabilitate an industry that has suffered sad neglect for decades (including heavy damage by the 1978 cyclone) but also to lay the foundations for a modern new fishing industry. The price of some varieties of fish has already come down, very slightly, but more fish is now available at prices that reflect the realities of the situation. The fact is that the fisherman must get an adequate price that will induce him to catch more fish (considering the prevailing costs of production and costs of living), but at the same time, the consumer (especially the less affluent) should be able to buy a minimum of fish (they can afford at their income level at any relevant time) at least enough to stave off malnutritions. *Tribune* investigation, moreover, show that if the present plans are implemented—as they are already being done—fish production should very nearly double in three or four years' time, but what prices they would fetch will depend on overall government economic achievements and its income and wage policies. It would be foolish to speculate on what the future has in store except to work for greater production.

The main reason we have chosen to highlight Fisheries is because of the release on April 9 of the *Master Plan for The Development of Fisheries in Sri Lanka 1979-83*. It would be best to let the Minister's Forward outline what the *Master Plan* is all about:

"IN THE PAST, there have been a spate of plans and a plethora of proposals for the development of the fishing industry in Sri Lanka. Unfortunately, most of these were ad hoc plans, ill-conceived, lop-sided and evidently prompted by political expediency. Consequently, they inevitably sought to ignore basic realities and the larger interests of the country itself. Therefore, it is not surprising that all these ambitious moves proved dismal failures, despite the vast sums of money frittered

away in attempts to implement them, in an indecent haste without due regard to economic feasibility or viability. For instance, some of the plans placed responsibility on a public sector institution or on the co-operatives, but failed to provide the necessary guidance, support and direction required by such institutions. Others relied on the private sector which was fighting shy to invest because of the uncertain political and financial climate rendered worse by import restrictions and the high risks involved. Besides, where the private sector entrepreneur invested no fish was produced. The acts of commission and omission in the past are many and varied. For instance, vessels of new design were put to sea without adequate testing, and with fishermen inexperienced in the operation of these vessels. Crash investment programmes were launched without sufficient research and experimentation. The most common shortcomings were the failure to diligently assess the capacity and needs of the private sector and to take cognizance of the inadequacy of public sector institution and support facilities. Even when fish was caught there was a shortage of ice almost everywhere, except in Colombo. Many fishermen could not fish during certain seasons because of inadequate safe anchorages for their boats. Large harbours were built at considerable cost even though they were not necessary for small coastal boats.

'THE CONCEPT OF THE PRESENT PLAN is simple. It is comprehensive and embraces all aspects of the fishing industry. Its primary objectives are to ensure the speedy development of the fishing industry, to provide commensurate benefits to the producer and to guarantee to the consumer a fair deal. Instead of relying on a new fishery with large boats and new gear it envisages a substantial increase in the existing fishery with boats currently operating in the well known coastal zone. It does propose the creation of new public institutions, but seeks to reduce their direct involvement in catching fish or building boats, activities best left to the private sector. The plan seeks to improve the performance of public institutions in those areas where the private sector either does not operate or where its operations do not satisfy the requirements of the fishing industry as a whole.

The plan recognizes the need to expand the exploitation of under-exploited fish resources. Every endeavour will be made to develop cheaper and more efficient craft and fishing methods to exploit coastal fish stocks. Exploitation of offshore and deep sea stocks are to be increased with the help of several foreign funded and assisted projects. Deep sea fishing operations will also be encouraged by allowing foreign and local companies to start joint ventures so that Sri Lanka will get fish, money and manpower training. The potential for expanding the inland fisheries is considerable. Before these fisheries can make their full contribution there is substantial experimental work still to be done. A major programme for the development of these resources is being prepared. The programme includes increased stocking of fish in fresh and brackish water bodies, increased material and financial assistance to fishermen and fish farmers, and pilot projects in fresh and brackish water fish culture. The private sector is being encouraged to supply much of the investment needed to realise the targets of the Plan. The Government has liberalised the import of items required by the fishing industry, such as engines, fishing gear and ice plants. The import duty on key inputs has been reduced. Subsidies to fishermen for the purchase of new boats, engines and gear have been increased. In addition, substantial tax incentives have been given to all companies involved in the production of fishing boats, engines and gear, and in the operation of ice plants and cold stores in fishing areas. To ensure speedy implementation of private investment proposals a Special Local Investments Advisory Committee has been set up in my Ministry. Finally, I have encouraged the Commercial Banks to create outlets and to expand credit facilities to the fishing industry. The People's Bank has pioneered this development and has already opened a number of special Fisheries Banks. Those measures are already stimulating the industry to a large degree. However, my Ministry is carefully monitoring private sector activity to ensure that the necessary investment is carried through.

"THE VARIOUS DIVISIONS AND INSTITUTES OF THE MINISTRY are also undertaking investment programmes and other activities designed to improve the performance of the fishing industry. A new unit is to be

set up with foreign assistance to develop improved fishing vessels and gear for the industry, including beach landing craft. The processing of subsidy claims and bank loans requests, which has been very slow in the past, is being speeded up. Fishermen are to be given comprehensive instructions in the operation and repair of vessels and engines. The courses of the Ministry's Training Institute and Regional Training Centres are to be re-structured to cater to the needs of the expanding coastal and offshore fleets. To ensure that fish resources will not be depleted during the industry's expansion, a stock assessment programme has been initiated with foreign assistance, and this will be continued and extended to ensure the rational management of resources. A new Inland Fisheries Development Division will undertake new programmes of pilot projects and assistance for aquaculture. The Institute of Fish Technology will accelerate the programme of research into the best methods of fish handling preservation and utilisation. Finally, another new Division in the Ministry has been set up to implement a major welfare programme to provide facilities such as roads, houses and wells in fishing communities and to generally improve the standards and quality of life of the fishermen. A major contribution to improve fish distribution will be made by the resuscitated Ceylon Fisheries Corporation. Some of its activities such as fishing and boat building are being transferred to the private sector. The Corporation has adopted a vigorous and flexible fish buying programme. Large scale investments in ice plants, cold storage and transport are planned. Buffer stocks will be maintained for release during seasonal fish shortages. The Corporation will also increase its retail outlets and improve their quality as well. The Ceylon Fishery Harbours Corporation will cater to the needs of the expanding fishing fleet. In contrast to past investments, the accent will be on the provision of cheap alternatives to expensive harbours with breakwaters. These involve dredging openings in sandbanks and river mouths and providing anchorages in the sheltered areas behind such openings. Emphasis will be also placed on providing full shore facilities for fishermen in harbours and anchorages. In recent years, the management of the fisheries co-operatives has been en-

trusted to persons not engaged in the fishing industry. This trend is being reversed. Fisheries Co-operatives will be encouraged where there are organisations of fishermen formed to achieve defined collective purposes. Co-operatively owned boats are being transferred to individual ownership.

"THE FINANCIAL REQUIREMENTS OF THE 1979-83 INVESTMENT PROGRAMME are substantial and two-thirds of the money needed is in foreign exchange. An increasing self sufficiency in the production of industry inputs is planned. The local manufacture of fishing gear is already increasing rapidly and other items will follow. In the short run, the Government plans to seek foreign finance for 25% of the total investment expenditure. Some of this has already been obtained. The Investment Programme will generate more employment, enhance incomes in the fishing industry and also increase foreign exchange earnings from exports. However, the greatest benefit of the programme will come in the form of increased production and supply to the consumer. In recent years, consumers have been balked by a steady decrease in fish supplies and rapid price rises. I intend to ensure that these trends are reversed. In the short run, prices will be stabilised by providing adequate marketing infrastructure, and holding buffer stocks for release in the off fishing season. Imports may continue until the industry expansion is well established. Over the next 5 years, domestic fish production is expected to double. By 1983, the domestic fish supply will exceed 300,000 tons and the supply available for each consumer will have risen up to 50% above its present level. Although this investment programme is ambitious and expensive (over Rs. 2,000 million over the 5 year period) the benefits far exceed the expense. For example, the revenue from increased fish production over the period is conservatively estimated at Rs. 5,000 million. The speedy implementation of this Plan is of prime importance to the welfare of our nation. My Ministry will be in the forefront of this effort. Administrative procedures have been streamlined and it is intended to complete the bulk of the public sector investment by the end of 1980."

THIS NOTE WILL NOT BE COMPLETE without reference to a "Monthly Journal of the Fishing Industry in Sri Lanka" called

Fisherman. It is in all three languages, Sinhala, Tamil and English. It is an interesting and useful journal. We have before us the February 1980 issue (Vol. 1 No. 2) — we failed to get the first. On the first page, like the UNP Journal's boxed item—"The President Speaks"—we have *The Minister Speaks*. What he has to say in this issue is quotable: "Today I give you glad news of the Welfare measures taken. This includes, Insurance Compensation, Subsidiary and sales and a comprehensive Master Plan for the development of fisheries in Sri Lanka. Of course I have decided on a new method to foster the industry, through the aid of the Norwegian research vessel Dr. Fridtjof Nansen. At present our main services are in the Coastal Fishing area of thirty miles. We however decided that our catch is rather small, and is now only 165,000 tons (one hundred and sixty five thousand tons) and it can be up to 300,000 tons (three hundred thousand tons) within a short period given the necessary equipment. For this purpose we have sought and obtained foreign aid. For welfare we have a housing scheme which includes latrine and fuel pumps to the sea. As the photographs show you may realise that constructions are taking place. The 48 (forty eight) houses at Negombo destroyed at X'mas is almost ready. A fishing complex at Wennappuwa is now under construction which will not only remove sand bars between the sea and the lagoon, but will give the fisherman better waters to fish in. This Fishery complex, costing many millions of rupees is being set up at Wennappuwa which eradicates sand bar from the lagoon and gives access to a free flow to and from the sea. It has also been a building of Houses for Fishermen, and Ice plant. This is illustrated by pictures. My Ministry does not differentiate areas and we treat all fishermen alike." Comment is unnecessary.

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EDITOR'S NOTEBOOK

Questions On CGR Tenders

HAS IT NOT BECOME ABSOLUTELY NECESSARY for the public to develop extra vigilance in the case of all purchases by the CGR? That the Ratmalana Workshop has

been virtually (deliberately according to some) shut down and that its outturn is only a fraction of its capacity? That in recent newspaper articles and statements the Ven. Sedawatte Dhammaruchi (formerly Corbert Jayewardene) has pleaded that the report of the Committee to Investigate the Railways he had headed should be tabled in Parliament and be made public? That he has also repeated over and over again that more and more locomotives were being imported when the CGR had enough and more? That he smelt a rat in these large and unnecessary imports? (Everybody does). That such large and unnecessary imports naturally led to chicanery, corruption and other malpractices? That matters are becoming worse and worse with each new tender?

That if we examine the case of the tender that closed on March 28, 1980 for 16 locomotives we will have many surprises? That this tender is for 950 HP engines for short suburban hauls? That *Tribune* has referred to this tender in two earlier issues? That it was pointed out that the tender specifications had been "tailored" to suit certain manufacturers? That to amplify, the "tailoring" in this case was done by including a "requirement" in clause 3 (1) of the tender specifications, that: "designs having one cab at one end of the locomotive is not permissible"? That in all past locomotive tenders it had been laid down that the "locomotives shall be either single cab bonnet type or full width body type with two cabs"? That of the 18 international firms that tendered for these 16 locomotives only three or four firms built the cab in the centre of the locomotive—that all others had the cab at the end? That these three or four firms (as far as our Investigators have been able to find out) are Mitsubishi (Japan), Hitachi (Japan), Hyundai (South Korea) and probably Daewoo (South Korea)? That for these 16 locomotives, the extra cost for the centre cab engines would be US \$ 1.2 million? That *Tribune* Investigators believe that the "tailoring" is an inside job because the Railway Engine Drivers Union had been "persuaded" to submit a memorandum (the first of its kind in the 100 odd years of CGR's history) demanding "centre cab locomotives"? That it is said that they had argued against "end cab engines" even on short hauls or straight runs on the flat? That, if any questions are

raised about this "tailoring," this Engine Drivers' memorandum will be trotted out before the Cabinet to justify the "centre cab" specification in the Tender.

That in regard to this Tender, according to informed circles, the 16 locomotives are superfluous and unnecessary for the CGR? That what makes it worse is that the "we-don't-want-the-end-cab" slogan has been engineered in a way that it is hoped will pass muster before the Cabinet? That offers for "end cab" locomotives from reputable firms from Britain, Western Europe and the USA per unit FOB range from US dollars 603,000 (GE-USA), 696,034 (Brush-UK), 710,510 (Henschel—W/Germany), 745,918 (Krupp-W/Germany), 765,948 (Hunslet-UK), 819,137 (GM-Canada) etc. etc.? That the "centre cab" quotations per unit FOB range from 840,019 (Hyundai-S/Korea), 838,730/860,808 (Mitsubishi -Japan) and Hitachi (Japan) 1,009,818 (with Caterpillar engine), 1,078,987 (with MTU engine) and 966,144 (with CUM engine)? That in the offers the C & F prices and time of delivery are also set out—ranging from 12 to 26 months? That as it stands, the most competitive offers will be disqualified and the tussle will be confined to the two Japanese and one (or two) South Korean firms? (That *Tribune* has not been able to find out if Daewoo (S/Korea) offered end cab or centre-cab engines at the unit price of US \$ 702,200/727,000 for credit and 751,000/772,500 for cash? That we are not certain whether the cash and credit have been mixed up in transit of information because one would have thought that cash should be cheaper than credit? That the ongoing behind-the-scene intrigues can be understood only if the local agent of the "centre cab" principals are known? That Daewoo has Crest Gem Corporation—a powerful Muslim syndicate with influential political connections? That it also acts for Skoda of Czechoslovakia? That Mitsubishi has had a local branch office (for over 20/25 years) which acts as agent for tenders? That Hitachi has a registered agent C. Itoh who operates from the all-powerful Cornell (Perera) & Co. Ltd? That Hyundai has H. E. Cassim & Co., which though small and unknown outside the world of Transport Ministry tenders, has a lot of punch and pull?

That if the Government is interested in ending racketeering in the CGR and its

multi-US dollar imports, the President and the Cabinet will do well to cancel this tender in the way the Hydro-cracker tender was cancelled? That we have authority of Rev. Sedawatte Dhammaruchi and the Committee of Inquiry to say that no extra locomotives are needed today? That all that has to be done is to see that Ratmalana and other workshops (to be updated) work to capacity? That the Design & Engineering Division of the CGR should be reactivated and made operative? That the people of this country will sooner or later ask the Government whether we should increase our burden of foreign debt only to help a few racketeers to import locomotives the CGR does not need?

IS IT NOT TRUE that a "tailoring" of a different kind is being tried out in a tender for BCG waggons that will close on July 15, 1980 (vide Railway Stores Specification No. 006/79/W)? That there is a vague specification in clause 4 (2) under design requirements: "*Standard of materials—the materials shall conform to the British Standards Specifications applicable in the relevant case or the equivalent standard accepted by a Bureau of Standards or similar institutions recognized by the government of the country of origin. Particulars of such material shall be submitted for inspection and shall be to the satisfaction of CGR.*" That those in the game know that this is another subtle way to eliminate competitive offers to manipulate the acceptance of the offer by a favoured party? That if the tender were correctly worded the specifications should give the BSS requirements with option for the tendering company to give the equivalent from the country of origin? That the way the specifications are presently framed would enable the racketeers in the CGR to secretly give the relevant BSS to the favoured parties to base their offers whilst others would work in the dark? That it would be easy therefore for the CGR—which is the sole judge of the relevant BSS specifications—to reject all tenders except those of the favoured companies which had advance information of the BSS specifications the CGR had in mind but not set out in the tender specifications?

That this skulduggery will be only a repetition of the jugglery perpetrated in the case of a tender for the purchase of 40 petrol tankers? That the lowest tender was from

the People's Republic of China, but the tender was successfully secured for the South Korean Hyundai—local agent being the omni-powerful H. E. Cassim & Co.? That in this case the tender had called for offers without giving the actual capacity of the tank? That when the tenders went before the Board, Hyundai's was not the lowest (the Chinese was?) That the CGR authorities then asked for fresh quotations on the basis of tank capacity? That Hyundai then made a fresh offer lower than that of the Chinese? That this method of withholding an important requirement—to call for fresh quotations—is only a way of passing out information about offers received to favoured parties to enable them to undercut? That it is believed that a further order for another 14 petrol waggons was given recently outside the tender procedure.

That there is not the slightest doubt that all these new locomotives, tankers, waggons and the like will soon be on the scrap heap for lack of maintenance?

Govt.



Notices

Notice Under Section 7 Of The Land Acquisition Act (Cap. 460) As Amended By The Land Acquisition (Amendment) Act No. 28 Of 1964.

Ref. No. 004/1/278

It is intended to acquire the land/lands described in the Schedule below. For further particulars see the Gazette of the Democratic Socialist Republic of Sri Lanka No. 85 (Part III) of 18.4.1980.

Schedule

Situation: Mataramba village, Akmeemana (Four Gravets) D.R.O.'s Division in Galle District.

Name of land: Beerigodawatta

Plan and Lot No. 003/1466 Lot Nos. 1,2,5 & 4

S. J. Pathirana
Acquiring Officer,
Galle District.

The Kachcheri,
Galle. 28 March 1980.

Notice Under Section 7 Of The Land Acquisition Act (Chp. 460) As Amended By The Land Acquisition (Amendment) Act, No. 28 Of 1964.

Reference No. ATH 1/296

It is intended to acquire the land described in the schedule below. For further particulars please see the Gazette of the Democratic Socialist Republic of Sri Lanka No. 86 (Part III) of 25-04-1980.

Schedule

D.R.O.'s Division : Colombo
Situation : Ward No. 6, Bloemendhal within Colombo Municipal Council Limits
Village : Kotahena
Name of Land : Assmt. No. 730, (Part) Sirimavo Bandaranaika Mawatha
Lot No. : 1
Plan No. P.P. Co : 5250

H. C. Gunawardane
District Land Officer,
Colombo District.

The Kachcheri,
Colombo.
Date:— 4-4-1980

The Land Acquisition Act (Chapter 460) As Amended By The Land Acquisition (Amendment) Act No. 28 Of 1964. Notice Under Section (7)

Reference No. 25/4/212

It is intended to acquire the land described in the schedule below for a public purpose. For further particulars please see the Gazette of the Democratic Socialist Republic of Sri Lanka No. 85 (part III) of 18 04-1980.

W. M. T. B. Menikdiwela
Assistant Government Agent,
Kegalle District.

The Kachcheri,
Kegalle.
14-03-1980

Schedule

Situation: Situated in Lambutuwa Village, Egodapotha and Thanipperua Pattu, Aranayake D.R.O.'s Division in Kegalle District.

Plan No.: P. Plan Ke/1571

Lot No: 1

Name of land: Katugahawatta

Notice Under Section 7 of The Land Acquisition Act (Chapter 460) As Amended By The Land Acquisition (Amendment) Act, No. 28 Of 1964

Ref. No. 94/1/276

It is intended to acquire the lands described in the schedule below. For further particulars please see the Gazette of the Democratic Socialist Republic of Sri Lanka No. 86 (part iii) of 25.04.1980

SCHEDULE

Situation: Ihalagoda Village, Akmeemana (Four Gravets) D.R.O.'s Division in Galle District.
Name of land: Mahawatta alias Gulanakanda Gulana Ela
Lots & Plan No F.V.P. 658 Supplement No P19
Lot Nos. 588, 589, 590, 591 & 587

S. J. Pathirana
Acquiring Officer
Galle District

The Kachcheri, Galle
28 March, 1980

The Land Acquisition Act (Chapter 460) As Amended By The Land Acquisition (Amendment) Act No. 28 Of 1964 Notice Under Section 7

Ref. No. EA/372 J 76 E 800

It is intended to acquire the land/lands described in the schedule below for a public purpose. For further particulars please see the Gazette of the Democratic Socialist Republic of Sri Lanka No. 186 (Part III) of 25-04-1980.

K. Parameswaran
Acquiring Officer &
District Land Officer,
Amparal District.

The Kachcheri,
Amparal.
8th April 1980

Schedule

- (1) *Situation*: Sainthamaruthu
- (2) *Name of land*: Kanchankandu Valavu
- (3) *Extent*: 0 Acres 1 Rood 16 Perches
- (4) *Plan No.* PP. AM. 668
- (5) *Lots No.* 1,2,3

FILM FOCUS

REINCARNATION

With just 3 films that were released recently namely, *The Taking of Pelham 1, 2, 3*, *The Sting* and *Diamonds*, actor Robert Shaw won the hearts of many local picturegoers by his powerful screen presence and rugged looks as a villain to remember. This column regrets to inform *Tribune* readers, however, that Shaw will shine no more after a short spell on our screens, as he died of a heart attack at the age of 51 nearly two years ago. It is recorded that he wrote five novels before he launched out on a screen career—his two crowning characterisations being that as King Henry VIII in *Man for all Seasons* and as the shark hunter Squint in *Jaws* that created a sensation and kept people off the beaches. The latter however, is one of the film greats that has to reach Sri Lanka.

THE REINCARNATION OF PETER PROUD—(English): In Panavision and technicolour, this electrifying adult motion picture, directed by J. Lee Thompson would be of more than ordinary interest to local picturegoers, as it packs glimpses of a theme—rebirth—which has been revealed from time to time in the secular press by incidents, that have created controversies that got siphoned off as the heat of the debate subsided. Professor Peter Proud in the story, experiences visual nocturnal mental aberrations of a rare kind, which goads him on, on a voyage of self discovery, from the USA to UK where he finds his shock ethereal revelations gathering solid dimensions of his existence in an earlier period. In grappling to pierce this barrier of time, he is left limp and livid, but settles down to a love relationship that proves a tragic contradiction. To say more, would be to take the sting of this excellent story which captures one's imagination and pounds the susceptibilities from moment to moment. Whatever one's theological concept of the theory of Re-Incarnation may be, this story certainly grips you, and actor Michael Sarrazin as the Professor drags you willy nilly into his strange predicament, which ends amidst "the cross currents twice"—and rather tragically too.

EK TAM GE—(Sinhalese): There was so much to like in parts about this film, which surfaced a sensational love triangle with a difference in that its Juliet (Malini Fonseka) literally dro-

ve her Romeo (Ravindra Randaniya) up to lighthouse, by pitching in marriage for the wealth of an uncouth, but rich mudalali (Joe Abeywickrema). This attachment however gross cold as the flickering embers of the dead romance are set ablaze once again to wreck the marriage and dash it on the rock—at the foot of a light house where it exhausts itself. With shades of *Whose Afraid of Virginia Wolf* displayed by Malini and Joe who shine in their roles with the excellent rural settings in which the romance springs, the story could have moved on without lingering occasionally, with better direction. For the love lorn, and those with fluttering hearts a very consoling film.

NENCHUKKU NEETHI—(Tamil): That gay villain of the South Indian Screen, Sri Kanth has been brought in as a booster to this local Tamil production directed by T. Somasekaran, but in spite of him and the clear photography, with the gimmicks introduced to tickle the box office, audiences have got wise to the artificiality of it all which floods out the story of its entertainment value. Sri Kanth in local hands sounds jarring, but the double awards winner—OCIC and Sarasavali—for Sarungale, Farina Lye gives an excellent performance in a film that is receiving only lukewarm reception.

NORMAN, IS THAT YOU—(English): An M.G.M. production that has come off a rollicking Broadway play, redeeming its naughty frolics on the screen as well, where the veteran actor Red Fox as Ben Chambers discovers that all the short circuit in sexual attachments are converging on his family. His wife is on a spree with his brother while the only son of their union has switched on from a DC to AC relationship with a male bed pal, if you know what I mean. Ben sets about clearing these cobwebs, but discovers at a point that one in every six are 'gay' or 'queer'. If you get your mind off the seamy side of the theme and concentrate on the light and clear dialogue, you will clear this film laughing.

CHOR MACHAYE CHOR—(Hindi): A revival of a record breaker with Sashi Kapoor and pretty Mumtaz, shorn somewhat of its glamour by the loss of colour—it is in black and white—spews the escapist stance of most Hindi films, held together by action and lilting songs that linger. Worth a visit.

James N. Benedict.

Liberation Movements

by Frank Judd

WITHOUT COMMENT—ZIMBABWE

"Mr. John Hills of the National Industries Association commented: 'The real problem is that the machinery is all there.' The 'machinery' A legacy of Mr. Ian Smith's administration is a frightening catalogue of legislation which represents a dictator's dream. Without even having to change the rules, Mr. Mugabe could take over Rhodesia and run it like a dictatorship. "Secret courts, secret trials, secret hangings. The right to examine bank accounts and lock up anyone who doesn't speak kindly.... The repressive legislation is far worse than anything pushed through the South African Parliament."

George Gorden

Daily Mail
March 4.

London,

CONGRATULATIONS to Robert Mugabe and his Zimbabwe African National Union colleagues. Their election victory is a magnificent achievement. Despite the manipulative intrigue of the outgoing regime, the media, external interests and very many others who should have known better, ZANU has demonstrated beyond doubt the esteem in which it is held by a wide cross-section of the Rhodesian electorate.

I do not believe that the majority of people voted for Marxism, nor do I believe that they voted for detailed election promises. What I do believe they voted for was the personal and intellectual integrity, as they saw it, of Robert Mugabe and his uncompromising stand for the real liberation of his people. In the best traditions of African humanism, the ZANU leadership has already set in an example to us all by its refusal to indulge in recrimination and by its doctrination to give its priority attention to the reconciliation and the reconstruction of war-battered Zimbabwe.

All who genuinely care about the emancipation of the people of Southern Africa will want to respond to this lead. There will be an urgent need for maximum possible economic co-operation by the industrialised world. To say this is not to overlook the hazards ahead. The willingness of South Africa to respect the election result; the behaviour of the white minority; and the discipline of the Rhodesian Security Forces will all be critical factors. But initial indications are not altogether discouraging.

The position of General Peter Walls, the statesmanlike and generous call by Joshua Nkomo for national acceptance of the electoral verdict and the overwhelming judgement of independent observers that the polling itself—whatever the earlier intimidations on all sides—has been a fair test of opinion, should help to launch the new Government with a reasonable chance of success. It is essential that the international community should leave nobody in any doubt about its recognition of the result and the British Government will clearly have to avoid the temptation to prevaricate.

FOR THEIR PART all elements in the ZANU leadership will need to see the wisdom of their leaders' emphasis on reconciliation and support him in what seems to be his determination to build a government of national unity. Congratulations will undoubtedly be offered to Lord Carrington and he certainly

HOW THE VOTES WERE CAST

1. Zimbabwe African National Union (Patriotic Front) led by Robert Mugabe—1,668,992 votes—57 seats.
2. Patriotic Front led by Joshua Nkomo—638,879 votes—20 seats.
3. United African National Council led by Bishop Abel Muzorewa—219,307 votes—3 seats.
4. Zimbabwe African National Union led by Nadbaningi Sithole—53,343 votes—no seats.
5. Zimbabwe Democratic Party led by J. Chikerema 23,181 votes—no seats.
6. National Front of Zimbabwe led by P. M. Manddaza 18,794 votes—no seats.
7. National Democratic Union led by H. Chihota—15,056 votes—no seats.
8. United National Federal Party led by Chief K. Ndiweni—5,796 votes—no seats.
9. United Peoples Association of Matabeleland led by Dr. F. Bertrand 1,181 votes—no seats.

deserves them, although it is said that far from all those who have been involved for Britain have demonstrated anything like the same degree of openmindedness and imagination. Appreciation is also due to the Commonwealth monitoring force under the balanced leadership of General John Acland. But it would be arrogant nonsense to suggest that the successful transfer of power will have been largely a British achievement.

The real credit for what has happened goes to the liberation movements, which, in the face of British impotence since UDI, built up the pressure that in the end forced a negotiated settlement to the Commonwealth for making Britain face reality at Lusaka last year; to the frontline states, especially Mozambique, and Sony Rampal, the Commonwealth Secretary General, for their firm and constructive influence throughout the Lancaster House talks; and to all those in Europe and America who have helped to set the pace.

Tribune has never been backward in criticising David Owen, but I am convinced that, in historical perspective, he, too, will get his share of credit for having tirelessly geared the Foreign and Commonwealth Office and Whitehall to positive thinking about the best way forward. For me, one sadness which remains as the victory celebrations takes place is that, while extending an amnesty to all those in the illegal regime, Britain missed the opportunity of the past two months to release all those imprisoned by that illegal regime for their part in the struggle for genuine independence.

SADDER STILL, Britain failed to publish for the world to see the names of those who are known to have been secretly hanged since 1975. No doubt the new independent Government will take early action to put this right. The question to which historians will rightly apply themselves is whether the whole prolonged sad story since UDI could have been avoided, whether the deaths, the maiming, the destruction, the bitterness and the pain were the direct result of a lack of political will on the part of the 1964 Labour Government.

It is a question which not one single member of the Labour Government can dodge.

And we must be prepared to learn from the experience. It is simply no good believing that we or any other nation in the industrialised world—West or East—can fix arrangements to suit our interests if these arrangements are not rooted in what is acceptable to the people most intimately involved. Over and over again in Asia, Latin America, the Middle East, Afghanistan and Africa the same mistake is made. Lasting peace and stability in an increasingly open world can only be based on economic, social and political justice.

Of course Robert Mugabe has read Marx; of course it is true that he has claimed to be a Marxist. That is often just about an indicative of a precise political position as claiming to be a member of the Church of England is indicative of a precise Christian standpoint. What is clear is that there is as much of an inevitable link between the Marxism of many Third World leaders and Moscow as there is between Christianity and Pretoria—unless by our prejudiced neurosis we drive those same leaders into the arms of the Soviet bloc.

What Robert Mugabe wants, as Eduardo Mondlane of the Front for the Liberation of Mozambique (FRELIMO) before him wanted, is genuine non-aligned independence. Too many people have pig-headedly contrived to deny him the fulfilment of this objective. Now that we are presented with an undeserved second chance, let us hope that we have the commonsense to seize it while we can.

Zimbabwe is not the end of the story. Attention will increasingly focus on Namibia and South Africa itself. This is the moment to determine that from now onwards, we shall stand unyieldingly on the side of justice in the struggle for the future of those unhappy nations. The nightmare which has been Rhodesia in recent years could prove to be a restless dream by comparison with what will happen if we and the international community try to avoid the challenge which remains.

—*Tribune*, London.

HELD OVER FOR NEXT WEEK

- * TRANSNATIONALS EXPORT POLLUTION
 - * PARTIES & POLITICS — BEFORE ANAMADUWA
 - * WINDOW ON INDIA—27
-

Soviet Policy In West Asia

CLOSE ON THE HEELS of Dr. Phye, the American Professor came Prof. G. L. Bondarevsky, Head of the Department of Sociology of International Relations, Institute of Sociological Studies, Academy of Science of the U.S.S.R. He addressed a gathering of students of the Bandaranaike Centre for International Studies and members of the public on March 12, 1980 on the Soviet policy towards western Asia. It was a historical analysis beginning with the emergence of the Soviet foreign policy before the revolution (October) upto the time of direct Soviet intervention in Afghanistan in December 1979.

At the outset itself the Professor emphasised the fact that USSR was as much a part of Asia as it was of Europe. As 40% of Asia lies in the Soviet territory, it was not strange that her interests are closely wound up with Asian problems. This was really an attack on those outsiders who feign friendship for Asian countries. Secondly, he pointed out that the Communist Party of the Soviet Union was one of the few parties in the history of mankind to formulate a foreign policy before it came to power. Lenin's foreign policy was to fight for peace and co-existence and the liquidation of colonialism. This policy which was enunciated as far back as 1917 holds good even today and continues to influence the Russian foreign policy. Also Russian contacts with Iran, Turkey and Afghanistan were meant to cement friendly relations with the Asian neighbours. It was not to conquer or extract privileges but to establish mutual, friendly and economic relations.

Soviet Union signed the first treaty with an Asian country, Iran, on the 26th February 1921. Two days later Soviet Union signed the Soviet-Afghanistan treaty. In the past Afghanistan has signed several treaties with Great Britain, especially those of 1831, 1878 and 1918, all at the expense of loss of life and territory. But the treaty with Russia was signed on equal terms. The subsequent treaties signed in 1931 and 1965 which was renewed in 1975 and 1978 all had reference to the 1921 treaty. On the 16th of March 1921, Russia

signed a treaty with Turkey. This shows Russia even as she was building up her state was interested in forging friendship with her immediate neighbours. Her investments in the textile industries and telegraph lines outside her borders were investments in friendship. In 1924, Russia exchanged Ambassadors with the regime of Mecca which now forms a part of Saudi Arabia. The Russian move towards Western Asia i.e., the Muslim countries need not cause any worries to others, as there are already 50 million Muslims in Soviet Union whose population growth is 3%. The Professor discounted all foreign propaganda that Soviet Union is highly worried about the fast growing Muslim population within the Soviet Union. Russians are not worried of the fast growth of Muslim population because these Muslims are citizens of Soviet Union. In 1927, Russia signed a treaty of friendship with Yemen.

IN THE LATE 1930s a new development took place. Hitler and his men began to show interest in Central Asia, Western Asia and India. On 18/2/41, Hitler signed a paper ordering the attack on India. In 1941, the German Naval officers suggested to Hitler that *Ceylon should be occupied and her ports be captured*. Hitler could not achieve this as they were defeated in Moscow. In 1942, once again Hitler ordered the Germans to continue on the Asian campaign and occupy Teheran. Rosenberg in fact planned to occupy India and colonise it and a special army was entrusted with this task. But at Caucuses near Stalingrad, German armies were annihilated and the Arabian countries escaped the order of German onslaught. In 1943 and 1944, Russians established diplomatic relations with Arabian countries. These incidents are very important from the point of view of Asian history because it is the general belief even among the historians that it is the Western Alliance that saved these countries from the German armies. The Professor was very emphatic that it was the Russians who prevented and contained Hitler's march towards the Arab and Asian countries. This aspect of Professor's contentions had never been brought to light as they deserved to be.

In 1956, during the Tripartite aggression of Egypt, USSR on 13/11/56 protested strongly against the aggression to Britain. USA too was against this intervention.. In 1960 the

Russians proposed that western Asia be declared as a zone of peace. The year 1978 is very important from the point of view of western Asia. Two revolutions took place in this area, i.e., in Iran and Afghanistan respectively. These two events were strongly national. The revolution against the Shah was started by the students, national minded Shia clergy. This sparked off a general national enthusiasm, and the Shah was compelled to quit. In July 1973, General Muhammed Daud Khan toppled his brother-in-law and captured power in Afghanistan. The Shah of Iran wanted to attack Daud and proposed this to the King of Afghanistan who was then holidaying in Italy. A Russian Ambassador informed Iran not to mingle Afghan affairs. This prevented any disturbance to Daud's regime. In 1978, when Taraki took over, the Shah again wanted to send his men to Afghanistan. Again the Russians reminded Shah that he should not go hunting in this area.

IT IS WRONG TO SAY that there are 16 million Afghan people in Afghanistan. It is more correct to say that there were 18 million inhabitants because there are various tribes such as Pushtoons, Tajiks, Uzbeks, Hazaras, Turkmen and other tribes in Afghanistan. With every revolution, a certain number of population get displaced. This was so in China when people went over to Taiwan; recently in Vietnam, people started sailing in boats and so it was in Afghanistan too. But all the emigres were not enemies of the revolution. Some of them were even misled.

Russia and India had a common border until say about 1932. The division and the shifting of borders have been brought about by the British. The entire Karakoram highway connecting Pakistan and China lies on the Indian territory.

The Professor also emphasised the fact that Hafizullah Amin who was killed during the revolution was an outsider—outsider in the sense that he played a very insignificant role in the revolution of 1978. On the other hand, there was a close understanding between Tarakki and Babrak Karmal. In fact while Babrak Karmal found himself one of the closest associates of Tarakki in 1978, Amin was not given any important position of responsibility. It was later that Amin who by his forged documents got Tarakki to expel Babrak Karmal from all important posts and finally captured

power from Tarakki himself.

The invitation to Russia to help consolidate Afghan revolution had already come a long time ago. However, Russian intervention came only when there were intelligence reports when China tried to set up an independent Republic on Afghanistan soil. In fact the major criticism of the Professor was directed against China. The Professor's learned discourse that facts and figures show Russian interest in the area since the revolution. Russia had always kept a friendly neighbour on her borders in Afghanistan. Afghanistan had been a spring board of several incursions into Russia in the past—especially after the 1917 revolution. Any hostile hold on Afghanistan, especially by China, would be detrimental to Russian security. What the Russians have done may be indefensible from a Sri Lankan point of view. But historically and from the point of view of Soviet Union's security, the Professor's arguments justified the course of action adapted by the Soviet Union.

Throughout the speech the Professor stuck to his subject faithfully and never wavered. He never indulged in any trivialities. Nor did he sound propagandist. His English was lucid and fluent; easy to follow. The only light remark he made, at the conclusion of his speech, which lasted nearly an hour and a half, was that if it had been Kissinger, he would have charged \$ 25,000 for the lecture. Professor touched his drink—a soft drink—only at the conclusion of his speech.

—Tribune Correspondent

BOOK REVIEW

Bhutto

BHUTTO: A POLITICAL BIOGRAPHY
by Salmaan Taseer, Vikas, New Delhi

APRIL 4, 1979 may turn out to be the most important date in the political calendar of Pakistan, as important perhaps as 14 August 1947 when the dominion of Pakistan was born to a history of bloodshed and hated-theocracy, clinically created in modern times to weld a

group of extremely feudal states, power groups and mutually antagonistic interests into a semblance of a nation. On 4 April 1979 was executed Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, the ablest political operative of the country, and one of the most colourful personalities, if equally controversial, on the world scene till he was judicially liquidated by the same forces of dictatorship in whose earlier incarnations he had seen his mercurial rise. The dictatorship of General Zia-ul-Haq, like Marshal Ayub Khan and General Yahya Khan earlier, today finds itself enmeshed in a situation where the only way of taking the country out of its troubles lies with a democratic government led by the likes of Bhutto, but cannot take the plunge which will spell doom for themselves.

THE ONE SOLID ACHIEVEMENT of Bhutto in Pakistani politics has been his extreme success in shattering the traditional political structure of the ruling elite, their mode of governance through feudal bloc balances backed by muscle power. Bhutto became the first politician, after Jinnah, to appeal to the people direct, to talk to them without intermediaries and small power bases, and to derive political might through their generous support. In doing so, he gave the hapless people of his country their only real experience in democracy and a free life, memories they cannot forget, and memories which will for all times to come pose a continuous threat to all dictators who assume power—hopefully only for short duration—in that country. Little wonder, therefore, that his widow Nursat and his firebrand politico daughter Benazir are the persons that Zia's junta really fears, as admitted in their continued incarcerations under house arrest.

SALMAAN TASEER, one of the leaders of the new generation of political workers in Pakistan (he is the head of the Economics and Finance Committee of the Pakistan People's Party that Bhutto founded in 1969) in his book attempts not merely to detail the rise and fall of his political mentor, but to define the personality and works of the man in the context of the Pakistani reality of the fifties and sixties. It is remarkably candid work, totally unprejudiced and though from a party worker, remarkably analytical of Bhutto's many political and personal failings, frailties and idiosyncracies without either the saccharine adula-

tion of a sycophant or the bile-laden diatribe of a professional critic.

Taseer born in Simla in 1944 to a Lahore family of which poet Faiz Ahmed Faiz is a member, brings impeccable credentials to bear in his task. A fulsome education in Pakistan and England, an early initiation into politics and considerable guts (the book itself is banned entry into Pakistan) are reflected not only in the written word, but also in the phenomenal amount of research of a socio-anthropological nature, in which he analyses the political forces operating at the time when Pakistan was created, up to the first military take over. This section in fact forms the most fascinating reading in the book, the narrative highlighting the traumatic metamorphosis of a concept into a nation.

WOVEN IN IT is the genesis of Bhutto, for surely only that word can describe the situation, as the foolish scion of moneyed feudal family (ridden with tension by the coming of Bhutto's mother, a poor Hindu girl whose conversion changed her religion, but not her social stigma poverty) went through his periods of soaking knowledge, womanising in three continents to ultimately plunge into the uplift of his countrymen. Bhutto's rise in politics was inevitable, for he alone among the men at the top treated politics as a science and a commitment, and not merely as a birth-right to power. Taseer traces the early hostility to the Bhutto phenomenon in the ranks of the establishment, even when he first came into the news in the service of Field Marshal Ayub Khan when he was just thirty years of age.

From the first, this intellectual politician with classy manners and the gift of the gab, fascinated the generals and the old guard, as he simultaneously frightened them. They sought to use his talents and use him, but while Bhutto was agreeable to give full play to his multi-talented personality, his actions were making it clear that it was not for the benefit of the ruling cliques, but of Bhutto's own future which even then he knew was destined to go to the top. His talents saw full play in the foreign policy of Pakistan, in the then subtle strategy to have both China and the United States as the international godfathers of the country, in his defence of the Pakistan case in various UN debates on Kashmir and finally in his attempts to stall the Tashkent

agreement which Ayub Khan had to negotiate from a position of weakness.

Ayub sacked him soon thereafter, but his successor Yahya Khan had to hand over power to the political sophisticate when Pakistan reeled under the Bangladesh crisis and defeat. During his years in power as the supreme leader of Pakistan, Bhutto did much for his people, but the power he had and his old habits combined into a situation where political largesse was being distributed with the same intensity as political vendetta was being carried out, a situation that ultimately gave the waiting generals an alibi to stage a coup and book him on charges of complicity in murder of an old political foe.

The chapter on the trial is perhaps the most sketchy of the book. The various issues, as well as the details of the tortuous trial, have been covered in graphic detail in the international (including the Indian) press though blacked out in Pakistan, that one was expecting something more than a mere chronology of some of the developments. At a later date, perhaps, when the date is collated and fixed in perspective, this chapter will demand a total re-writing. To the international reader, the author introduces Nusrat Bhutto not merely as Zulfikar's wife, but a politician in her own right in the post Bhutto-situation from whom the PPP and the people expect much in days to come. It is a significant publication, and Vikas have done a commendable job in compressing the manuscript in a handy volume, quite well produced.

—John Dayal, *Patriot*

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OFFICIAL EXCHANGE RATES

Official Exchange Rates of Commercial Banks to their customers for Telegraphic Transfers fixed on Tuesday this week were as follows:—

CURRENCY	PER 100 UNITS	
	Buying Rate	Selling Rate
U.S. Dollar	Rs. 1614.00	Rs. 1617.00
Sterling Pound	Rs. 3593.00	Rs. 3599.00
Deutsche Mark	Rs. 872.90	Rs. 874.50
French Franc	Rs. 375.15	Rs. 375.85
Japanese Yen	Rs. 6.4620	Rs. 6.4770
Indian Rupees	Rs. 200.80	Rs. 201.20

POINT OF VIEW

The Family Super Conference

by Patrick Daniel

“SKILLS IN PRODUCING FEWER BABIES—LABOUR OFFICERS” was an announcement in an SLBC broadcast on the 31st of March, 1980 and I am tempted to write a fantasy in the form of a short story and call it *The Family Super Conference*, held in Colombo, a story.

IT WAS ATTENDED by the wives of people who had made their mark in public life, and it was organised by the Plan Fulfilment Ministry of the Ceylon Government, ably supported by the Ministry of Public Information. Our man went along. He was fair and tall and unmarried, and perhaps it was this that made him feel that he would rather be seen dead than alive in this company on an occasion like this. It was, he felt, as if he had been spotted by old friends in the act of walking into the Windmill Theatre in London or the Folies Bergeres after having been brought up a strict Catholic.

He sat down and the Conference began. Money was there alright, and foreigners all ready to help Ceylon. There was a sense of urgency in the matter of the talks, and a taste of a desire to create an atmosphere of crisis. What was to be done? was naturally the sum of the talk of each speaker and they were not lacking in ideas of their own as to what should be done. The Conference was to promote the idea of Family Planning and explore ways and means of making it popular but also of translating it into fact. What can be done? asked one foreigner, and so our man went up to the podium. He started in this way.

He said that what was regarded there as purely a hygienic question, really had the undertone of being an economic one, and was in reality something to do entirely with morals. What was sex all about? Was it a dirty word? How come babies to be conceived at all? Why was the act that brought it about a private one with a veil drawn round it?

Was the act of copulating to be bracketed with murder and theft? In the Christian ten commandments it was semi-divided between murder and theft, but was it the sexual act that was banned or the wrong use of it as an adultery, the borrowing or stealing of another man's wife?

Take adultery and fornication, he said, or sodomy or masturbation. The common denominator that made all these wrong was that sex was linked to the rearing of a family. He asked each one of those present to think well on this. The sexual urge had its own problems without anybody complicating it with sterilization, contraception or abortions.

We had started years ago with birth control. Then it had become family planning. Next family health. Would it not be of immense propaganda value to call it, as a further development, or retreat in the face of public indignation, a cat a family? Then the very idea of Population Control could be conveniently forgotten about altogether while keeping the fact, once people became conditioned to the use of sterilisation, which had now become vasectomy while it disguised an ugly fact.

So let it be said facetiously, be a Cat a Family until we could not longer have petrol and all the cars become junk, or a Refrigerator a Family until we have a twenty-four hour cut in electricity every day and the Friges become decorative pieces, mementoes of a time gone by, or a Child a Family until we are hit by a Six-year war and we go down through sheer lack of numbers.

Then he stepped off the podium and came back to his place. The Conference members were grateful for the interruption. Something like this has a wonderful way of concentrating, or should I say, clearing the mind. A little entertainment. Lifting the lid off the kettle and letting a little steam out of the kettle. So the Conference went back to the business of having less babies.

What was to be done? had been the question. Did our man imply that nothing was to be done? Was not enormous population growth a fact, the doubling and the trebling of population in a few years? Was not the growth of money a fact? Was not the world, just money-wise, an enormously richer place than it was before the population explosion began? Did not an expansion in money always

precede a growth in population? How did this expansion in money come about? It was all right when all money was in the form of metal. The metal was used and not stored away to create more metal.

On the other hand, most money nowadays, is in the form of paper or in ledgers. It does not see the light of day. It is stored away to create new money. Its growth is prolific. As most of it is lent on credit, the actual transference of money takes place. The population explosion has seen to it that the money-rich people have not had it all their own way.

Of course, our man had not said all this while he was on the podium. The taking of other people's time had precluded it; hogging the microphone in other words. He did not want to be told he had taken too much time already and would he kindly come up or be ordered peremptorily to his seat?

There is a frenzy of population activity these days. Not a day goes by without hearing something about it in the newspapers or on the wireless. It all must cost a great deal of money. But there is, of course, a great deal of money forthcoming. In fact, our governments have to be held down by written agreements to accept it, and the money comes from abroad.

So what is to be done? This is a short story, one in the realm of fiction, and any lecturing done or solutions offered must be within that framework. Let us get it straight. The world is not a perfect place, nor are we perfect. The perfection or imperfection of money is not important as money is not a person. A body of persons, such as this Ministry or that is not a person even if it is a body of persons. This Super Family Conference is not a person. Our responsibility is at the level of our own person.

If I have been sterilized and there is nothing I can do to undo it, I can at least see that I do nothing whatever that will be a cause of another person being sterilized. The harm I have done myself might be compensated for by the good I do someone else, an ongoing process, in the very matter in which I did myself wrong. I may never let an opportunity pass of being a person, showing the courage of a person, speaking out like a person, to help another person not fall into my own folly, while Labour Officers go their way in producing fewer babies.

Drought?

by V. Buvanandaram

OUR LAND IN DROUGHT, yet the buds, they came out in March in obeisance to the Sun, their Lord and Master. Some trees and shrubs could not feed them in flower and like a mother parting with her infant child, to any tourist, they gave away their buds to anyone who could put them in water to bloom. Mother would say through tears the child would at least be fed well.

In Oxford, in England, it rains 23 inches a year. In our semi-deserts, it rains more yet the vegetation at Oxford is very different from our semi-deserts, where it rains heavy but not so often. Still for all, we persist with our old British definition of drought to prepare our drought tables. *Absolute Drought*: any period of at least 15 consecutive days to none of which is credited .01 inch of rain or more. *Partial Drought*; any period of at least 29 consecutive days, the mean daily rainfall of which does not exceed .01 inch. This is the necessary and sufficient condition for growing tea in Lipton's tea garden but has no meaning for the food we grow on flat land.

Knechenhauer (1937) visualised atmospheric drought as a period of strong winds, low precipitation, high temperature and the usual low humidity and Condra (1941) amplified on it. *However, the concept of drought cannot be entirely divorced from the use to which water is put to. The objective method of specifying drought is to specify the minimum water required for a particular purpose. Drought then occurs, whenever the rainfall during a time interval as less than the minimum water required and the severity of the drought is limited to the amount by which the rainfalls fall short of this requirement.*

On account of urbanisation, industrialisation and electrification, our engineers are concerned with hydrological drought, which means stream flow, lowering of ground water levels and the sinking of lake and reservoir levels. The evaporation of an inch thick layer of water takes two full days. Balwin and Wiseman (1941) defined engineer's drought as a period of 3 or 4 months with a deficit of 50%

from the mean rainfall.

OUR GREATEST NEED is agriculture and agricultural drought should be defined on the basis of soil moisture content and the resultant plant behaviour rather than on indirect interpretation of rainfall records. The type of soil should also be recognized. Effective rainfall promotes germination. Influential rainfall sustains growth. Agricultural drought therefore exists, when the soil moisture in the root zone is diminished to such an extent that the plant can no longer absorb water from the soil rapidly enough to replace that which is lost to the atmosphere by transpiration. At this stage of soil moisture, the plant would have reached the wilting stage and the moisture in the soil is said to be at wilting percentage. The plant will not grow with this percentage of soil moisture. Drought has set in. This condition of the plant will continue till rain falls in excess of evapotranspiration. All plants do not respond the same way. Even some plants grown in different environment respond differently. Tauriell (1964) found considerable difference in the rates of transpiration between his Israeli plants and those of the Egyptian desert. Agricultural drought may therefore be defined as the persistent shortage of water that restricts the growth of plants, native to the environment.

We are the size of Tasmania. There is as much variation in our rainfall as in Tasmania. The lowest annual rainfall at Hobart is 15.52" and the lowest at Lake Margaret is 100.06". The lowest at Mannar is 18.9" in 1952 and the lowest at Ratnapura 11.60" in 1938. Drought months at our different places are at first seasonal. Using our present definition of drought, we will only be cluttering our drought tables, year after year with the same months and days, without being aware how the drought will affect the plants and animals at each place. It is difficult to give up a habit of hundred years, more so because it has come from Britain. Even in Britain, Deacon, Priestly and Swinbank have found, "Any rainfall of 0.01" or more is sufficient to reduce drought is clearly inappropriate for agricultural purposes."

Shortage of rainfall expressed as a percentage deficit of the average at that time and place gives a better idea of dro-

ught but details have to be worked out to judge the severity of the drought. Henry (1906) defined drought as when rainfall for a period of 21 days or longer was 30% of the average for that time and place and extreme drought when the rainfall failed to reach 10%. Ramadas (1950) considered drought as an occasion, when the actual rainfall for a week was half the normal or less. Bates's annual drought of less than 75% and monthly drought of less than 60% still seem the best for a tropical island like ours. It is from this Ramadas got his idea of 50% for the week.

Mr. W. J. Gibbs, Director of Australian Meteorological service says that "Arithmetic means, averages and normals are often poor indicators of rainfall occurrences." He prefers the median, that is the control value in a group of occurrences. In rainfall, which is not normally distributed, it will be very different from the Arithmetic mean. He quotes, that for Sydney in April the Moon is 5.16" and the Median 3.93" for May 5.09" and 3.52" and for June 5.05" and 3.51". Similarly for Melbourne 2.30" and 1.95", 2.14" and 2.03" and 2.06" and 1.77".

Our foreign expert from India has already dealt with our rainfall data in terms of arithmetic means and now it would mean, new and additional work. It is alright for Australia, where they take Meteorology rather seriously and spend much money on drought research. During their drought in 1965 (we had it in 1964, coinciding with the sunspot minimum) their estimated drought research allocation of \$ 2,653,000 rose to \$ 23,652,958 inclusive of \$ 21,007 spent on special cloud seeding for drought relief in New South Wales and Queensland. This was beside the \$ 35 million given to Queensland and New South Wales for Drought relief funds.

Such detailed studies lead the self sufficiency in food, even in countries not so blessed with rains as Sri Lanka. They had kept and carefully nursed their dedicated scientists. Now, that long awaited brain drain allowance has come the way of some scientists here together with the administrators, who worked it out for them.

It has come to a wrong time and gone to the wrong people. People, who were calculating that in this fuel crisis, it was cheaper to

stay at home than to get to office, have now decided to go to office and work-up that this allowance be included for their pensions purposes. Was it not an Administrator's famous dictum that no one likes to work. He is going to be proved wrong. They will now not leave the country to show Belgium, how turnips and Brussel sprouts grow nor to Canada to show how icicles bang by the wall nor to even plant rain-gauges in the kingdom of the paste board King.

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FISH AND PRAWNS—2

For More Proteins

by K. Kanapathipillai

I HAVE MENTIONED several spots as being suitable grounds for the rearing of fish, not that all of them should be taken up for experimentation and trial at one and the same time. At first the experiment may be carried out at one spot with one or two 'co-operative or complementary' species, and later the other species may be tried out at the other spots. Let it not be a hard and fast rule, that only one species of fish can be reared in one pond and area. The rearing of more than one species may be tried out, for it has been found in Malaya that there are 'complementary species' among fish that have a 'give and take' cycle of events in their feeding habits. The faeces and other castings of one species are often used as food of another. It is after a careful study of the habits of different species of fish that one would be able to say whether two or more species are complementary or predatory by nature.

I have observed with considerable interest fish culture in Bengal: Bengal is a fish-eating country and there is scarcely any who haven't fish as an item of their diet. The Fisheries Department there, I was told, takes a good deal of interest in promoting fish-culture. The fry is provided by the Department of Fisheries. Every household has its own fish pond. In fact, Bengal is a land of fish ponds and extensive paddy fields and vast stretches of fresh water that take the form of rivers and their distributaries. Within five feet of

the surface of the ground water is found; and most fish ponds on an average are about ten feet deep and about 60 by 100 feet in dimension. Some of them may be even smaller. There are also much bigger ponds occupying an extent of about 1/4 of an acre. Some of them are very carefully planned and constructed and maintained. The pond serves as a multi-purpose device. It is the swimming or bathing pool of the household. It will be interesting to note that most of the people in Bengal both males and females take to water like ducks. They rear ducks and geese and a species of fish 'Gourami' that attains a length of two feet. It may weigh from ten to fifty pounds. It is as big as our medium sized 'Koduwa'.

No special care is taken to feed the fish. The remnants of food and kitchen sweepings are thrown into the pond. I have a suspicion that there is a close linkage between the ducks and the fish that are reared. Grass and other water weeds also grow in the pond. Once a week or more often a man comes with a cast-net and he nets for the use of the household whatever fish it needs. It is fortunate that in a rice-consuming country like Bengal, fish has formed the staple protein-supply article of food. Both Brahmins and non-Brahmins eat fish.

In regard to tank fish, Dr. B. Sundara Raj former Director of Fisheries Madras has stated:

"Gourami is famous the world over as the best fresh-water fish for the table. It is a native of Malanesia and was introduced into Madras from Mauritius and Java, at a great cost by the Fisheries Department in 1926. Its large size, bonelessness and delicate flavour, the ease with which it is bred and transported alone render it easily the best fish for pisciculture.

"It is admirably suited for cultivation in small ponds in gardens and plantations. A pond with a surface area of 200 square yards and a depth of 3 feet seems to be the best. The Fish generally breeds twice a year, from February to March and again from September to October. During the breeding season nests are constructed by the fish in the weedy margins of the pond with stems and blades of grass and aquatic plants (Elodea, Ceratophyllum, Hydrilla) and in these the eggs are deposited by the female. The male generally guards the nests. The young fry emerge from

the eggs in about a fortnight; but if the weather is warm, in shorter times. Breeding is said to be satisfactory up to elevations of 600 to 1,200 feet with water temperature of 19° or 20° C. In Madras, however, they thrive everywhere on the plains at a much higher temperature (36° to 40°c). The fish breeds best when about three years old; female of six years and older ones generally suffer from a fatty degeneration of the ovaries. They are not prolific breeders; 500 fry per spawner is considered a high maximum in its home waters.

"Gourami is a vegetable feeder and eats with great avidity waterlilies and lotus leaves. Adult fish in breeding ponds require artificial feeding. Oil-cake made from *Phaseolus lunatus* (gingelly) and *Arachis hypogea* (groundnut) is recommended. In Madras, the fish was found to grow and fatten best on gingelly cakes. It grows to 18 or 20 inches in length and attains a weight of 20 lbs. It is boneless and is esteemed as a delicacy. Being an air-breather, it is hardy and travels well if carried in specially designed tin-carriers filled with water. Young ones not exceeding 6 inches can be transported over long distances, without any casualty. These characteristics are highly advantageous to pisciculturists as the fish can be consigned for stocking or for sale in distant lucrative markets in living condition quite easily. This is the best fresh-water fish that the department has for cultivation in ponds. Young ones for stocking ponds are available for purchase at Rs. 10/- per dozen at the Government Fish Farms in Kurnool, Nellore, North Arcot & Chingleput Districts."

NOW LET US TURN OUR ATTENTION TO PRAWN CULTURE. This is an experiment that has been successfully carried out in Cochchin state and has been found to be a very profitable concern. The necessary literature on the subject may be obtained from there. In the Southern, South Eastern and Eastern Coast of Sri Lanka, there is ample scope for the development of this industry. A gentleman from Indonesia who paid a visit to Batticaloa during the time Mr. Devanesan Nesiiah was Government Agent in Batticaloa, viewing the vast expanse of lagoon from the Government Agent's Residence said, "Here is a veritable wealth which has been left unutilized". It is indeed an area of water that

involved 'money-spinning'. It can bring a considerable amount of foreign money into this island. The entire coastal area of the lagoon can be parcelled out into 'prawn rearing plots' and given for rent to promising prawn culturists for purposes of 'farming prawns'. Having such a vast stretch of lagoon the people of the area should now seriously think of taking up to this 'foreign-exchange-earning' industry that has a very promising future. It is high time that the Government established a number of culture centres at convenient spots all along the 30 mile stretch of estuarine water of the Batticaloa Lagoon and provided the people with the required incentive for promoting this industry. In this connection it is disheartening to note that some years back the then Government made attempts to establish prawn culture centres in Batticaloa, but the attempts proved abortive through the utter negligence of the persons concerned and their utter lack of interest; and it is most heartening to note that one of Batticaloa's citizens, Mr. Sam Thambimuthu, attorney-at-law, has had a very successful attempt and was about to have a 'bumper harvest' of prawns when the recent cyclone came and completely devastated his plans and his enterprise. It is hoped that despite the terrible and disastrous rebuff he would continue to be at the job.

All that is needed for an experimental plot is a shallow stretch of lagoon water about 50 yards square sheltered and secured on the three water fronts by a dam or a fence. In fact the plot could be bounded by earth dams provided there is a sluice gate for letting in and out the tidal water. It would have an average depth of two feet of water. At any rate the depth should not be less than a foot and not more than three feet. Stones and corals may be strewn about in a corner of the plot so that they may form the necessary shelters and hiding places. Since prawns love to play hide-and-seek among rocks and reefs, this will help to give the area the natural environment and enable algae to grow. Besides a rocky substratum is necessary for the laying of the eggs. Of the two species of prawns that are obtainable in the Batticaloa Lagoon the bigger black-brown-banded species is preferable, for a single prawn fetches as much as four rupees or more locally. The white prawns are mainly used for home consump-

tion. They may also be processed for export.

Once the 'rearing plot' has been got ready the live specimens, about an inch or two in length may be introduced. They may be fed on maize bran or even Australian wheat flour. Rice, pounded into small-sized grains answers the purpose well. A certain amount of green algae, Chera and other lagoon weeds may be grown in the plot. As the animals mature they begin to lay their eggs and it would be possible to make a close study of their habits: freeing, breeding, nesting etc. It would thus be possible to get an accurate account of their annual life cycle within a couple of years, and once the facts are available it would be possible to control the seasonal production of prawns and supply them throughout the year. By changing their food and trying out feeding them on scientific lines it would be possible to obtain three or four harvests per year. In fact the reproductive capacity of prawns may be regulated and even accelerated by proper feeding and regulating of the salinity of the water, its temperature, and the food available in the plot.

It has been estimated that the Batticaloa lagoon provides fish worth Rs. 10,000/- every month. And this is being done by mere destructive exploitation. If on the other hand, scientific fish and prawn culture can be carried out, it would be possible to increase the output several fold. At a time when the Honourable Minister of Fisheries is very anxious to put fishing in the island on a sound footing by making it a profitable concern and raise prawn and fish culture to the level of a prosperous cottage industry, it is high time that prospective industrialists put their shoulder to the wheel and make it a going concern.

The names of fish are in Tamil. The scientific names are given below. *FIVE SPECIES OF CARP (KAYAL)* 1. *Ctenopharyngodon idellus*. (Grass eater), 2. *Hypophthalmichthys molitrix* 3. *Nobilis*, 4. *Cyprinus carpio*, 5. *Cyprinus carpio* (sp).

Other vegetable feeders: *Anabantidae*: *Anabas scandens*; *Orphiocephalidae*—*Varal*; *Siluridae*; *Clarias* (*Cat fish*); *Tenthis oramin* (*ora*); *Lates calcarifer* (*Koduva*); *Chanous salmoneus* (*Palai meen*).

Angle Road,
Batticaloa.

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Tribune's Criticisms

by The Editor

THE FOURTH ARTICLE in our issue of November 10, 1979 (Vol. 24 No. 18) was entitled WHO'LL WIN THE RACE?" Our Investigator drew attention to the fact that apart from the WRB, the Ministry of Coconut Industries (Herath's) the Agricultural Development Authority (ADA) and the Ministry of Rural Industries (Thondaman's) had proclaimed their intentions to utilise groundwater by sinking "hundreds" of tube wells in the Coconut Triangle.

Our Investigator had also pointed out: "The ADA chief has been talking about sinking tube wells, ever since the ADA was set up, but nothing was done (except talk in conferences) by this super-duper organisation (disbursing many millions) about exploiting ground water. The ADA not expected the Water Resources Board (WRB) to do the job. And the WRB as we have pointed out, was mainly concerned with publishing massive advertisements to educate people on the rudiments of windmills (we shall examine of these advertisements later) and the miracles of IPIL IPIL (why the WRB took upon itself the task of promoting the growth of this "tree" is a mystery?) If instead of speech-making the big guns of the WRB, the ADA and even the Coconut Ministry had concretely done something about sinking tube wells, millions of coconut trees in the Puttalam District would have been saved."

Then again: "Ranjan Wijeyeratne's kindergarten lessons on forest denudation, energy, coir dust and the like is academic and need not concern us overmuch. But what WRB Chairman, Dr. Leslie Herath had to say reveals the total bankruptcy of thought and action that has overtaken the organisation of which he is the boss man. Minister Festus Perera, according to the report, had suggested that tube wells should be sunk in the coconut areas, especially because of the drought in 1978 and 1979 (until September). Dr. Herath's reply was a repetition of the useful platitudes: tube wells were feasible he said, and outlined how they are sunk. Then, he mentioned that

the machinery was costly and argued that the Ministry of Coconut Industries should foot the bill. On this alone Dr. Herath deserves to be sent packing to Timbuktoo. If there is one thing for which the World Bank, IDA, ADB, FAO and other world lending and aid agencies provide money and equipment freely, it is to sink wells—tube, surface, bore etc., etc.,—for agricultural, industrial and domestic (drinking) purposes. All that it means is that the WRB has failed to formulate project and feasibility reports which would have brought the necessary aid and equipment. We shall refer to some of the aid schemes for tube wells in other countries in a subsequent article. In the meantime, the President should ask the WRB, ADA and the Ministry of Coconut Industry why they have fallen down on the job of sinking tube wells—in time to save the coconut trees of the Puttalam District."

Our Investigator had gone on to say: "There is no mystery about a tube well. But the mystery is why nothing has been done about sinking them. But, soon, this neglect might be ended much to the chagrin of the WRB. Already Prime Minister Premadasa has through the Drainage and Water Supply Board started sinking wells for domestic and drinking purposes. This is only one step away from bore and tube wells for agricultural purposes. Go-getter Prime Minister Premadasa saw how simple it was to sink a well when he witnessed a much publicised well dug to get water for Victoria Park.

"It is also known that Minister Thondaman had got under an Indian team under the ITEC programme (Indian Technical and Economic Co-operation) which has already helped the NLDB (National Livestock Development Board) in several ways. Whispers in Ministerial circles indicate that a senior hydrologist, Dr. V. Ramesan, from the Central Ground Water Board at Bangalore was in Sri Lanka for a short time in August/September 1979 to investigate the possibilities of supplying ground water to the NLDB coconut estates in the river basin of Deduru Oya, Maha Oya, Karambalan Oya and Ratmal Oya basins. Whispers also indicate that all the investigations have been completed and that the report would be in the hands of Minister Thondaman even before this issue of *Tribune*

Is out. It would appear that the Indo-Sri Lanka Joint Economic Commission for Economic, Trade and Technical Co-operative in their sixth meeting held in June 1978 made the recommendation to tap groundwater resources to facilitate the growth of fodder and the better upkeep of livestock. It was in pursuance of this that the survey under Dr. Ramesan was started and culminated in his final visit to Sri Lanka at the end of August 1979. What does the Ramesan report say? Have concrete ways been set out for the NLDB to tap and exploit groundwater without the deleterious consequences of over-exploitation as well as groundwater pollution from unrestrained farming practices?

"In the meantime, the WRB is going hammer and longs at IPIL IPIL. One advertisement (we shall quote in a later article) makes the ludicrous suggestion that an Ipil Ipil will keep out the gaze of Peeping Toms (advertisement copy has to be serious if it is to be taken seriously—but who takes the WRB seriously?) In the next article, among other matters, we will endeavour to show why the WRB has to be completely changed and re-structured if any results are to be expected. Good money is being thrown away in pandering to the whims and fancies of technocrats and bureaucrats who had shown no positive results during the many years they were in the Irrigation Department earlier. Why these men were seconded to the WRB is as much a mystery as to why other men who had made a notorious mess of other organisations were brought into this?"

AND OUR INVESTIGATOR CONCLUDED the article: "Political observers have noted that five Ministers are directly concerned with sinking tube and bore wells for agricultural purposes: first, Gamini Disanayake who is in charge of the WRB, second, E. L. Senanayake in charge of the ADA, Harold Herat in charge of Coconut Industries and Thondaman in charge of the NLDB. Premaasa (with his Water and Drainage Board) is an outside runner in this ministerial race for exploiting groundwater. Who will deliver the goods? Who will win the race?"

AT THIS STAGE, the Secretary of the WRB sent *Tribune* a long statement in reply to the criticisms levelled at the WRB. In the Secretary's covering letter it was stated: "Dear

Mr. Editor, Your magazine has carried a number of articles on the activities of the Water Resources Board written by an investigator. This investigator, for some unknown reason, has not made any inquiries from the Board regarding the allegations he has decided to make. In this context, I shall be grateful if you could kindly publish the enclosed reply, so that the correct position of the activities of this Board is made known to the public, and that we shall be most grateful if this investigator could attend a seminar which we propose to hold, in order that he would benefit from his knowledge in the various fields that he has decided to write. I am sure you would commence publishing this article at the very next issue of your magazine, the issue due to appear on the 24th of this month.

The Editor replied the Secretary as follows: "Your letter of 15th November 1979 reached us today. The patronising tone of your letter and your homilies as to what our investigator should do and should have done were uncalled for if you wanted your manuscript published. In the normal circumstances such a covering letter would have made any newspaper to return your statement without even reading it. But since *Tribune* has published some provocative articles on the Water Resources Board, we propose to read your statement carefully and will publish whatever is printable at our earliest convenience when space becomes available—not at your dictation i.e., from the next issue on the 24th etc. The attitude you take in the letter reflects the bureaucratic arrogance that our investigator says is the hallmark of the WRB."

Subsequently, the Editor decided to publish the entire statement. But before the Investigator started on his reply, the Editor in a note in the *Tribune* of December 15, 1979 (Vol. 24 No. 23) examined the opening paragraph of the WRB's statement: "The points made are: (1) that the articles on the Water Resources Board (WRB) was by a "private investigator"; (2) that there was a strong under-current of ill-will on the part of the investigator and a complete ignorance about the working of this Board; (3) that the Investigator had not thought fit to interview a single senior officer of the Board; (4) that even private investigators have the 'normal habit' of interviewing 'their clients' if the

objective was to get at the truth; (5) that if the private investigator is engaged by private people for personal reasons, then per se it established *mala fide* beyond any doubt *ipso facto*."

The Editor made it clear that the Investigator who had written the articles was not a "private" person who was engaged by "enemies" of persons in the WRB to carry on a personal and malicious vendetta. With regard to the gratuitous advice that *Tribune* and its Investigator should have contacted the WRB to obtain information, the Editor's note said: "The WRB seems to think that every newspaper or periodical should fill its columns the way the government media of papers that are overwhelmed by the massive dozes of advertisements generally do. Pro Government media in Sri Lanka have lost all credibility because they mainly retail what Ministers, MPs and officials tell them however inaccurate or slanted the information. *Tribune* has never printed official blah-blah except to comment on it, but we have never refused to publish any refutation of what we said—if any reader or interested person chooses to write in."

And with regard to the suggestion that the articles exuded ill-will and malice, the Editor stated: "We also suggest that the WRB should set down the paragraphs or comments of articles which the WRB says betrays "ill-will". It will then be possible to see whether the extracts complained of are false and mala fide or whether they are fair comment on matters of public importance."

And the Editor had also stressed: "*Tribune* has no quarrel with the WRB. Neither *Tribune* nor its Investigator bear any ill-will to the WRB or any one connected with it or any official employed by the Board. We are only interested in seeing that the WRB discharges the functions for which it was set up in the best interests of the nation and in a manner acceptable to the people it seeks to serve."

Finally a very important question was posed: "Incidentally, we would suggest that the President or some high Government authority finds out the amount of money spent by the WRB since its inception in newspaper advertisements and other forms of paid propaganda. The best advertisements for the WRB will consist of the number of functioning wells and windmills it has built and (their

respective costs, areawise). Such achievements are newsworthy and publicity would accrue automatically. Paid newspaper "puff" advertisement by a government organisation like the WRB is nothing more than a smokescreen."

It was in the issue of December 29, 1979 (Vol. 24 No. 25) that the Investigator began his reply by publishing the WRB statement on "groundwater" and briefly summarising the arguments. He will not pick it up from this point.

SRI LANKA CHRONICLE

April 3 — April 9

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

CDN—Ceylon Daily News; CDM—Ceylon Daily Mirror; CO—Ceylon Observer; ST—Sunday Times; SO—Sunday Observer; DM—Dinamina; LD—Lankadipa; VK—Virakesari; ATH—Aththa; SM—Silumina; SLDP—Sri Lanka; JD—Janadina; SU—Sun; DV—Davasa; DP—Dinapathi; CM—Chinthamani; WK—Weekend; RR—Riviresa; DK—Dinakara; EN—Eelanadu; IDPR—Information Dept. Press Release.

THURSDAY, APRIL 3: Addressing a mass rally at Anamaduwa yesterday President J. R. Jayewardene said the Government was today concentrating on development, not only of the big towns and of the whole country but electorate by electorate. The Independent Medical Practitioners Association has proposed a national health scheme to solve the two main problems facing the Health Department—overcrowding in OPDs and shortage of doctors. Posts and Telecommunications Secretary C. J. Serasinghe yesterday said the current 'work on rule' campaign of the post and telecommunications trade unions was "not only ill-informed, but also unpatriotic"; the work to rule campaign which began on Tuesday night had seriously disrupted the country's telecommunication services, he said—CDN. On the recommendation of the President, Mr. J. R. Jayewardene the Cabinet yesterday deci-

ded to set up an Institute of Fundamental Studies, international in character and covering the basic principles of mathematics, physical science, life science, social sciences, philosophy and engineering—*CDM*. The Cabinet yesterday decided to consolidate the allowances paid to plantation workers; this will benefit a large number of workers who are at present unable to get continuous work due to the prevailing drought; Cabinet spokesman and State Minister, Anandatissa de Alwis, told newsmen yesterday. Anura Bandaranaike has been unanimously elected as leader of the Sri Lanka Freedom Party's youth leagues at elections held on Tuesday. Nearly 250 tanks in villages of the Anamadawa electorate will be restored under a crash programme to be launched soon, President J. R. Jayewardene announced yesterday. The Select Committee appointed by Parliament to examine the suitability of candidates for high posts has in its report unanimously found the Greater Colombo Economic Commission Director-General Upali Wijewardene not suitable to hold this post—*SU*. All employees other than high officials working in Corporations, Boards and Ministries will receive Rs. 320 as festival advances according to a Cabinet decision. The MP for Galle, Dr. W. Dahanayake is expected to forward a proposal at the next govt. parliament group meeting to increase the income limits to Rs. 500/- of those eligible to get food stamps—*JD*. The Ministry of Education is to set up a new Teachers' Welfare Society; the purpose of this society is to give a special allowance between Rs. 15,000 and Rs. 20,000 to relatives and families of teachers who die while on duty—*DM*.

FRIDAY, APRIL 4: President J. R. Jayewardene, who opened the Agricultural and Industrial Exhibition at the Bandaranaike Maha Vidyalaya, Gampaha yesterday said the government had decided to hold exhibitions like that with the co-operation of members of Parliament to encourage increased production. The "work to rule" campaign launched by employees of the Posts and Telecommunications Department was called off last night after discussions representatives of employees' unions had with Minister D. B. Wijetunge yesterday. The Sri Lanka Freedom Party All-Island Working Committee meets this morning at the Party headquarters at Darley Road, Colombo attended by over 350 dele-

gates. Seven kachcheries—Jaffna, Kandy, Anuradhapura, Batticaloa, Ratnapura, Gale and Kururegala—will in addition to issuing driving licences, register motor vehicles from Monday April 7—*CDN*. The Government will ban the recruitment of persons for employment abroad if their services are vital to the national economy or the economic development of the country; this decision was taken on the recommendation of the Minister of Labour Capt. C. P. J. Seneviratne to regulate the business of Employment Agencies, recruiting persons for employment abroad, particularly in the Middle East. Restaurants and eating houses failing to exhibit price lists of the items for sale in their establishments will be prosecuted; they are liable to have their licences cancelled—*CDN*. Development Councils will come into operation before the end of the year, President J. R. Jayewardene announced yesterday. The Ceylon Workers' Congress led by Minister S. Thondaman yesterday called on the Delimitation Commission to strengthen and broaden the democratic structure of the government and the democratic rights of the people. The Treasury is learnt to be revising its estimates of the Government Budget deficit this year to project an even greater gap between revenue and expenditure, while inflation has forced drastic cutbacks on the Government's ambitious five-year-Medium Term Investment Programme. A central authority to control the manufacture, importation, sale and distribution of food in the entire island is to be established under the proposed new Food Act—*SU*. A total of 160 marks should be obtained to enter Universities; it had been fixed at 145 marks in the past; at the same time those appearing for the G.C.E. (A/L) and the N.C.G.E. examinations will be admitted to Universities under the proportional representation scheme—*DP*. A new bill is to be drawn to set up a special committee to take action against those who produce sell or export unhygienic food items—*DV*. The public and the private sectors have imported Rs. 50 million worth of goods for the forthcoming Sinhala and Tamil New Year—*LD*. The Paddy Marketing Board has recorded a loss of Rs. 50 million in 1978—*ATH*. The CID is investigating about 15 instances where GCE (A/L) results have been rigged to pass some who have failed the Exam—*JD*.

SATURDAY, APRIL 5: The government has approved in principle the setting up of a private medical college in the country by the College of General Practitioners in Sri Lanka. Commissioner of Internal Trade M. Ramalingam yesterday warned that retail traders of locally manufactured synthetic textiles detected selling their ware at prices above those marked on the material will be severely dealt with. A proposal by Minister of Power and Energy, D. B. Wijetunge for the Railway to reintroduce the steam locomotives run on coal has been abandoned as it has been found that its implementation will cost the country several millions of rupees. Mrs. Sirimavo Bandaranaike was yesterday re-elected President of the Sri Lanka Freedom Party, at a closed door meeting held at the Party Headquarters attended by over 400 delegates a party spokesman said. The Sri Lanka Air Force has stopped all flights—even for tourist promotion—over all Wild Life Sanctuaries following a complaint made by a senior member of the Wildlife and Nature Protection Society. The Janatha Vimukthi Peramuna has picked Mr. Upatissa Gamanayake as its candidate for the forthcoming by-election for the Anamaduwa seat—CDN. Cases under the Terrorist and Sedition laws will be tried in Colombo and not in the judicial zones in which the offences were committed; this decision by the Government follows the recommendation by the Attorney General, Mr. Shiva Pasupathy to the Minister of Justice, Mr. Nissanka Wijeyaratne—CDM. President J. R. Jayewardene will consult the views of Government Members of Parliament on Tuesday in regard to how the first Development Councils of Sri Lanka should be constituted. Government has sought the assistance of Interpol to track down the masterminds behind a bogus firm in Singapore which has diddled the Ceylon Petroleum Corporation to the tune of Rs. 33 million—SU. Leader of the SLFP, Mrs. Sirimavo Bandaranaike stated yesterday that although the present government was verbally asserting that they would find a solution to the problems of the Tamils, it was only the SLFP which could solve them—DP. The government is to launch a plan by which 40% of the shares of big Private sector projects will be sold to the public—DV.

SUNDAY, APRIL 6: Sri Lanka's push to attract a big slice of foreign investment in

the free trade zone and outside gains new momentum with the arrival here on April 23 of a group of over 40 Singapore industrialists looking for investment opportunities. The total number of foreign experts serving in Sri Lanka is estimated at 326 and they cost Rs. 201 million per year, the Ministry of Plan Implementation has said in a report on foreign experts working here. A Singapore based company has successfully defrauded Rs. 35 million by negotiating the documents covering payment for 60,000 drums of asphalt consigned to the Ceylon Petroleum Corporation without effecting shipment—SO. A boarding school will be set up in Colombo to provide schooling facilities for children of public officers; this decision has been taken by the Government on the recommendation of Mr. Ranil Wickremasinghe, Minister of Education, Youth Affairs and Employment. Any form of cut-back on the fixing of any quotas for Sri Lanka made garments mostly men's, women's and children's wear by the United States of America would threaten the future of over 40,000 persons, mostly young women who are engaged in the industry; so observed the Secretary to the Ministry of Trade, and Shipping Mr. Lakshman de Mel who was the leader of the Sri Lanka team at a meeting with a team from the United States of America led by M's. Anna Berry of the US State Department—ST. Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda on Friday night paid a tribute to the expatriates from Sri Lanka now working in his country; they were clever and industrious, he said during a two-hour stopover at the Katunayake Airport on his way to North Korea and China—WK. Although it is two years since the government granted permission for correspondence and circulars with Tamil-speaking people to be done in Tamil, it exists in name only and not in fact; allegations to this effect have come from many quarters—VK. Laws are to be enacted to take legal action against those who harm the environment. Two world famous Astronomers and Eastern and Western fortune tellers have predicted that the world will come to an end in December 1982—SLDP.

MONDAY, APRIL 7: Trade and Shipping Minister Lalith Athulathmudali yesterday said that there would be no scarcities of any goods in the future, "all requirements would be either locally produced or imported," he said. In order to explore the possibilities of giving

the consumer cheaper flour and sugar, the government has allowed the private trade to import these items; for the last forty years the import of these two items had been the monopoly of the government. Those who encroach on state lands from today will be disqualified from receiving state lands under the government decision to regularise lands encroached upon, a Ministry of Lands and Land Development spokesman said. Village Development Councils will be set up by the government before the end of this year, a highly placed government source said yesterday; this is the next step in the government's program of decentralisation which begins with the setting up of the District Development Councils, the source said. A new body, the Institute of Public Finance and Development Accountancy has been formed to look after the professional interests of accountants in government departments, local bodies and other statutory bodies. The GCE Advanced Level examination for 69,000 candidates begins tomorrow at 450 examination centres—CDN. Over 17 million metres of imported textiles, mostly popular and hard-to-get varieties of feather-weight fashionable sarees, shirts, cotton printed chintz etc., will be available throughout the country for the forthcoming Sinhala and Hindu New Year—CDM. Sri Lanka's western donor countries will pay special attention to the accelerated Mahaweli development programme at the year's Sri Lanka Aid Consortium Meeting in Paris in July—amidst combined efforts by the World Bank and the Government to obtain full funding of the programme. Question papers for tomorrow's G.C.E. Advanced Level Examination will be moved out to the distributing points under Army escort. A top state official has warned that there had been a tremendous increase in the consumption of electrical energy in the country and it was undoubtedly going to be one of Lanka's critical problems in the next two decades—SU. There has been no rush of doctors to leave government service, despite the decision of the government to exempt doctors from the Compulsory Services Act; the Health Ministry feels that exemption of doctors in government service from income tax and the right to private practice have proved to be sufficient inducements—CO. The Government has assured the Minister of Rural Industrial Deve-

lopment Mr. S. Thondaman that soon all Kachcheris will have Tamil officials able to transact business in Tamil—VK. The food stamp scheme will be revised, the task of devising a new scheme has been given to the Minister of Food and Co-operatives Mr. S. B. Herath—DP. The allowances of over 10 apprentices under the Apprenticeship Board will be increased shortly—DM. The cost of construction has increased by 20% in the last 10 years according to the survey done by the Ministry of Housing and Construction—DV. Mrs. Sirimavo Bandaranaike who was re-elected as the Chairman of the SLFP in the annual Congress addressing the delegates said that the SLFP is not scared of coups or threats; we would even face the bullets and liberate the poor masses of the country, she said—DK. The Secretary-General of the Communist Party Mr. K. P. Silva said in an exclusive interview that there was no point in uniting with the capitalist class to protest against a problem caused by the capitalists; what should be done is to unite the working class and the left—ATH.

TUESDAY, APRIL 8: The Anamaduwa by-election will be held on May 7, S. R. Weerakoon, GA, Puttalam, announced yesterday. The Ceylon Electricity Board last night imposed power cuts throughout the island area by area for 30 minutes in rotation during the peak hours 6.30 p.m. and 9.30 p.m. A new political party called the Democratic Front which consists largely of leftwingers from the Sri Lanka Freedom Party has been formed; it is reportedly headed by a former Supreme Court Judge, Jaya Pathirana—CDN. Cabinet approval has been sought by the Minister of Health, Mr. Gamanl Jayasuriya for payment of increased non-pensionable allowances to Medical Officers posted to uncongenial peripheral units. The Board of Airline Representatives yesterday decided to increase passenger air fares from Colombo to certain destinations effective from yesterday—CDM. Shortcomings in the rail transport system now threaten to disrupt the regular supply of vitally needed fuel to the provinces; recurring shortages of fuel due to transport difficulties, government ministers have complained, have proven to be a serious constraint to ministry programmes and development projects. Security operations in the north have been intensified by the Police following the hijacking

of several tax's by groups of armed youth—SU. A Parliamentary Select Committee was appointed yesterday to inquire into allegations against Minister Cyril Mithew made by Opposition parties—EN. The Minister of Finance has again refused to allocate more money for the P.M.'s housing projects and the Well-gama project—JD. The CID is now trying to file action against Mr. Anura Bandaranaike and Mr. J. R. P. Sooriyapperuma; the charges are said to be insulting a certain person high up in the government—DK. The government is taking steps to collect the Rs. 60 million due from a large number of Co-operative Managers and Directors—LD.

WEDNESDAY, APRIL 9: Many officials at all levels dealing with development did not recognise the gravity of the population problem in Sri Lanka and that had led to an accelerated birth rate over the past two years, Miss Julio Henderson, leader of the United Nations Family Planning Agency's mission to Sri Lanka told a Press Conference yesterday; the objective of the mission was to assess the family planning needs of Sri Lanka. Prime Minister R. Premadasa will represent the president at the Independence Celebrations of Zimbabwe, to be held in Salisbury on April 17 and 18. President J. R. Jayewardene presiding at yesterday's Government Parliamentary Group meeting said that a crash program to develop minor irrigation tanks throughout the country would be drawn up shortly. Referring to certain complaints against the bureaucracy by Members of Parliament the President said yesterday he would investigate any complaint against an official if it were brought to his notice—CDN. The Government has decided to amend the Land Reform Law to provide for lands belonging to the Land Reform Commission to be vested in any person or persons. A multi-million rupee sophisticated industrial complex for packing and processing of dried milk will be set up in Sri Lanka shortly. Frauds amounting to several million rupees by promises of employment in the Middle East have been reported to the police—CDM. Lower consumption of petrol and consequent clogging of storage space has prompted Government to consider a proposal to reduce the price of petrol; the Committee of Development Secretaries is now examining a proposal to reduce the price of petrol from the current high level of Rs.

37/50 a gallon as a means of encouraging a slightly higher consumption than at present. The hours of broadcast of the state-owned Independent Television network are to be extended on Sundays and holidays, it was announced yesterday—SU. The government is investigating allegations that land given to landless farmers by land Kachcheris are being given to relations by using pressure on the farmers. A special police unit is to be formed in the North to tighten organised crimes which have emerged again in the area—DM. The Ministry of Health will table a bill banning the production, sale and advertising medicine and perfumes not made under the required quality. The Government has rejected the proposal by a committee appointed by the government to increase diesel and kerosene oil prices to reduce consumption—DV. The price of a gallon of diesel and kerosene oil are to be increased to Rs. 15 per gallon—DK.

VIETNAM

A Crusader Against Colonialism

Vietnam's President Ton Duc Thang, who passed away on Sunday, March 30, was born in a worker's family in Long Xuyen province Nam Bo in 1888. While at school as well as when he began to work as a mechanic, he began to play an active part in the struggles for the rights and interests of students and workers oppressed and exploited by French colonialists. Pursued by French colonialists, he fled abroad in 1912 as a sailor and joined the French Navy as a mechanic. There, he participated in the political movements of the French sailors. In 1919, he and other French sailors mutinied against the French imperialists' scheme to use interventionist forces to strangle the infant Soviet Republic. It was Ton Duc Thang, who raised the Red Flag over a French warship in defence of the immortal October Revolution. Following the mutiny, he was detained and later demobilized. He then worked in the French Renault Company as a mechanic and carried out revolutionary activities in the French Workers' General Confederation.

In 1920, he returned to Saigon and participated in the country's revolutionary movement and in 1925 joined the Association of Vietnamese Young Revolutionaries. In 1929, he was arrested by the French colonialists and sentenced to 20 years of hard labour and deported to Poulo Condor Island. There he was among those who founded the Party Cell to lead the prisoners' struggles. In 1930, this Party Cell was recognized by the Cochinchina Party Committee as a special cell of the party and since then he became a member of the Indo-Chinese Communist Party.

After the success of the August 1945 Revolution, he was welcomed home from Poulo Condor island by the Party and the Government. He immediately began to participate in the resistance against the French colonialists who had returned to reconquer Nam Bo. He was a member of the Nam Bo Resistance and Administration Committee, vice-chairman and later chairman of the Standing Committee of the National Assembly of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and member of the Central Committee of the Vietnam Workers' Party in its Congress in 1951, 1960 and 1976. In 1960, he was elected Vice-President of the DRV by the National Assembly. After the demise of President Ho Chi Minh, he was unanimously elected President. At the first session of the National Assembly of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam after the complete liberation of the country, he was unanimously elected President of the SRV on 2 July 1976. In April 1977 he was elected President of the Vietnam Fatherland Front by the Congress of the National United Front.

* * *

PAKISTAN

Foreign Policy—2

This is the second part of the Pakistan Foreign Minister, Aga Shahi's, statement on Pakistan's attitude to current developments. The first appeared in our issue of April 12, 1980 and the concluding part will appear next week.

Islamabad, March 5,

WE ARE AWARE of the efforts being made by a number of interested countries including

the United Kingdom, France and the United States to find a formula in consultation with the Soviet Union for the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan and the guaranteeing of its status as a neutral and non-aligned country. Until all the elements of such a formula are spelled out fully, it would be premature for us to express any opinion in regard to it. Obviously, any guarantee on Pakistan's part, of the neutrality of Afghanistan and non-interference in its internal affairs would necessitate reciprocal Afghan recognition of the international frontier, and a commitment to non-interference in the internal affairs of Pakistan. We are exploring various suggestions that have been made in this connection and conveyed to us by other quarters. *Since the countries of the Islamic conference have a vital stake in the future of Afghanistan—a founder member of the conference—it is our intention to exchange views with them on a political solution for the crisis.* If it is unconceivable that the Islamic Conference, particularly member States of this region, should be ignored in the process of international consultations now going on. The eleventh session of the conference which will be meeting in Islamabad next month, is committed to a review of the status of implementation of its resolution on the Soviet military intervention in Afghanistan. It will no doubt express itself on the elements of an arrangement for the future of that country. **TURNING TO THE ROLE OF THE UNITED STATES** in this crisis, let me just say that we have had a long and fruitful relationship with the United States of America. Despite ups and downs, this connection has remained a viable and an important one. Following our exit from CENTO, more than a year ago, our only formal link with the United States is through the bilateral agreement of 1959 though this agreement has more or less remained dormant for the past 20 years. In view of the developing threat to Pakistan, consequent upon the development in Afghanistan, the U.S. has shown a revival of interest in this agreement and has also come forward with offers of military and economic assistance to Pakistan. The United States has also made an effort at organising additional assistance to Pakistan through a consortium of friendly countries. It was in this connection that the Presidential Security Advisor, Dr. Brezinski, and the US Deputy Secretary of State, Mr.

Warren Christopher, visited Islamabad early last month to continue the dialogue between the two sides that began in Washington on January 12. As you all know, this aid package consisted of 200 million dollars of military equipment on credit and 200 million dollars of economic aid spread over a period of 18 months. This was also accompanied by an offer to fortify the security commitment in the 1959 agreement through its affirmation by the United States Congress.

It is now a matter of history that despite the clear provision in the 1959 agreement for United States assistance to Pakistan including the use of armed force, in the event of Soviet controlled aggression, this security commitment remained inoperative in the 1971 conflict, even though the invasion of East Pakistan followed closely the signing of the Indo-Soviet Friendship Treaty of August that year. The US State Department maintained at that time that the 1959 agreement was only an executive agreement, and consequently of less weight and sanctity than an international treaty. The difference between the two is that while a treaty by virtue of its ratification by the US Senate is binding on successive government an executive agreement which lacks such ratification is binding primarily on the Administration which enters into it. Furthermore, US assistance by way of armed force is conditional on consent of the Congress of the United States, which may or may not be forthcoming. Also the agreement does not make it mandatory for the US President to provide assistance by way of armed force, but only discretionary. In the talks with Dr. Brzezinski and Mr. Christopher, it was not possible for the two sides to reach an accommodation either in regard to the strengthening of the US security commitment beyond a Congressional affirmation or the quantum of the aid package which was directly or by implication, wrapped up in onerous conditions. It was felt on our side that the acceptance of the US offer unless substantially modified would have detracted from rather than enhanced our security.

Also, we could not ignore the fact that US sensitivity to Indian reactions appeared to be determining the size and nature of the aid package, denuding it of relevance to our defensive capacity. There was also the suggestion that the acceptance of the aid package could affect the pursuit of our nuclear research

and development programme as long as the aid relationship continued. We have, however, indicated to the United States that we are ready to acquiesce in the strengthening of its security commitment through affirmation by the US Congress, despite its limitations. We also expressed our willingness to accept economic assistance for development purposes. Neither this aid nor the Congressional affirmation of the agreement of 1959, however, may be forthcoming because we have been informed that they are inseparably linked with our acceptance of the offer of military sales credit to the tune of 200 million dollars. **Considering all these drawbacks, we have officially conveyed to the United States Government that we are not interested in the said package as proposed and have specifically dissociated ourselves from any U.S. initiatives to introduce the relevant legislation in the US Congress.**

A number of countries however, have indicated their readiness to increase their economic assistance to Pakistan. We are grateful to these countries and also to the United States for its support of such action by them. We are in close touch with Saudi Arabia and other Arab States in the Gulf region as well as with Japan, the U.K., France and West Germany. As you are aware, Japan's special envoy, former Foreign Minister Mr. Sonoda, is in Islamabad at the present moment and has conveyed to us the decision of the Japanese Government to increase substantially the amount of its economic assistance to Pakistan. It is our considered view that for its security, Pakistan must depend primarily on its national unity and strength and indigenous effort to present an iron fist in the face of any would-be intruder and, in the second place to rely on political, moral and material support from the Islamic and non-aligned worlds as well as the time tested friendship of China. It would not be prudent on our part to be dependent for our security on any single power.

WITH INDIA we are pursuing the goal of normalisation of relations under the Simla Agreement of 1972, sincerely believing that good neighbourly relations between the two countries is an essential condition for the peace and stability of the entire South Asian

region. We acknowledge Prime Minister Indira Gandhi's contribution to the Simla Agreement and to the process of its implementation. We must also give due credit to the former Prime Minister of India, Mr. Morarji Desai, and his government for making a genuine and successful effort to carry forward that process. Relations between the two countries have hardly ever been as tension-free as during the past two years. We are in touch with the Government of Prime Minister Indira Gandhi and as you know, we recently engaged in a very useful exchange of views with the Indian Foreign Secretary who visited Islamabad last month. While the two sides continue to accept the provisions of the Simla Agreement as guiding principles for conducting bilateral relations, the development in Afghanistan are eyed differently by the two governments.

Prime Minister, Indira Gandhi has made statements on the Soviet military occupation of Afghanistan, regarding it to our great regret, as consequential to the alleged interference of Afghanistan's internal affairs by Pakistan. Statements of this nature have emanated from New Delhi with greater vehemence since the visit of Mr. Gromyko, the Soviet Foreign Minister, to India. These statements are hardly distinguishable from the conditions set by the Soviet Union for the withdrawal of its forces from Afghanistan. These conditions were set forth by President Brezhnev in his statement of Feb. 22 namely, that the Soviet Union would be ready to commence withdrawal as soon as all forms of outside interference in Afghanistan are fully terminated. President Brezhnev has also demanded guarantees from the United States together with the neighbours of Afghanistan to this effect. We do not believe that India has missed the far-reaching implications of the impermissible Soviet military intervention in Afghanistan. If the Indian stand is tactical and is intended to induce the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan through persuasion, it is in our new not likely to prove to be efficacious. It is a matter of profound regret that Indian obligation towards the Soviet Union has made it appear as being more concerned over the non-existent threat from the possibility of Pakistan acquiring additional defence capability than over the Soviet military intervention in Afghanistan.

In our recent exchange of views with India at the highest-level, we have made it very clear that while we are not in competition with India and do not aim at acquiring offensive capability to threaten its security, we reject any Indian veto on the requisition of a credible defence capability, the nature and size of which must be determined by us alone. The disparity in the military strength by Pakistan and India is so great that the clamour raised by India over the modest military sales credit offered by the US to Pakistan is devoid of any rational basis. Equally false is the propaganda of those India's friends who have taken it upon themselves to out-do India in accusing the United States of converting into Pakistan a military arsenal so as to constitute a threat to India's security. They know very well that India's military expenditure has consistently been four to six times that of Pakistan over the last ten years, and that the United States has not sold even a single tank or plane or small arms to Pakistan for a long time. I have given you a brief survey of the security problem that face Pakistan today. The security of Pakistan is guaranteed by the will to independence, sovereignty and freedom, of its brave 80 million people and the devotion and preparedness of its Armed Forces.

(To Be Concluded)

PAKISTAN

- Zia Criticised
- Libya Acts

London, April 15,

Mrs. Nusrat Bhutto has attacked the Pakistan President, General Zia ul-Haq's Afghanistan policy, accusing him of "blowing up the Afghan refugee situation to get money from abroad." In an interview in Karachi given to Western correspondents, Mrs. Bhutto who was released from house arrest last week, said she did not think there was any Soviet intention towards Pakistan. "They do not want to invade Pakistan," she added. She indicated that if her Pakistan People's Party came to power, it would accept the Babrak Karmal regime in Kabul. "When we are

in power we will not allow the Afghan refugees to operate from our territory". Nawabzada Nasrullah Khan, former president of the defunct Pakistan Democratic Party said in Karachi today that the movement for "restoration of democracy", would continue in spite of his expulsion on Sunday from Baluchistan province bordering Afghanistan.

Nobody had expected anything to come out of Swaransingh's visit to Islamabad nor expect anything from the Indira Gandhi-Zia meeting in Salisbury this week. Furthermore, it is difficult for democratic-minded people in the UK and elsewhere to take General Zia's highly moralistic pronouncement (a la Carter) on freedom and sovereignty seriously. In October 1979, after the polling for local bodies, President Zia tightened the martial law regulations, arrested a host of politicians, banned all political parties and postponed his off-announced plans for a general election to a national assembly. Vociferous criticism of Gen. Zia has come from rightist leaders of the remnants of the Pakistan National Alliance (PNA) who had campaigned against Bhutto and paved the way for Zia and the army to capture power. It must be recalled that the PNA for a time shared power with the Army in the mistaken belief that general elections would be held and that the PNA would be pardoned by the Army. Activists from the PNA and some other parties recently met in a conference ostensibly to discuss the crisis facing Pakistan consequent upon the developments in neighbouring Afghanistan. Their contention is that parliamentary democracy ought to be restored and the army must return to the barracks. They also argue that in the middle of 1977 the Supreme Court gave a sort of constitutional legitimacy to Gen. Zia on condition that he conducts an election, the original declared intention of "Operation Fairplay" as he called his coup. The Tehrik-i-Istiqal, led by Air Marshal (retired) Asghar Khan did not join hands with the rightist groups in the conference, but is fighting the issue in the Lahore High Court in a petition challenging the constitutional validity of the military junta's decision to postpone the election.

Reports from Pakistan also indicate that Gen. Zia has begun to have trouble from within his military complex surviving an attempt at a coup last month. This was fol-

lowed by a re-arrangement of military commanders. Gen. Zia also has had to make a deal with some groups which were working for his overthrow. How else to explain the elevation to the rank of General and the post of head of Joint Chiefs of Staff of a high-ranking officer who was reported to have been the frontman for the disgruntled sections of the army? There is no doubt that some parties have been using the opportunity to promote differences among the Generals, all of whom cannot be expected to fancy the Islamic domestic policies and the brinkmanship of President Zia in foreign affairs. Obviously, the PNA and Jamiat Ulema readers could not be emboldened to give public expression to their dissent without the connivance of some influential sections in the army.

But the most sensational story to reach London is that the consular section of the embassy of Libya in Islamabad had received instructions from Tripoli to put a complete stop to the issue of visas to Pakistani citizens leaving for jobs in Libya either under government auspices or the private sector. Further, the government of Libya according to reliable reports reaching the UK, called all Pakistani citizens about sixty thousand (60,000) persons employed in different jobs to quit the country. The reason that that is mentioned in political and diplomatic circles is that in the Libyan army, particularly in the Air Force, large members of Pakistani instructors and specialists have been employed for a long time. In recent times, when there were serious speculations whether Egypt would attack Libya (provocations on Libya-Tunisian border had already erupted) the Libyan army command started active preparation for day eventuality including military operations.

In March it is reported in a special message the Pakistani government informed Libya that in case of a possible conflict with the involvement of Libyan armed forces integrated Pakistani military personnel would not participate in combat actions. In response to this President Gaddafi had stated that he was not interested in the service of Pakistani military men as well as other specialists and announced about their deportation from Libya. At the same time Gaddafi discovered that Pakistani military specialists represented a channel of leakage of secret information of Libyan military plans which they say were passed to Egypt.

The picture will not be complete without reference to Reuter reports that Pakistan President General Zia ul-Haq is now "far weaker than before" and his isolation is "virtually complete." This view was expressed in Karachi and London by Miss Benazir Bhutto and Mr. Tariq Ali Trotskyite leader resident in Britain. Miss Bhutto, who along with her mother was recently released from house arrest has accused General Zia of presiding over a society "disintegrating like Rome or degenerating like Nazi Germany." In an interview, Miss Bhutto also criticised General Zia's foreign policy, saying it was being conducted on the basis of "a crude exercise in superpower blackmail." Miss Bhutto was quoted here as saying, "the military rulers see the storm—they know it is coming. General Zia is weaker, far weaker today than at any time since he banned politics on 16th October last year."

Mr. Tariq Ali writing in the latest issue of *New Statesman* said, "Developments in Pakistan over the last month indicate that the dictator's isolation is virtually complete. The General is more unpopular than he was at the time of Bhutto's execution a year ago. The overwhelming majority of the country believes there is no time like the present for the General to depart." Mr. Ali quoted General Faiz Ali Chisti, who was recently relieved of his military command by General Zia, as saying the President was a disaster for Pakistan. General Chisti's remarks were said to have been made during his frank and informal discussions with Pakistanis in London during his visit some weeks prior to his removal. General Chisti was reported to have told the Pakistanis that the army was in a demoralised state and "I have reached the end of my patience." Mr. Ali said the Chinese leaders had over the past two decades amply demonstrated their fondness for Pakistan's uniformed generals "but even they must now be developing serious doubts about Zia's viability."

Tribune Correspondent

SPOTLIGHT

SO, WHAT HAPPENS TO ME?

by Jayantha Somasundaram

WHATEVER ELSE one can accuse J. R. Jayewardene of, one cannot lay at his door the

charge of dynasty-building. In our own country the Senanayakas and the Ratwatte-Bandaranaiques have exposed themselves to this charge which in any case is more the rule than the exception in Asia. Take the Nehru's in India, the Changs in Taiwan, the Kim-Il-Sungs in Korea and the Marcos' in the Philippines.

At most J. R. Jayewardene has put brother Harry to keep an eye on human rights and sister-in-law Gladys to keep an eye on pharmaceuticals. But the fact that he has made no attempt to groom a member of the next generation for political leadership absolves him of charge of dynasty.

Thus the alleged literary works of our former Permanent Representative at the United Nations, B. J. Fernando, cannot be taken very seriously. It is ultimately a polemic against the dominant golgama-caste political leadership. And the only going non-Golgama political leader of national standing is Prime Minister R. Premadasa. So the purpose of this controversial unpublished book wherever be the author is quite obvious—to create problems inside the UNP.

It illuminates, sharply but momentarily, the magnitude of the power struggle within the UNP. Upto now this has been much advertised by the Opposition, but it escaped the notice of the citizen. Now it is obvious that there must be a riproaring battle going on.

People don't sit around in secret writing soul searching accounts of our political history merely out of moral conviction, the kind that one associates with a *dharmista* order. It betrays the fact that the Hierarchy at its highest levels is split down the centre as far as its political loyalty is concerned.

SO WHAT HAPPENS TO YOU AND ME?
Are we, the outsiders, the citizens at large, going to be forgotten as the giants go on with their epic battle? How far down the Administration will the tussle percolate?

Already the Opposition claims that state transport is being sabotaged by the J.R. loyalists to discredit Mohamed and replace him with Mathew. How far this intrigue is true goodness knows. But those of us who use public transport will willingly testify on oath that the rail and bus services are either in a mess or they are making a pretty good imitation of being in a mess.

And so, what happens to you and me?

Confidentially

WRB In Nepal

IS THERE NOT SOMETHING VERY WRONG with the World Bank when it comes to the choice of experts? That so much has been written about many of the persons who have been foisted on poor Third World countries which are compelled to put up with them (and ultimately pay for their services)? That one of the biggest surprises for the year was the choice by the World Bank of Dr. Leslie Herath (Chairman of the Sri Lanka Water Resources Board—WRB) and a side-kick in the WRB called Basnayake to proceed to Nepal to report and advice on a World Bank project there on tube wells and irrigation? That significantly this WRB team arrived in Kathmandu on April Fool's Day? That Dr. Herath was in Nepal until April 10 and Basnayake is expected to be there until the end of April? That a long-standing Nepali reader of *Tribune*, aware of the disgraceful performance of the WRB in the matter of tubewells in Sri Lanka, has written to us that this World Bank team (Herath and Basnayake) were "unable to give any advice because Nepal has 10 years of well-documented tube-well experience especially by Israelis, Indians and Americans? We have a permanent Israeli team here.....In one IRD project, 2925 tube wells are on the cards....."? That why and how Herath and Basnayake were chosen as tube-well and irrigation experts by the World Bank is a mystery? That neither on performance or on experience can they be said to be experts on tube wells or irrigation? That it is to be hoped however that Dr. Herath and Basnayake would learn a few things in Nepal to enable them to do some real work here? That it is not necessary, to go all the way to Nepal to learn about sinking tube wells in Sri Lanka—even at World Bank expense?

IS IT NOT TRUE that in political and commercial circles in Colombo there are stories of how private firms have been set up offering to sink tube wells? That large advertisements have appeared about the consultancy and engineering skills these firms can provide? That whilst some say that these firms have

been created because of the vast field for exploitation in tube and bore wells, there are others who say that the inactivity of the WRB was self-induced in order to promote the growth of one or more of these firms? That this uncharitable suggestion may be totally false and may have been concocted by chronic dissident grumblers or by persons who have an axe to grind, but, even if the WRB (or some of its officials) are not responsible for the sprouting of these private companies, there is no doubt that persistent WRB inactivity would make many suspect that there is some hanky panky in this business? That everybody will welcome a large number of private companies to sink, drill and bore wells provided their prices are competitive? That the biggest danger is an invisible collusion between the WRB and such private firms?

Govt.



Notice

Land Acquisition Act (Chapter 460) As Amended By The Land Acquisition (Amendment) Act No. 23 Of 1964. Notice Under Section 7.

Ref. No. 00/3160

The lands described in the Schedule below have been acquired. For further particulars please see the Gazette of the Democratic Socialist Republic of Sri Lanka No. 85 (Part III) of 18-04-1980.

Schedule

Situation of Land: In the village of Mapalana, Gangaboda Pattu North, Matara district.

Name of Land: Godellahena alias Bokalagoda-ruppa.

Lot & Plan No.: Lots 1 and 2 in Preliminary Plan No. 006. 954.

C. D. Vidanapathirana
Acquiring Officer,
Matara District.

The Kachcheri,
Matara, 28/3/1980



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Voluntary Family Services

Since Independence our population has doubled from 7 million in 1948 to 14 million in 1978 and is increasing at 1.8% per year.

Compared to the death rate which is 6.6 per thousand today the birth rate is 28 per thousand (one of the highest in the world). Our population density which was 95 persons per square mile in 1871 is 572 persons per square mile today. Our age structure is top heavy with a dependent population of 49.6% under 18 yrs, and 6.4% over 60 yrs, which has to be maintained by a work force of only 44% of which 9.2% is unemployed. Our natural resources are getting depleted rapidly. Arable land has diminished from 4.5 acres per person in 1901 to 1.1 acre per person in 1979. But the most serious effect of rapid population growth is the severe increase in unemployment. To generate new jobs we need adequate capital formation. But capital formation cannot improve when the basic needs of an increasing population have to be met first.

To solve this problem the government is taking all meaningful steps to curb unplanned growth of population and:

- 1) will provide enhanced family planning services and incentives both by way of money and leave to individuals both male and female who practice family planning
- 2) will emphasize service oriented programmes to enable motivated couples and individuals to receive family planning services and to undergo sterilization voluntarily
- 4) will pay a minimum of Rs. 100/—to all employees of public sector institutions and state organizations who voluntarily undergo sterilization (both male and female)
- 5) will give 3 days full pay leave for male sterilization and 7 days full pay leave for female sterilization to employees of public sector institutions and state organizations. This leave is in addition to the normal leave
- 5) will ensure that the Private Sector Organizations too would provide such incentives to their employees who undergo sterilizations.

(Excerpts from the opening address of His Excellency J. R. Jayewardene to the International Conference of Parliamentarians on Population and Development in August 1979)

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