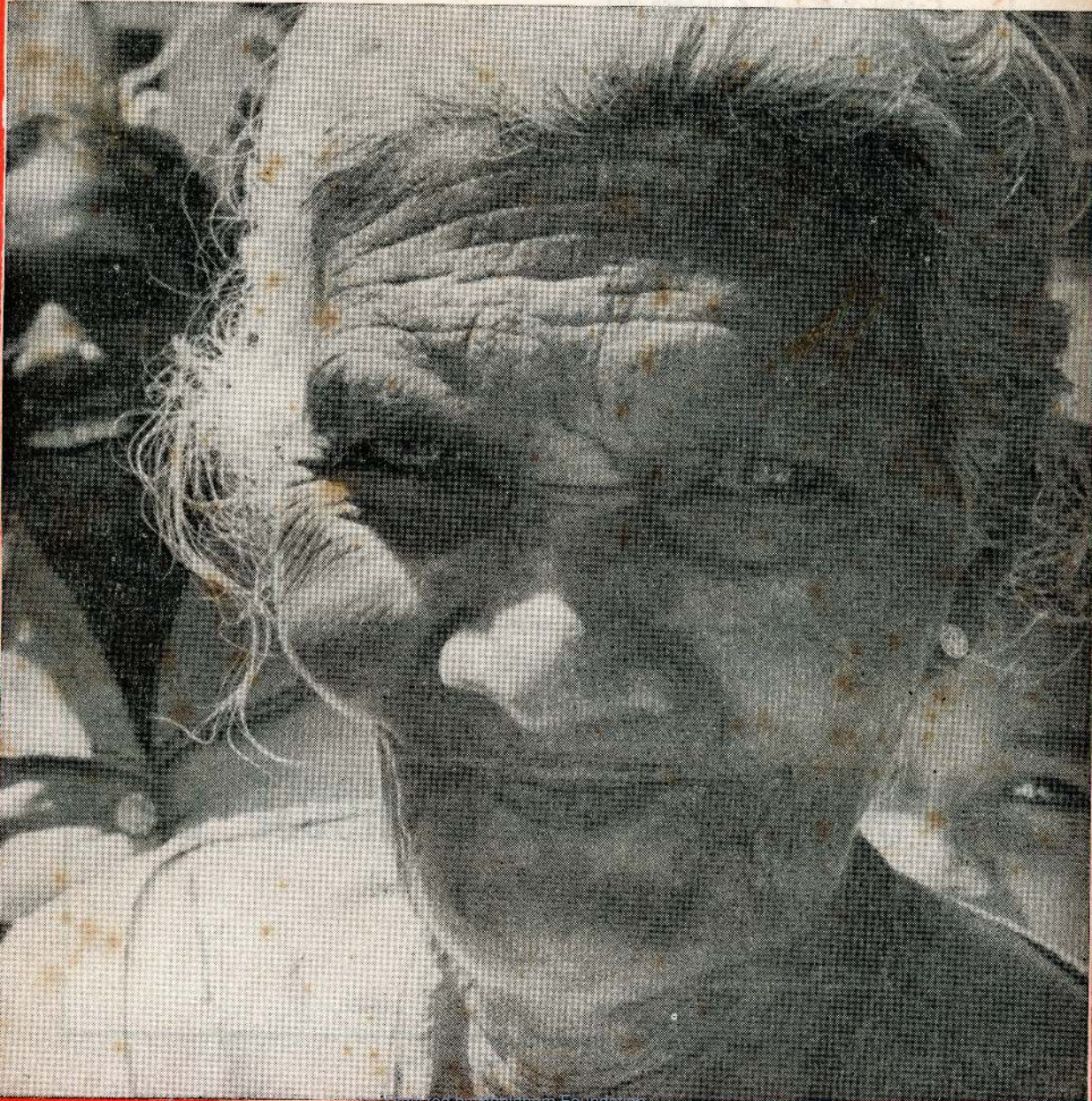


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Letter From The Editor

THE STORY of ganja (marijuana) in Jamaica—we had dealt with this matter in this column for the last two weeks—will not be complete without reference to “the way that Jamaica has been transformed into a big drug production centre is exemplified by the operations of the so-called Ethloplan Zion Coptic Farm Co., leading drug producers in the impoverished St. Thomas Parish. The cult, based in Florida, is seeking recognition as a church by the U.S. Internal Revenue Service and is waging a legal battle in Florida to be allowed to use marijuana as a sacrament. The Ethloplan Z’ion Coptic Farm Co., has established a sophisticated marijuana running operation out of St. Thomas, using modern airplanes and boats owned by subsidiaries of the parent company in Florida. This cult has developed major operations not only in St. Thomas, which used to be famous for the Jamaican Blue Mountain coffee, one of the choicest in the world, but also in other parts of the Caribbean. They are in the Guajira peninsula the major drug producing area of Columbia for instance.” *Tribune* offers Sri Lankan purists the happy news about a decision made by, Court in Liestal in Switzerland—according to a *Reuter* report in the *International Herald Tribune* (1/2/80): “A Swiss court ruled today that marijuana represents no danger to health and is less dangerous than alcohol. The Basel rural cantonal (provincial) supreme court made the ruling in rejecting a prosecution appeal against lenient sentences handed down by a lower court to nine people accused of dealing in the drug. Even though Swiss law treats marijuana offenses as severely as those involving ‘hard’ drugs like heroin, ‘soft’ drug offenders should be treated more leniently, the judges said in upholding sentence of 2 1/2 years in prison for the nine.” The IMF and World Bank would undoubtedly be willing to finance, at least through some third agencies, a research study to promote the cultivation of ganja for export not only to help Sri Lanka to pay its debts but also to improve the profits of the big bankers who finance the international drug trade. Jamaica was compelled to turn from sugar to ganja (marijuana) to pay its debts. Sri Lanka may soon have to fall back on ganja to replace marginal tea, marginal paddy and unprofitable subsidiary foodstuffs. This is a fearful prospect. Before it is too late, and before the squeeze is applied, Sri Lanka must join other countries similarly placed to persuade the IMF to change its lending policies. The ECM countries are convinced that the current IMF lending policies can only lead to economic disaster in poor Third World countries. Dan Morgan, writing from Washington on March 28, for the *International Herald Tribune* on the problem of Jamaica and the IMF said: “.....US Congressional hearings have won sympathizers on Capital Hill for some changes in IMF lending policies. Rep. Henry Reuss, D-Wis., chairman of the House Banking Committee, has advocated that the IMF weigh the effects of its loan conditions on employment, prices and human needs as well as a country’s balance of payments. Rep. Reuss has introduced amendments in legislation that would direct U.S. representatives on the IMF to ensure that these factors are part of loan guidelines.” Our Government cannot afford to sleep over this matter.

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Cowpea By-Election

ON THE COVER this week we have a typical Sri Lankan smile of a simple person in our rural countryside. It is an enigmatic smile, ageless, transcending time and place. Interested in the vital things around her, the face has a transparent sense of detachment. She will eagerly await the news of the Anamaduwa by-election but she will not be carried away whatever the outcome—what has to be, will be, she will say.

Her eyes betray that peasant shrewdness that has changed governments in this country when pundits did not expect such change. How many of the rich and learned had expected the Bandaranaike landslide of 1956? How many of the great had thought Mrs. Bandaranaike would carry everything before her in July 1960 or that she would inflict such a crushing defeat on Dudley Senanayake in May 1970?

What does the rural peasant now think of the overwhelming JR victory of 1977? Is he or she satisfied with the performance of the government? Anamaduwa may give some indication of the trend of opinion, but a by-election is not the test of a government's future. Talk to a peasant or any other person in the rural areas and he (or she) now says: "..... the government has done better than most previous governments, has got things done, has promised much, but, but....." and then there is a pause. Further questioning will reveal that this halting after the "but" is a reluctance to start making charges—in the hope that the government will pull itself up by its bootstraps.

What worries the villager is the fact that he cannot get anything done without the intervention of a "politician", or to be more exact, a political "catcher", the contact man who is able to get things done. And this means money. And this, the villager feels, goes all the way up from the bottom. He cannot get anything done in Kachcheris, or AGA's offices without that "something"—according to the current schedules for such payments. In the towns, among the more sophisticated, the word is "corruption", and today it is not shrimps or small fish, but large overwhelming whales.

Prices have gone up, but there is money around—whether from remittances from abroad or from increased currency notes printed by government—and nobody is starving. Debt is mounting, national, domestic and personal, but the impact of this will be felt only a year or two hence—unless the government is able to mobilise domestic production especially on the food front.

Truly, it has been said that Anamaduwa will elect a M.P. and not a government. *Tribune* will examine the results of the Anamaduwa election in its next issue. One thing is known is that Anamaduwa will go down to history as the Cow Pea by-election, because the biggest grievance of the peasants in that electorate (as in many electorates) was that the cowpea they grew for the market (as many other agricultural products) could not be sold at reasonable prices because of the import policy of the government—Importing dha's and a whole range of foodstuffs that are grown here.

When government sensed that cowpea had created a great wall between the UNP and the voters of Anamaduwa, there was a mighty rush to fix a floor price for cowpea. But though the floor price was much higher than the prices depressed by the imports, it was still unrealistic and low in the context of current prices of inputs that make up the cost of production. Those who had grown cowpea may be able to sell what they have because the government will buy at the floor price—at least till the by-election is over. But the present floor price of cowpea and other produce is no real incentive to the farmers considering the prices they have to pay not only to grow the produce but also to keep their bodies and souls together. Even the National Prices Commission seems to be guided by perspectives and perceptions that do not seem to take into consideration the bare needs of the farmers and the even greater need to offer incentives in the backdrop of current prices and inflationary spirals.

EDITOR'S NOTEBOOK

○ Tito ○ Carter

The death of President Tito removes from the world scene one of the giants of this era. He was one of the founding fathers

of the Non-aligned Movement—with Nehru, Sukarno, Nasser, Nkrumah and others. He was the leader of a small country that stood up to the big and mighty, but more than that he pursued detente with a passionate belief in peace.

Many who praise him today seem to have no use for peace or detente. Take the case of President Carter. In spite of good advice from sane-minded members of his own Administration, and from his allies, Carter decided to use force "to teach Iran a lesson." On the night of April 24, five years after aigon fell and the US had to pull out of Vietnam, Carter sent a commando unit to rescue the hostages held in Teheran. It turned out to be a colossal failure and the American Administration has become the laughing stock of the world—although Carter seems to have impressed voters in the US that he is a strong guy willing to take risks to safeguard the honour and prestige of the United States. That is a matter for American electorate, but it is hard to believe that the mighty and powerful US with its advanced technology and expert organisational and management skills could blunder as it did with helicopter breakdowns and colliding planes in the vast expanse of an Iranian desert—and thereafter run away leaving eight or nine American dead and a whole heap of classified material.

A few among US allies, notably Mrs. Thatcher, have mumbled a few sympathetic sentiments, but the majority have expressed disappointments, if not criticism, about Carter's decision to rush into military operations which could early have erupted into war. A quick and humiliating withdrawal prevented that.

Nearly all Moslem and Arab countries (including Saudi Arabia and Pakistan) have condemned Carter's dangerous gamble. Third World and Non-aligned countries have reacted strongly against such provocative strategies. Many of them have openly described it as "adventurism"—but some have maintained a discreet and resentful silence because of their economic dependence on US and rich industrialized countries of the West. The Soviet Union and the socialist countries, not restrained by such inhibitions, have condemned Carter's adventurism in no uncertain terms. Iran has said that this intrusion into their territory was only a further manifestation of US imperialism.

Coupled with threats of further and increased military actions, Washington also threatened other "dire consequences" if Iran did not accede to US demands. A Reuter report from Washington date-lined April 25, stated: ".....In another attempt to end the five-month old Teheran hostage crisis Carter administration officials have begun warning Iran that continued upheaval there could destroy the Islamic Revolution and lead to partition of the country.....National Security Adviser Zbigniew Brzezinski first alluded to the dangers of partition in a television interview last week, and senior White House and State Department officials elaborated on US thinking on these lines."

The report hinted that Iran could be easily partitioned between the USA, USSR and Iraq which had claims on the oil-producing provinces of Khuzestan. It will be recalled that the US had done everything it could to set Iran on a collision course against the Soviet Union right from the beginning of Khomeini's Islamic Revolutions and more especially after the Afghan crisis. After the US broke diplomatic ties with Iran and imposed economic sanctions, Teheran understandably sought the support from the Socialist bloc. China, too had done everything to bring Iran into a Jihad against the Soviet Union but again without much success.

The US did not stop at threatening Iran alone. The entire non-aligned Camp was under threat. Typical was the threat contained in a Reuter report from United Nations Hqs. datelined, April 18, and published on the front page of *Ceylon Daily News* of April 19 1980 under the headline **INDIFFERENCE TO HOSTAGE CRISIS: US SLATES NON-ALIGNED:** "The United States today accused most UN members of being inactive in the Iran hostage crisis and said Third World countries had failed in their responsibilities. William Wanden Hauvel, the Deputy Chief US delegate at the United Nations said: 'No spokesman for a Third World country or any other member state in any of the endless meetings that take place in this building has stood up to suggest that the outrage against the American diplomats in Teheran is an insult to every nation that is a member of this organisation'.....In what some observers said was the harshest criticism of UN members by a US

delegate in memory, he went on: 'Is it too much to hope or expect the overwhelming majority of the members of the United Nations would find the ways and means to support that peaceful process and bring to an end the crisis that could clearly threaten world peace? Iran caused the Secretary General of this organisation to be in physical jeopardy. Iran flouted the United Nations Commission of Inquiry that was deliberately and specifically sent to explore whatever grievances it might have had and to give them a voice and a forum.' He stated that future of US support to UN aid programmes for Third World countries would depend on their role and specially that of the Non-aligned group and its current Chairman, Cuba, on the hostage issue.....".

What this means is that the USA expects Third World countries, especially the non-aligned group to help the USA to pull its chestnuts out of the fire in Iran; and that, if they do not, the US would cut off its support for UN programmes to assist Third World countries. Why have the non-aligned group and other Third World countries not done what the USA expects of them? Why have they not rushed to the rescue of the US although the general reaction in all these countries has been one of wholesale disapproval of the course of the Iranian revolution and its current leadership?

The answers are not difficult to find.

OO OO OO

FILM FOCUS

Sarungale

Among the Sinhalese films released in 1979, none reached the high water-mark and achieved acclaim when it came to recognition for awards as 'Sarungale'. At both the 1980 OCIC and the Sarasaviya Film Festivals, this film received high praise for its theme that preached inter-communal harmony and minced no words about it. The film however received a rather cool reception during its run, but the lesson has seeped home as time went by.

In late June 1977, when I sat down for a cosy chat with the leading Sri Lankan actor Gamini Fonseka at his residence, he spoke

with a lot of feeling about a film that he had just completed. He said that this film 'Sarungale' had a message for the country, to foster racial harmony between the two major communities in Sri Lanka. When he related the story in detail, I expressed my misgivings about the film seeing the light of day, as the clouds of a communal holocaust were already gathering on the distant horizon. The storm however did break a couple of months later, and what happened has since blackened the pages of history.

As I look back on these blood spattered days, the sincerity and courage of Gamini who helped this script and story shone like a beacon light, and I took up the cause for an early release of this film, with a view to healing the fresh wounds that had opened up and were festering then.

The censors however stepped in and took a stepmotherly attitude towards its release, insisting on certain cuts that would have distorted the story and its message. Better counsel prevailed to some extent later, and 'Sarungale' was at last in 'flight' for the general good of our motherland.

In the hands of young Director Sunil Ariyaratne, who was a lecturer in the Jaffna Campus, long enough to study the customs and habits of the average Northerner, this story unfolds the travails and tribulations of a Government Head Clerk, Nadarajah (Gamini Fonseka) who, while living alone frugally in a Sinhalese seaside suburb in Colombo, acts a Samaritan to those around him and particularly to a kassippu seller's (Wimal Kumar de Costa) little daughter who is fond of kites.

As the **Sarungale** often flutter and soar into the clouds with his help, Nadarajah's mind flashed back to the peninsula, where he had once lost his Sinhalese love (Veena Jayakody) and where his sister (Fareena Lye) sacrificed her life in a milieu that did not tolerate her love for a depressed class man. All these incidents are neatly woven into the story with a sledgehammer impact, till Nadarajah is caught in Colombo cruelly, in the wicked web of the racial riots of 1958.

There are several poignant moments in the film of man's inhumanity to man.

Gamini Fonseka's was a peerless per-

● Assembly Elections ● Pak Proposal
● Atomic Power ● Assam

by R. Varadachari

PTI Correspondent in Colombo

ELECTIONS TO THE ASSEMBLIES in nine Indian states which were dissolved by Mrs. Gandhi on her coming to power on the ground that they did not reflect the wishes of the people as registered in the last general elections will be held on May 28 and 31. The electoral process in these states had been set in motion with the respective governors issuing notifications calling upon the people to elect new state legislatures. The three states of Orissa, Punjab and Bihar will have a one day poll on May 31 while other six states of Gujarat, Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra, Rajasthan, Tamil Nadu and Uttar Pradesh will have the polling spread over two days on May 28 and 31. All the results will be out before the midnight of June 1.

While there is a mad rush for the Indra Congress ticket, the opposition parties are still groping in the dark with regard to their election strategy. Their move to project a common front against what they call "dictatorial and dynastic rule" of Mrs. Gandhi has virtually collapsed. The Bharatiya Janata Party, comprising the former Jan Sangh members and constituting the biggest organised opposition party with a disciplined cadre, has decided to go it alone in the assembly polls. Its initial desires to have one opposition candidate in each constituency had met with "negative, evasive and ambivalent response" from other opposition parties, according to a resolution adopted by the national executive of the party. While permitting local adjustments with other parties in individual states with the objective of not weakening the "anti-authoritarian" forces, the Bharatiya Janata Party has decided not to have any truck with any of the Communist parties.

The Indra Congress, propelled by its resounding victory in the general elections, is going it alone except in Tamil Nadu, where the two regional parties, the Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam of Mr. M. Karunanithi and the All-India Anna DMK of Mr. M. G. Rama-

formance in this brave film, while Wimal acted his role with great gusto and conviction. Actress Veena Jayakody, Sriyani Amarasena and Fareena Lye lent their abilities to the film, particularly Fareena who has collected double awards for her role as Thangamani.

A decision to get the message of this film into every home by T.V. is a laudable one, and this column hopes that every Sri Lankan would learn to live by its tenets, so warmly depicted.

NIRAM MARATHA POOKAL: This Tamil film, the song hits of which are being hummed on the highways now was reviewed in the *Tribune* of 2.4.80. A Catholic nun, whom I ran into recently, and who is very much a film critic, took me to task for not bringing out three incidents in the story, which smudged the film somewhat. I had to agree with her and I reproduce the 'objections' for the benefit of *Tribune* readership.

(a) The sequence where lovers ran over the tomb stones and monuments in a Christian cemetery, singing a popular 'hit', indicated a lack of good taste and disrespect for the dead.

(b) The scene in which the heartbroken lover (Vijaya) throws his pair of spectacles at the feet of his deity with the prayer, that although he was 'God' he would view the travails of human misery better, if he could only use them—its impact was insulting to all religions.

(c) The finale, where the depressed lover commits suicide, indicating that this 'escape' could be the only panacea for all those who are similarly placed.

My general assessment of this film, but for these flaws, stands.

James N. Benedict

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. 1598.50	Rs. 1601.50
Sterling Pound	Rs. 3662.00	Rs. 3668.00
Deutsche Mark	Rs. 894.20	Rs. 895.80
French Franc	Rs. 382.40	Rs. 383.10
Japanese Yen	Rs. 6.8445	Rs. 6.8595
Indian Rupees	Rs. 202.80	Rs. 203.20

chandran hold sway. The Indira Congress has entered into an alliance with the DMK which has paid the price for the tie-up by agreeing to share equally with Indira Congress the total assembly seats. In turn Mrs. Gandhi has overruled the strong opposition from her party ranks at the state level to have Mr. Karunanidhi as the Chief Minister in the event of the alliance securing an absolute majority. The talks between Mr. Ramachandran and the Janata Party for seat sharing has collapsed. The Janata Party has felt that the seats offered to it by Mr. Ramachandran was too paltry and hence decided to scrap the alliance proposal. This development has further enhanced the election prospects of the Indira Congress-DMK alliance in Tamil Nadu.

A SPECIAL COURT set up by the previous Janata Government has cleared Mrs. Gandhi and five others of criminal and corruption charges in what has come to be known as the "Jeep Scandal Case". In the indictment Mrs. Gandhi has been charged, along with other subordinates of hers in her previous government with having illegally obtained 139 jeeps worth about Rs. 70 lakhs for electioneering in the general elections of 1977 by misusing and abusing their official position. The special judge, Mr. D. C. Agarwal, has found the prosecution evidence to be "wholly wanting and deficient to expect a conviction." Observing that "this melodrama should come to a happy finale," Mr. Agarwal has discharged all the accused, holding that "there is complete lack of evidence as to the meeting of minds between Mrs. Gandhi and the co-accused for abusing their position as public servants."

This is the fourth case relating to the Shah Commission findings in which Mrs. Gandhi has been discharged. Two related to her alleged refusal to testify before the Commission and the third to the alleged harassment of four officials of the Industry Ministry who sought to collect information in connection with a question in parliament on Maruti Car Project in which her son, Sanjay, had predominant interest. All the cases instituted against Mrs. Gandhi by the previous Janata Government are closed now. The era of legal harassment is thus over for her. She has come out on the top in this legal battle as in the battle of ballots.

MEANWHILE, the *Hindu*, one of the leading Indian national dailies, has disclosed in an exclusive despatch from its usually well-informed Chief of Bureau of New Delhi, that Pakistani President General Zia ul-Haq had told Mrs. Indira Gandhi during their recent meeting during the Zimbabwe independence celebrations in Salisbury that he was prepared to have a United Nations Observer Group, with countries like India represented on it, to inquire into the charge that the Afghan refugees were being armed and trained in Pakistani territory to carry on their fight across the border against the Soviet presence. The *Hindu* added that a hint to that effect was given in a general way during Mr. Swaran Singh's visit to Islamabad as Mrs. Gandhi's special envoy and that it was amplified in the course of General Zia's talks with Mrs. Gandhi on the Afghan situation.

In this connection, the *Hindu* has drawn attention to the allegation of the Soviet Foreign Minister, Mr. Andrei Gromyko, during his visit to Delhi in February last that in nearly two dozen refugee camps in Pakistan various American agencies were arming and training Afghan insurgents in guerilla warfare with the active connivance of the Pakistan Government. Mr. Gromyko had also accused China of indulging in similar activities at some places in the Northern sector of the troubled borders of Afghanistan. According to the *Hindu*, the Indian Government is now waiting for an opportune moment to depute a senior emissary to Moscow to get a better idea of the Soviet intentions before Mr. Agha Shahi, Pakistan's Foreign Secretary, comes to New Delhi early next month to continue the Indo-Pak dialogue. According to latest indications, the present military regime in Pakistan has already placed some curbs on the activities of the Afghan refugees and it is not overtly resorting to any activity that could be used by the Soviet Union as an excuse for attacking and liquidating these camps under the guise of exercising its right of hotpursuit. This is a hopeful sign. The Indian policy has been to dissuade Pakistan from escalating the Afghan crisis by ill advised and inspired adventurism while attempting to make a break-through in conjunction with like-minded countries and pave the way for a credible solution to the explosive situation.

WHILE MRS. INDIRA GANDHI, on coming

to power, has reopened India's options regarding nuclear implosions and explosions for peaceful purposes, Dr. H. N. Sethna, Chairman of the Indian Atomic Energy Commission, has outlined the country's nuclear power development strategy. Natural uranium-fuelled reactions are to be constructed in the first phase. This will be followed by fast breeder reactors which will use plutonium produced from the first phase reactors. The final phase will be reactors based on self-sustaining thorium-uranium cycle. India is among the few countries continuing with the development of natural uranium-fuelled reactors which can be operated with indigenous resources and technology. The uranium utilisation is also more efficient and plutonium can be produced in larger quantities. The Indian Atomic Energy Commission has carried out several modifications to ease operation and maintenance of the atomic power stations

at Tarapur, near Bombay, to reduce radiation exposures to personnel, minimise radioactive discharges to environment and improve reliability and performance of the station. But the power output from the plant has been reduced owing to uncertainty of fuel supply from the United States.

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

Reference No. 2 /4/182

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. 88 (part III) of 09-05-1980.

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

The Kachcheri,
Kegalle.
16-04-1980

Schedule

Situation: Situated in Gangoda Village, Galaboda Pattu, Mawanella D.R.O.'s Division in Kegalle District.

Plan No: F.V.P. 171

Lot No: 281
Name of land: Wekkewatta

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. 28/1/251

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. 88 (Part III) of 09-05-1980.

Schedule

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

Name of land: Dangahakekulanma

Plan and Lot No.: F.V.P. 657 Supplement No. 2.
Lot Nos. 326, 327, 338, 329 & 330.

S. J. Pathirana
Acquiring Officer.
Galle District

The Kachcheri,
Galle. 28 March 1980.

**My No. EA/2/240
The Land Acquisition Act (Chapter 460) As Amended By The Land Acquisition (Amendment) Act No. 28 Of 1964
Notice Under Section 7**

It is intended to acquire the land described below for a public purpose. For further particulars please see the Gazette of the Democratic Socialist Republic of Sri Lanka No. 88 (Part III) of 09-05-1980.

Situation: Village of Gammama in Walalawita Pattu in the D.R.O.'s Division of Pasdun Korale South in Kalutara District, Western Province.

Name of land: Malgahaudumulla, Neluwakandakele.

Lots & Plan No: Lots 272 to 275 in supplement 5 in F.V.P. 87.

Mahinda Gammampila,
Assistant Government Agent.
Kalutara District

Kalutara Kachcheri,
16th 04, 1980.

India's first nuclear power station constructed completely with indigenous resources is at Kalpakkam in the Southern State of Tamil Nadu. A similar station with two 235 megawatt reactors is coming up at Narora in the Northern State of Uttar Pradesh. That will be India's fourth atomic power station. India plans to construct one or two more such plants, each consisting of two 235 megawatt units before going on to 500 megawatt reactors for which conceptual design work is under way. Research work on the second phase of the nuclear power programme is in progress at Kalpakkam where a 40 megawatt thermal fast breeder test reactor is in an advanced stage of construction.

have begun criticising Mrs. Gandhi for what they regard as a "crackdown". In their view, strong-arm methods will be counter-productive, particularly when one is dealing with a highly emotional and explosive question. While the motive of the opposition in making this allegation may be open to question, their criticism would appear to have some validity. The Central Government has a Hobson's choice before it and its options are limited in scope. Mrs. Gandhi has an uphill task ahead. One should hope that she will show her usual resilience and acumen to overcome the crisis situation.

—SLBC Talk, 2.5.80

AFTER A PATIENT PHASE OF CONCILIATORY APPROACH to resolve the immigrants issue in Assam, the central government has begun to deal with the escalating situation with firmness combined with sweet reasonableness. Without closing the door for dialogue, Mrs. Gandhi has deployed the army and para-military forces to deflate the seven-month old agitation by Assam students for eviction from the strategic northeastern border state of the "aliens" who are mainly immigrants workers from West Bengal, Bangladesh and Nepal. In retaliation the Students Union had successfully organised a five day picketing of offices, banks and business establishments and had followed it up with a one-day non-co-operation day on April 27 bringing life in the entire state to a complete standstill. With the student's union intensifying the agitation, the Government had rounded up over 60 ring leaders. But top student leaders have gone underground and are directing the agitation from secret hideouts.

Already the mass movement had resulted in the tragic death of about 90 persons and the so-called "foreign nationals" agitation has now spread to Manipur too, with students spearheading the agitation there as well. It is also spilling over to Arunachal Pradesh with thousands of refugees from riot-torn Assam and Meghalaya entering the union territory. The entire Northeastern region is thus getting engulfed in the virtual civil disobedience movement.

The opposition parties, having abdicated their responsibility of guiding the movement and counselling the leaders of the agitation

P O E M

Waiting

White birds sitting still on
dying trees—
leafless, flowerless, fruitless; stark
brown branches
silhouetted against the blue horizon
like gaunt men
with arms outstretched, grim cold
they stand
inside the silent tank.

The raucous screech of peacocks
those birds
of brilliant plumage, shatter
the stillness
and the chattering of monkeys as
they jump
from limb to limb bringing life to
the deathly calm.

Dead white birds come to life
and disappear
with a flutter of wings, only
to return
on the morrow and sit once more
watching out for
fish, from dead branches rising
to the sky.

Vinodini Amarasingam

● Malaysia ● Singapore

A HUNDRED YEARS OF CEYLONESE IN MALAYSIA AND SINGAPORE—1867 - 1967. BEING RECORDS AND RECOLLECTIONS OF A COMMUNITY BY S. DURAI RAJA SINGAM.

THE AUTHOR has written this book "in the hope that the story of the Ceylonese in the country may be better known". It is just as well that Mr. Durai Raja Singam has done so in order that generations to come will find inspiration in the work of the pioneers who came "into this almost primeval place and settle down, uncertain as to what the future would hold for them". Their faith has been amply rewarded. It demonstrates that it is how we use our lives that determines what kind of men we are and that it is only by giving our lives that we do find life.

A book of this nature covering a period of 100 years poses problems for a reviewer. Am I to review it as a pile of short articles and allot each chapter a brief space or would it not be better to treat it as a whole? I much rather think that the latter course is more appropriate.

The book covers a very broad spectrum of life in Malaysia and Singapore, each chapter discussing the "Ceylonese" contribution towards the country's progress. This is best described by the Prime Minister of Singapore Mr. Lee Kuan Yew in his forward to the book dated 18.12.67. He says, "Even today the Ceylonese community continues to play a prominent role in these and other fields of civic life. For example in Singapore today, the Speaker of our Parliament is a Ceylonese. So is our High Commissioner in Great Britain. So is our Foreign Minister. In the Judiciary, in the Civil Service, in the University, in the Medical Service and in the professions they continue to make substantial contributions out of all proportion to their numbers. They are there not because they are members of a minority community but on the basis of merit."

The Prime Minister of Malaysia, Mr. Tunku Abdul Rahman Putra (at that time) in his forward of 6th April 1967 says, "the

dedication and stability of the Ceylonese who worked in large numbers in almost every branch of public administration and in the plantation and industrial sectors, has left an indelible mark in my mind."

The large number of charts, maps and pictures which the author has included reveal very much more than what articles could have disclosed. The book is priced 30 Malaysian dollars and can be purchased from the author Mr. S. Durai Raja Singam, House 7, Section 11/3, Petaling Jaya, Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia. This is a book that will be of interest not only to those who have Malaysian and Singapore connections, but also to students of history.

Devaratnam Danforth

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SINGAPOORU DARUWA A NOVEL BY THAN KOK SEN: TRANSLATED BY SUCHARITHA GAMALATH. PUBLISHERS SAPUMAL FOUNDATION; PAGES 232 PRICE: UNMARKED.

A translation of a novel from whatever language, must necessarily involve the question as to why it is being translated. This problem arises in Sucharitha Gamalath's translation of Than Kok Sen's "Singapooru Daruwa". This novel, which certainly cannot be categorized as outstanding, is a vivid portrayal of life in Singapore society. The whole novel is centred on AA Naam, who is later called Kok Sen and is in all probability, the author himself.

The story is the accumulated experience of Kok Sen, his childhood, schooldays and his view of society as an ordinary worker, to be more precise, a labourer. The turmoil he undergoes lacks any special significance since Kok Sen tends to evade challenges rather than meet them. His confrontation with the "pig-faced" wife of his first employer and his weak stand in the face of threats from the gangster chums of the employers' prodigal son, who eventually ruins them, illustrates this. The popularity he gains striking the bully, the strong shopowner in the market place and going in for self-defence courses in the temple fearing a counter-attack, could be explained more as selfishness rather than as an act of heroism.

Kok Sen, seems to be a isolated character in Singapore society. There is no specific instance in the story, to show that Kok Sen's opinion is shared by his colleagues in the market place. Regarding the two rival parties consisting of employees in the market place one siding with the employers and the others opposing them. Kok Sen belonged to the latter. Knowing very well that the employers grossly violate the labour laws, Kok Sen never dared to launch a campaign against the ruthless employers. Instead he finds a way of escaping from the society to become a driver in the British High Commission in Kuala Lumpur, through the help rendered him by his new friends Nee Loise and Kaawo She whom he meets by sheer chance.

Unlike most other translations "Singapooru Daruwa" is readable. The tendency to cling to the original is not to be seen here. It is said that translations true to the original are rarely readable. If the translator had rendered the novel, more as an adaptation, 'Singapooru Daruwa' would have been much better. For example in the first page, which describes AA Naam's sister running away after seeing Japanese soldiers: instead of saying පොල් ගස් යටින් පැනගියා Gamalath could have said පොල් ගස් අතරින් පැනගියා since the coconut trees are tall and nobody could say උඩින් පැනගියා. Again it would have been much better if the Japanese soldiers were referred to simply ජපන්හු rather than ජපන් සොල්දාදුවෝ in the dialogue. One of the biggest omissions the translator has made in 'Singapooru Daruwa', is that it opens with a third person point of view but almost surprisingly becomes a first person story. This happens in AA Naam's first day in school (page 32) Could it be that the learned translator is a man of many parts?

Allenson Mendis



BUREAUCRACY

Under Re-examination

by XYZ

The author who wishes to be anonymous is a Public Servant of long standing. He believes that no real development will be possible unless government reorganises and re-suscitates the Public Service with honesty of purpose and stops politicising it any further. The conspiracy against the truth in all walks of public life must cease.

EVER SINCE THE REINS of Government and the responsibility for economic development passed on to the hands of the people of the soil, there has been a gradual and growing dissatisfaction with the attitudes of public servants at all levels and grades, collectively designated as bureaucrats. A recognisable correlation also exists between the increase in the intensity of this dissatisfaction and a sharpening of the responsibilities of politicians, to provide concrete improvements in the basic living standards of the masses. **As their expectations grew the blame for failure to raise economic conditions came to be laid on the lap of public servants. The stage was set for the tragic-comic situation of the public accusing the politicians, and the politicians in turn blaming the bureaucrat.**

This strategy does not cost men in power anything, although the cost to the nation by way of the toll it takes in demoralising public servants and undermining the service is incalculable. On the other hand the problems and critical issues with their deep seated origins continue. These are some of the causative factors of the failure and inefficiency in performance of the Public Service.

There is well documented evidence to show that Government bureaucracies, even in the developed world, have been responsible for disillusionment because plans and programmes had not progressed at the speed with which politicians, who have a responsibility to the people, would have desired them to proceed. Further, in many countries bureaucracies have grown to an enormous size and wield considerable power and influence. There

are also some features such as its insulation from public inquiry and scrutiny, and its impersonality that has given rise to mounting criticism. In fact, the catalogue of complaints that may be levelled against it is a long and justified one. However, looking at it objectively one recognises the fact that the public service is not something inanimate for, it is an organisation made up of individuals of varying personalities, qualifications, and backgrounds. The dynamism, tone and ability to orchestrate in action would depend on the strength of the participation of each officer, which in turn is governed by his or her own feelings of satisfaction or dissatisfaction, and experiences while in the service.

THERE IS A LARGE NUMBER of fine men and women in the public service at all levels, who are honest, diligent, loyal and who want to contribute of their very best towards the development of the country and the upliftment of the living conditions of its people. *These men and women watch helplessly with dismay, disillusionment and in silence, what goes on around them—particularly, the manoeuvrings of the incompetent and sycophantic colleagues.* There are however many public servants who belong to the minor grades, middle management, and executive rank with a still finely preserved enthusiasm to labour and work for their country.

If it is intended to overhaul the public service, it is important that we address our minds to the frustration and discontent that is growing. It is important also to analyse, identify and delve deep into the causative factors, face them boldly with detachment, and take concrete remedial action whatever the cost. There is no time or excuse for delay. There is no time for pretending to search for the truth while actually looking for anything but the truth. It has been stated that "readiness to believe the worst without examination comes from pride and indolence; we want to find the culprits, but we cannot be bothered to investigate the crimes."

This note intends to touch on a few of the reasons for the malaise in the Public Service, show the magnitude of the task, and plead the case for an efficient and honest, independent administration manned as far as possible by men of the highest calibre, but before going

into the reasons in detail, one fallacy has to be demolished.

Various categories of people drawn from different disciplines—politicians, economists, and even administrators—have from time to time commented on the reasons for the seemingly incurable inefficiency and lethargy rampant in the public service. They have rather simplistically attributed these symptoms to indifference and laziness.

THE IDEA THAT LAZINESS as one of the root causes of under-development is so firmly implanted in our minds that it came to be also used in explaining the inefficiency in the public service. This approach has acted effectively as a blinker to the political authorities and no attempt was made to penetrate deep into the actual causes of the malaise and indifference.

The efficiency of any system of administration has to be reflected in the realisation of the objectives for which the system has been established. With the attainment of Independence in 1948 which cast the government into a new role, necessarily quite different to that of the pre-independence colonial period, the administrative machinery had to be re-styled to adequately cater to the aspirations of the people it purported to serve. It had to be re-adapted to the task of development by innovating personnel practices, financial management, organisational structures and more importantly re-orienting the attitudes of the public servant.

Successive governments adopted many measures of reform which resulted in the establishment of the Sri Lanka Administrative Service, decentralisation, and the setting up of institutionalised machinery for planning, programming, and evaluation. Despite these measures that were introduced the records of performances of the administrative system continued to deteriorate and fall far short of expectations. The reasons for this are many but only a few of the most important ones will be discussed.

In 1956 when the tempo for social and economic reform heightened, the bureaucracy which was moulded for serving the needs of the British masters came under heavy attack. Officers who were believed to be alive to and

sympathetic with the aspirations of the common people were hand picked for appointment to high offices. The criteria on which these selections were made however were seldom disclosed. This practice opened the flood gates for selection on political grounds. With this system came a breed of public servants in a hurry to get to the top.

It was in 1965, however, that a new feature was introduced by Mr. J. R. Jayewardene the then Minister of State and a precedent created with the appointment of Mr. Anandattisa de Alwis from outside the public service as Permanent Secretary. The government that took office in 1970 continued this practice and Permanent Secretaries from outside the Public Service and even from the Public Service without due regard to seniority were appointed. The post of Permanent Secretary hitherto regarded as the pinnacle of the Public Service became the most impermanent post in the public service. This method of recruitment of Permanent Secretaries, now designated Secretaries, was also adopted in July 1977.

MINISTERS ARE POLITICIANS and invariably begin as amateurs in the areas of responsibility assigned to them. While taking responsibility for their decisions they have to lean on the men occupying key positions in their Ministry, in formulating policy and making decisions. Now when the Secretary of the Ministry is also a political appointee he too will have to look for someone to lean on as he is also a novice. *The new Minister and politically appointed Secretary both bring in with them a political perception, but political perception alone is not enough to run a Government Ministry and achieve the objective and targets envisaged. What follows is a complete change in the senior staff of the Ministry invariably resulting in sweeping out of a whole generation of trained, experienced and knowledgeable men.*

What is the real outcome of this new system of making appointments adopted in Sri Lanka? *Firstly*, the new appointees have to learn the job and some of them have been known to take several years to grasp the working of the state machinery and the subject matter itself. *Secondly*, officials in the Ministry see in the novice-boss excellent opportunities for self-advancement. Face facts, we have also many clever and ingenious scheming careerists in the public service, the majority of which

group are adept in being sycophantic opportunities. These officers know how to gravitate towards the new and inexperienced boss, with offers of help, guidance etc., to streamline the ailing administration. They are able to demonstrate an inflexible allegiance to the new powers by identifying "saboteurs". Those officers are invariably neutralistic and independent public servants.

THE SO - CALLED "SABOTEURS" are more often individuals who had not aligned themselves with any political party and have reached their present position because of their own competence and ability. Once thus branded, they are relegated to the limbo of obscurity or are used by arm twisting. *Whilst qualified and honest public servants are bullied, those who jockey themselves into positions of power without a twinge of conscience form a hard core ring round the new Secretary and cleverly isolates him from the rest of the officers. This is presently the configuration of the administration embracing all levels.*

Recently, it had also been urged that the public service could be made more dynamic by the infusion of private sector expertise. Others have thought that the same thing can also be achieved if seniority is not permitted to stand in the way of promotion to higher levels. As regards the first suggestion, it is well known that personnel in Sri Lanka's private sector firms invariably work in areas of narrow economic activity and therefore take a long time to fit into the system. It has often been pointed out that even in the United States key positions in the Government are given to executives from the private sector. A well known case referred to is that of McNamara, one time President of General Motors. What they forgot is the fact that General Motors operate on a budget many times the national budget of our country and that their selections are of exceptionally gifted individuals.

New comers from the private sector are completely unaware of the complexities of Government machinery. Efficiency in the private sector is determined only by profit and when such individuals enter the public service with a profit oriented background, their expertise acquired in the private sector is of not much use. The so-called "new blood" sooner or later gets diluted and is absorbed

into the system they are supposed to revitalise. With their entry however they create frustration, and discontent among the permanent staff whose promotional prospects they may have blocked. This appears in the form of non-cooperation by those in the permanent staff leaving the new recruits with the tremendous task of trying to achieve skills and experience that can only be acquired in the public service itself. Recruiting personnel from outside the public service and even outside a given Ministry can do more harm than good.

Further, in the public sector a lot of the decisions involve vital areas of the economy requiring sound, mature judgement. In the private organisations on the other hand, particularly those that are non-profit oriented, efficient action is determined mainly on the speed criteria with which the work is done. The value of a decision in the public sector is in the universality of its application and speed alone is not the determinant.

THE PROMOTION of so called efficient juniors over seniors can become a pretext for promoting favourites resulting in an erosion of the morale in the public service, and open the door for those who lack competence, integrity, intellectual honesty and objectivity to sky rocket in success.

What are the principal features that have resulted from the system of recruitment and promotion etc. in the public service briefly outlined above:

1. There is no continuity in the long term perspective, plans, programmes, and projects when a new government assumes control. To establish continuity new Secretaries and Head of Departments and Corporations go far down the administrative ladder to find someone knowledgeable and experienced with the correct hue. This is so because the whole generation of experienced officers are swept out and would take years to replace.

2. Because of the facts given in (1), frivolous and impulsive decisions are sometime taken.

3. Dismantling the work sometimes meticulously built up by an earlier regime, without a searching analysis of the reasons for any existing short falls or recognized draw backs.

4. New organisations rejected earlier come up like mushrooms and come to be regarded as the panacea, but with a carry over of all the inherent and acquired defects of the existing institutions because no serious analysis is made on lines referred to in (3).

5. Since a new Secretary has no intimate knowledge, or record of the men around him, careerists who spend most of their time trying to catch his eye and leap from one conspicuous position to another are able to gain his confidence. What is the result? A coterie of yes-men and non-professional advisers who can give neither professional guidance nor tell their superior where they are wrong form an inner circle.

6. The word participation has lost its meaning. We talk of participation of the people in the various areas of economic activity, grassroot level etc. But what percent of the senior officers in a Ministry, in a Department, or in a Corporation actually participate in the running of these institutions through an equitable distribution of work, power and authority?

IT IS NOW MY TURN TO ASK QUESTION from the general public whether it expects public servants in such a set up to give their best? Whether they expect a disciplined Public Service observing law and order? Whether they expect them to be loyal to their institutions? And whether they can ever be motivated to work particularly with a concern for national development? Or whether it would be better for them to take the part of least resistance and just exist because promotions, appointments have no relation to honesty, efficiency or competence? Unless the Public Service is liberated from all these extraneous influence the future world remain under the grave threat of further deterioration.

Someone of course might be tempted to say that it is easy to criticise but difficult to give a solution how to halt the nonsense and utter confusion that is prevailing in the public service, a confusion that is not seen by those who are in power.

One possible solution is for the Minister to have a Secretary, a political choice drawn from anywhere he wants and who with the assistance of a Board of Advisors also hand picked by him to carefully formulate policies in keeping with the policies and ideologies

of his Government. The implementation the execution of that policy could be left in the hands of a Permanent Secretary, permanent in the true sense of the word as followed by our great neighbour, India. Some may argue that this is a "retrograde step", but what have we achieved with the "progressive step" of appointing a Secretary on political grounds or from outside the Public Service?

The Permanent Secretary proposed above would work in close liaison with the Secretary and his Minister no doubt, but the area of the two politicians (Minister and Secretary) should be clearly demarcated. There should be also no undue interference in the day to day administration of the Ministry and the Departments that come within the Ministry at any level by the Minister or his Secretary.

Further, the immediate appointment of a Public Service Commission and a Board of Commissioners each with distinguished careers and in whom the public servants could have trust and confidence cannot be postponed. They should be given a rigid code for making appointments, framing terms of recruitment (existing terms are tampered with and scaled down today to bring in proven political incompetents. An attempt should be made to evolve a just mix of qualifications, experience and seniority, *the latter must be acknowledged* and only in rare case of inefficiency could it be ignored.

PROBLEMS OF DEVELOPING COUNTRIES

On "Rich" And "Poor" Nations

by Prometheus

THE WESTERN PRESS very often has articles with headings such as "War on Poverty", "Backwardness, Dilemma of the Century".

The advocates of the "backwardness" theory describe today's socio-economic situation in the former colonies in comparison with the situation in developed capitalist countries: low per-capita incomes, low levels of industrial development, high population growth, undernourishment, illiteracy, absence of basic medical services. These writers regard "backwardness" as a necessary transitional stage of development, through which

the industrialized nations have already passed. That is why, they say, the economically backward nations must adopt the socio-economic development pattern which was characteristic of today's developed capitalist countries in the past. The crux of their argument is the assertion that the main conflict of our time is between "rich" and "poor" countries, rather than between the capitalist and socialist systems. All the developing nations are "poor", while all the industrially developed countries, regardless of their social system, are "rich". Thus it is alleged that the socialist and capitalist countries constitute a single camp which stands in opposition to all newly free independent countries. The "rich North" and "poor South" concepts now in circulation have similar meanings.

At first glance, the "rich" and "poor" nations concept appears to reflect the objective conditions of the Third World. The dichotomy appears to be eminently plausible.

Around 100 African, Asian and Latin American countries at the UN refer to themselves as the "Third World", to distinguish them from the industrialised "capitalist" and socialist blocs. The Third World mainly distinguishes itself by participation in the international trading system, former colonization and a low standard of living. Although 70 per cent of the world's population live in the Third World, it accounts for only 9-10 per cent of world industrial output and less than a third of the world income. The per capita output of the Third World as a whole is one-twentieth to one-fortieth of that of the industrial powers. 10,000 people a day die from lack of nourishment, and 500 million people are regularly undernourished. Nineteen out of twenty of these people live in the Third World.

Have these countries always been "poor" and "underdeveloped"? What are the causes of their poverty and backwardness?

But more importantly, is backwardness and poverty the same thing?

Can we say that the Middle Eastern countries which contain 60 per cent of the world oil reserves and account for a third of the world oil output, are "poor"? Can Libya, Zaire, Ghana, Morocco, Liberia, Zambia and many other African countries be classified

as "poor" when their raw materials are indispensable for key industries in the USA, Britain, France, West Germany, Belgium and other developed countries? India, Malaysia, Brazil and many other countries of Asia and Latin America cannot be considered "poor". The developing countries provide the industrialised capitalist world with 60 per cent of the oil, 50 per cent of the copper, iron, lead, sulphur and zinc, 80 per cent of the bauxite, and 33 per cent of the nicket it consumes.

THE SOCIO-ECONOMIC BACKWARDNESS of the developing nations is a relatively new socio-historical phenomenon. The great gap in the socio-economic levels of the different regions of the world has taken shape only in the past two centuries and is due mainly to the emergence of the imperialist colonial system.

It must not be forgotten that in some periods of their history, some of these developing countries reached high levels of civilization and greatly influenced the progress of mankind's knowledge and culture. Thus, long before the present era Ancient Egypt (and Ancient Mesopotamia now Iraq) created written languages and laid the foundations of many sciences, medicine in particular. At the beginning of the First Dynasty, annual observations of the water level of the Nile were conducted in Egypt. The need to measure fields gave rise to geometry. Long before the advent of European colonialists, there existed in some parts of tropical Africa relatively stable state formations with developed social hierarchies and fairly high standards of the production of implements and other products. (Ghana, Songai, Mali, Ifa and Benin). This is why many scholars believe that even in the 18th century labour productivity differed but little in many parts of the world. Whereas the gross national product in per-capita terms measured 210 dollars in Europe and 170 dollars in the developing countries in 1770, the corresponding figures for 1870 were 550 and 160 dollars and for 1970 2,500 and 340 dollars. What is the rationale for this increasingly yawning gap?

As Professor A. Benamur from Morocco stressed at an International seminar "backwardness is a product of development on the strength of historical facts we can say that

backwardness appeared at one time with capitalism and that the non-industrial world has been and remains under the direct or indirect domination of the industrial capitalist world." Put differently, 'development' and underdevelopment are part and parcel of the self-same process.

The roots of the tragedy of "backwardness" of developing countries is the plunder of the colonial countries and the establishment of a system of imperialist exploitation, which has greatly inhibited the progress of Asia, Africa and Latin America. It must be stressed that in the pre-colonial period, many of the peoples in these countries were at a relatively high level of development as compared to the other countries. For instance, India occupied a prominent place in world trade. Its fabrics were in high demand in Europe. However, the British colonialists adapted India's economic development to the needs of the metropolitan centre. India was thus turned into a supplier of raw materials for the industries of Great Britain. The infant textile industry of India, they very much technically in advance of the British textile industry, was strangled in its swaddling clothes. The colonialists forcefully oriented the dependent countries towards the cultivation of export crops and the development of only one industry—mining. In the cases of many countries, especially in Asia and Africa, it became necessary to import food, although they had, and still have, all the potential to become self-sufficient in food. To quote Gunder Frank: "all these regions, like Bengal in India, once provided the life blood of mercantile and industrial capitalist development—in the metropolis."

Today, intensive exploitation of the developing countries by the capitalist world market is causing serious damage to their fragile economies. Consequent to price fluctuations, developing countries lost 2,000 million dollars a year in the period from 1960-1970. The debt of the newly free countries has grown considerably and continues to grow. In 1976-1977, they had to repay 32,000 million dollars to cover a part of their debts and interest.

It is therefore evident that the "poverty" of the Third World is the direct result of colonialist and imperialist exploitation, of their dependent position in a capitalist world eco-

nomy which one political scientist described as "a world system of colonial oppression and of the financial strangulation of the overwhelming majority of the population of the world by a handful of 'advanced' countries."

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LENIN

The Style Is The Man

by K. P. S. Menon

THE STYLE IS THE MAN. I heard this saying first when I was a student at the Madras Christian College during the First World War. Dr. Pittendrigh, our English professor, explained its meaning to us. If, on the contrary, he was given to loose thinking, his style would also be loose. If he was inclined to beat about the bush his style was apt to be diffuse. And so on.

Two weeks later, Dr. Pittendrigh told us that he had just met a man whose speech was a perfect example of the saying, "The style is the man". That was none other than Mahatma Gandhi who made his first appearance in Madras, which was also one of first appearance in India after his long exile in South Africa. Gandhi's style, said Dr. Pittendrigh, was characterized by a simple grandeur.

Lenin's speeches too were characterized by a simple grandeur. "There was no striving after eloquent phrases," wrote Maxim Gorky, "but every word was uttered distinctly and its meaning was marvellously plain. It is very difficult to pass on to the reader the unusual impression he made.....The unity, complete, new, directness and strength of his speech, his whole appearance in the pulpit—it was an essay in classical art. Everything was there and yet there was nothing superfluous, nothing embellishing; and if there were any, they were as natural and inevitable as two eyes in a face or five fingers in a hand."

Lenin was a master of words. He never allowed words to master him. He coined a good word for those who allowed themselves to be slaves to words. He called them word-spinners. In his view, left socialist revolutionaries were specially prone to be word-spinners. "They do not realize," said Lenin, "that revolution is a

difficult and complex science. For them it is a question of words. The histories of revolutionaries are full of word-spinning, and what remains of them? Only smoke and a bad smell."

Lenin exercised the utmost economy in words. Sometimes, he could conjure a whole scene or portray a whole character with a single sentence. What could be a better description of Trotsky than Lenin's words: "He is with us, not of us," Trotsky was indeed with Lenin on the outbreak of the Revolution and continued to remain with him in peace and war. But there was a kink in him which set him apart and which developed more and more as years passed, so much so that Trotskyism has now become an anathema. IF LENIN WAS CONCISE, he could also be precise. No lawyer could have given a better definition of aggression than Lenin has done in his decree of self-determination, which was passed within a few hours of the Revolution. "The government," said Lenin, "conceives the annexation and seizure of foreign lands to mean the incorporation of a small or weak nation into a large and powerful state without the precisely clearly and voluntarily expressed wish of that nation, irrespective of the time when such forcible incorporation took place, irrespective also of the degree of development or backwardness of the nation forcibly within her borders, and irrespective finally, of whether this nation is in Europe or in distant overseas territories."

Another quality of Lenin's style was the delicious irony. He directed it specially against his comrades who swore by principles but never knew how to put them into effect. "By your side, said Lenin. "there is the capitalist guy, going about his business of being a robber and making profits, but he knows his job. You have correct principles, excellent ideals—they are written large on you—you are holy men who will enter paradise alive—but do you know your business?"

An article which Lenin wrote in the *Pravda* on 13 July 1912 on the 5th International Congress which was held in London for the suppression of white slave traffic (Prostitution) bristles with irony. "Duchesses, Countesses, Bishops, Priests, Rabbis, palace officials and all sorts of bourgeois philanthropists," said Lenin, "met solemnly in order to consider the problem of prostitution and came to the

conclusion that the only antidotes were religion and the police. When the German Empress visited a maternity hospital in London, the authorities placed rings on the fingers of the mothers of the illegitimate children lest the august lady should have been shocked by the sight of unmarried mothers. The dignitaries assembled in London had no idea of the social causes of prostitution, or that it is poverty that drives women to it."

How correct Lenin was! Not long ago, I read in the memoirs of Peleologue, French Ambassador to Russia during the First World War, that in Nevsky street, in St. Petersburg (now Leningrad) one of the most beautiful streets in the world, there were no less than ten thousand prostitutes. Now strain your eyes as you might, you cannot find one of that most ancient profession in Nevsky street. This shows the transformation that has come over the economic conditions of women in the Soviet Union.

LENIN NEVER POSED as a literary man. Yet he had a keen appreciation of literature. He was conscious of its social objectives and insisted on them. "Ours will be a free literature", said Lenin "because it will serve, not some satiated heroine, not the bored upper ten thousand suffering from gatty degeneration but tens of millions of workers—the flower of the country, her 'strength and her future.'"

Lenin was against the imposition of undue restraints on writers. "Literature" said Lenin, "is least of all subject to mechanical adjustment or levelling to the rule of the majority over the minority: there is no question that in this field greater scope must be allowed for personal initiative, form content, inclination, thought and fancy." His judgement of writers was impeccable. At a time when all Moscow seemed to go mad over that exuberant revolutionary Mayakovsky, Lenin had no hesitation to say that he preferred Pushkin. Lenin did not share Leo Tolstoy's philosophical views and yet he admitted as a great artist. "What a colossus!" exclaimed Lenin. "What a marvellously developed brain? Here's a true artist for you. And do you know something more amazing? You won't find a genuine muzhik until this Count came on the scene."

Lenin's appreciation of literature reflected this sense of history. In this respect his attitude was the reverse of the psychology under-

lying the so-called "cultural revolution" in China. "Abolish everything ancient and foreign" was the motto of the cultural revolution; and young hooligans, predded by older ones, proceeded to consign to the flames many of the treasured classics in Chinese and world literature. What did classics matter to them, who were of the same mind as Bazurov in Turgenev's *Fathers and Sons*, who said that "A pair of shoes is worth more than all the plays of Shakespeare!" But Lenin knew that Shakespeare and shoes do not belong to the same order of things and cannot be weighed in the same balance.

—Courtesy: *Socialist World Perspectives*



PAKISTAN

Nearing Flash-Point

by O. P. Sabherwal

IT IS HARDLY A YEAR since the military junta headed by Zia-ul-Haq put Z. A. Bhutto on the gallows, despite overwhelming domestic and world-wide appeals for reprieve to the former prime minister. The military junta's action was interpreted as the desperate doings of a regime which lacked legitimacy and saw Bhutto as the biggest impediment in its efforts at converting legitimacy of some form. In this effort, the junta has failed miserably and instead, during these past months, it has moved from one fiasco to another. The upshot: Pakistan is again nearing a flashpoint—a crisis which has all the makings of an upheaval whose outcome none can predict.

One can hardly predict, for instance, if the upheavals into which Pakistan is now being plunged headlong will be chaos and disintegration. On the other hand, the reverse can also not be ruled out; which means a fight-back by the democratic and forward-looking forces to rebuild a new order in Pakistan, thereby saving the nation from another surgical operation similar to the 1971 break-up (leading to the formation of Bangladesh) and at the same time creating a democratic structure strong enough to bear the onslaughts of the military hierarchy.

No cut-and-dried answer is possible to these difficult but crucial questions. For Pakistan has, since 1971 moved along a zig-zag course—at times raising the vista of expectations high, and at times plunging into a new low in sorting out the peculiar, in-built, political and social problems that have bedevilled its very entity right from the start. What should be recognised presently is that the gamut of events since the take over by the military junta some three years ago, has run a full circle and the contradictions—institutions, socio-political and economic—have reached the climax. In other words, the present crisis of Pakistan is multi-dimensional related to all facets of the nation's structure.

Two ingredients of the crisis should be taken not of: *first* that the traditional tussle between the military hierarchy and the political set-up inherited from the early post-independence days has reached the finale, it can go no further. And *second*, in the process of the power tussle between the military hierarchy and the politicians, the contradictions latent in Pakistan's structural makeup have been accentuated to the furthest limit. TAKE THE FIRST of these twin facets of the situation in Pakistan. Some nineteen years ago in 1961, when Ayub Khan staged the first military coup, the politicians of Pakistan and the political set-up were totally discredited and it was literally a case of "not a dog barked" when the Pakistani military rulers stripped the politicians of their power and privileges.

Ten years later, at the end of 1971, it was just the reverse of this scenario. It was a discredited—almost degraded military hierarchy, that was pushed aside by Zulfikar Ali Bhutto and it was the turn of the politicians to come on top. In fact, the 1971 fiasco into which the military leaders (with the infamous Yahya Khan at their head) drove Pakistan was almost a blind alley and the military leaders went about begging Bhutto to step in and save the nation from total destruction.

However, the military hierarchy having tasted power only bided time, and their opportunity came in 1977 when another military coup once again brought the junta on top and the ruling political elite led by Bhutto was dethroned again. The last round of this see-saw battle sees the military hierarchy discredited once more and totally isolated

from the people. But the new feature of this game is that in the process, the institution of the Pakistani military establishment the most formidable that Pakistan has created since its coming into being, is itself in a state of inner tension and power tussle, which means that the military hierarchy is no longer one, united and cohesive organisation under an acceptable leader. This takes the institutional crisis in Pakistan to a new dimension, absent in all previous Pakistani crises and tensions.

The magnitude and nature of the trouble in the Army highlighted by the recent happenings—the abortive coup of courts against General Zia by Major General Tahammul Hussain Malik, the row between Zia-ul-Haq and the leading corps commanders including Lieut. General Chishti over their army terms the ungrading of "superloyal" Major Generals by Zia—point to new and dangerous protests for the military junta now in command. The military hierarchy is no longer unified as before, and what is more its inner tussles for power are secret no more but have come into the open.

POLITICALLY TOO, the junta is no longer cohesive. At the level of the younger officers, an array of brigadiers have been virtually in revolt since the hanging of Bhutto. The formation of the Pakistani Government-in-exile in London last week in which Brig. Usman Khalid, Col. Shamim and Major Iftikhar Ahmad play a leading part along with many others shows how far things have gone in imparting a new political element into the Pakistani armed forces during the last few years. This aspect has to be taken fully into account because of the strong tie-up that has existed between Pakistani's military hierarchy and the US imperialism since the creation of Pakistan. The successive coups have been not only tussles between the military and the politicians for power but have, consequently, contained an important ingredient in the tie-up of the military and allied Pakistani vested interests with the American line. A factor which went into the dethroning of Bhutto, not highlighted, has undoubtedly been the tacit and disguised backing provided to the military junta by Washington.

This factor, however, can work in different ways. Just as it can help prop up the military junta against a formidable political figure such

as the late Bhutto, the strong American influence in the military hierarchy can also act as a destabilising factor for Zia's regime should it prove to be not fully pliable to current American policy requisites. The way things have developed lately in respect to the events in Afghanistan have not been particularly smooth as between the Islamabad military ruler, General Zia, and the Washington strategists, particularly President Carter's national security adviser, Brzezinski: something that portends danger for the Zia regime. Washington would have no qualms in getting rid of one pliable dictator in place of another, should the operation prove feasible. How far such an operation can be attempted in Pakistan is yet to be seen, but clearly the constellation of this development along with other factors only adds to the destabilisation of the present military junta ruling Pakistan.

SIGNIFICANT in this regard is the speech early this month at Islamabad by Agha Shahi, Pakistan's Foreign Affairs Adviser, as a Local Bodies Convention the only grouping in Pakistan which can be said to have a representative character even though it be of municipal nature. While defending Pakistan's rejection of the 400-million-dollar American aid package because of its "drawbacks", Agha Shahi created a mild sensation in this gathering by overtures to the Soviet Union and references which were interpreted as an attempt to mend fences with that Super power.

"I must emphasise", Shahi said, "that actions on our part stemmed from our obligations.....(and) not from any anti-Soviet motivations." He added: "Let me explain this apparent paradox. We have in the past made a sustained effort to develop friendly and mutually beneficial relations with this great neighbour. The results, as you will all agree, have been positive. Regretfully, however, it has also been our experience that the Soviet Union has made its relationship with Pakistan conditional on the nature of Pakistan's relations with our two neighbours who are allied to the Soviet Union through friendship treaties.....Despite our best efforts, we have not been able to free our relations with the Soviet Union from these conditions. Nevertheless, we shall remain persistent in our search for a relationship of trust and confidence with that great Power and do not view the future with pessimism.....This Soviet

Union is capable of playing an important role in ensuring peace and stability in our region and by virtue of its enormous resources, of making a positive contribution towards the prosperity and economic well being of the people of Pakistan."

While this might have been a well aimed prop by Agha Shahi on behalf of the military junta that Zia heads, meant to establish a better equilibrium—and therefore a better bargain—with Washington, its time and place bring out the significant fact that the idea of pulling Pakistan out of the clutches of Washington is popular in Pakistan. Reporting Agha Shahi's speech, the official paper *Pakistan Times* noted that the announcement rejecting the US aid package "was greeted with loud cheers from more than 300 delegates", of the Local Bodies Convention.

—Mainstream

(To Be Concluded)

TANZANIA

IMF Rebuffed

WHILE THIRD WORLD COUNTRIES use every opportunity—such as the recently concluded UNIDO meeting in New Delhi—to stress the need for a more equitable New International Economic Order, some International agencies always look for an opportunity to disrupt individual countries' efforts toward a more equitable internal economic order. The recent confrontation between the IMF and Tanzania is a case in point. While both agreed on the critical state of the Tanzanian economy and the urgent need for its rehabilitation, there was no meeting ground between the two as far as diagnosis of the causes of the problems and prescriptions for solving them were concerned.

Tanzania is a typical non-oil Third World country largely dependent on primary products for its foreign exchange earnings. Consequently, falling world market prices for sisal, tea and cotton on the one hand and rising oil prices on the other have hit Tanzania very severely. Through periodical price increases and countrywide physical controls Tanzania has restricted its petrol consump-

tion substantially. In 1979 it consumed much less oil than in 1972 and yet it paid nine times, as much for it. In 1979 half of the country's export earnings went for purchase of oil. Excess rains during 1979 and spread of cholera in several areas adversely affected agriculture which had its impact both on exports and on local supplies. The military operation against the Ugandan dictator Idi Amin which cost Tanzania around \$ 250 million, further strained the economy in 1979. *The balance of payment deficit increased to T. Sh. 4,983mn in 1979 compared to about T Shn. 1,716 mn in 1977 (T Sh—\$1). The worsening balance of payment situation forced Tanzania to request IMF for a credit facility of \$ 200 million.*

The Tanzanian government also made a confidential emergency appeal to nine developed countries for aid (of reportedly around \$ 400 million). This offered an opportunity to a number of countries, who have no sympathy for the Tanzanian attempts to promote self-reliant growth and are also hostile to the active support Tanzania has been extending to liberation movements in Southern Africa to try to pressurise the Tanzanian government. Lonrho, the British multinational corporation having wide-ranging interests in Southern Africa, which had been expelled from Tanzania in 1978 for its ties with racist regimes in Southern Africa, actively lobbied against not only Britain, but other western governments and the World Bank extending aid to Tanzania. The response to the emergency aid request was, therefore, minimal with only a few countries like Sweden and Japan pledging modest amounts. The nine countries, which apart from China, are the prime aid donors to Tanzania decided to await the outcome of an IMF review of the Tanzanian economy before holding discussions under the World Bank's auspices on Tanzania's request for assistance.

The IMF came up with its diagnosis of Tanzania's economic problems towards the end of October 1979 and prescribed its by now well known stabilisation package. In its diagnosis of Tanzania's economic problems, the IMF gave disproportionate importance to the impact of the military operation in Uganda. It also harped on growth of the public sector and the low produc-

tivity of parastatal organisations and on the assistance extended by Tanzania to liberation struggles in Southern Africa as factors responsible for Tanzania's economic crisis.

THE TANZANIAN GOVERNMENT understandably, questioned the IMF's 'lop-sided' diagnosis. It argued that because of falling export prices and the oil crisis, the performance of the economy had started to slacken much before the war against Amin. The growth rate, at constant prices, of the agricultural and industrial sectors was 1.6 and 4.4 per cent, respectively, in 1978 (the year preceding the war against Amin) compared to 5.6 and 5.4 percent in 1977. The Tanzanian government accused the IMF of not fully appreciating the role of the "rising-oil-price-falling-primary-product-export-price squeeze" in causing its economic difficulties.

The Tanzanian government also sharply disagreed with the IMF over the latter's prescriptions, which included (a reportedly 25 per cent) devaluation of the Tanzanian currency, an increase in the domestic bank lending rate, lifting of most price controls and a cut-back in government spending, especially on social services. It is understood that the IMF demanded that the Tanzanian government cut public sector spending by nearly T Sh 60 mn over the next three years. ON DEVALUATION, the Tanzanian government argued that it would only generate inflation without promoting exports, as it would make import of raw materials costly while leaving intact the non-price factors which restrict imports by rich nations from the poor. It would only help the multinationals ultimately. The experience of other countries in Africa, including Sudan, Ghana, Egypt and Zaire (the last-named country has devalued its currency five times in the last 12 months), it was pointed out, had shown that devaluation (along with the rest of the IMF's standard package) actually further destabilised the economy which in turn aggravated political instability and even paved the way for *coups d'etat*.

The Tanzanian government's reaction was equally strong to the suggestion about cutting back social services. This would mean drastic reduction in vital health, education, water and agricultural projects and would virtually mean telling the peasants that they would have to starve. The public sector and Ujaama

Yugoslav Self-Government

Colombo,

Yugoslav Ambassador Dragi Trajanovski explained here that the Yugoslav self-government system encompasses the society as a whole and "passed the factory" gates long ago. Invited by the organisers of the first symposium on "the role of workers councils and participation in management" here, to explain some of the specific features of the Yugoslav self-government—the Ambassador recalled that in Yugoslavia self-government is introduced in all fields of life including culture, education, trade and production. The self-government system was introduced thirty years ago and is now fully developed.

With regard to enterprises in Yugoslavia—the Ambassador noted—the important characteristics of the Yugoslav system are the social ownership (and not state ownership) of the enterprise, and the election (from within the enterprise), or selection (from without), and nomination (employment) of the manager by the workers. The manager—though an "ex-officio" member of the Workers Council (but not Chairman) is not nominated by the state (Ministry) and is not responsible for it. He is responsible to the enterprise (Workers Council), and his salaries are earned in the enterprise, and are linked to its successes. Thus there is no state ownership or management in the Yugoslav economy and no centralised production. The wider co-ordination of production is in the realm of assemblies (Municipal, Republican and Central, with Councils of elected producers), and of economic bodies (Chambers of Economy and Trade).

Ambassador Trajanovski made also clear that in Yugoslavia:

(1) The self-managing bodies manage the production, the organisation, and the distribution (renumeration for the labour) in accordance with its own statutes, which is defined, endorsed, amended or changed by the workers themselves, within the framework of the law.

(2) These Statutes are therefore specific, adapted to the area of production, the necessities and possibilities of the producers, the character of the production, its technology and conditions of labour.

from part of Tanzania's basic strategy of self-reliance and President Nyerere made it clear that "people who think Tanzania will change her cherished policies of socialism and self-reliance because of current economic difficulties, are wasting their time." The Tanzanian President also charged the IMF with becoming "an unappointed international finance ministry openly trying to dictate the policies of sovereign nations."

After protracted negotiations the Tanzanian government finally rejected the IMF's stabilisation package. Metei, the finance minister who had seemed to lean towards the IMF approach, was replaced by Amir Jamal, a Calcutta University economic graduate, who has been in the Tanzanian cabinet ever since the country's independence and is considered President Nyerere's trouble-shooter. Tanzania opted for a more internally-oriented solution to its economic difficulties, a tough budget, tightening of the parastatals management, an export promotion drive and curtailment of imports and special campaigns among workers to raise agricultural and industrial production. Also, of late, a number of donors, including the EEC countries have come forward with aid to Tanzania.

THE IMF'S POWER AND ARROGANCE appear to have been heightened by the fact that the oil price spiral accompanied by poor export growth, partly attributable again to the oil crisis) has pushed more and more non-oil Third World countries into dependence on it. The number of Afri-Asian countries facing arrears on current payments and seeking debt negotiations increased from 3 in 1974 to 18 in 1978. Since IMF's services are called in for such debt negotiations, one can see a link between the oil-crisis-induced structural distortions in the world economy and the power of the IMF. One wonders how many poor countries will be able to withstand being forced into the IMF strait-jacket.

—*Economic & Political Weekly*, April 5, 1980

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(3) Strikes are not banned. The last years reports on strikes shows several enterprises affected by it. By rule, they are of short duration (several hours) and directed against high-handed bureaucratic actions, whenever the Worker's Council is not active or resolute enough, or failing in its obligations. Their duration and losses involved, effect the income of the enterprise and thereby the income of all employees. In general their occurrence is attributed by the Trade Unions to the undeveloped self-governing relations in the given enterprises themselves, where labourers recur to extreme measures for redressing of grievances.

(4) Workers Councils—with widely differing status—are already introduced in many developed countries. The developing countries are also having experience in workers' participation in management. An institution for "managing enterprises in public sector in developing countries" exists in Ljubljana (Republic of Slovenia) with rich studies and commented experiences. Sri Lanka joined in its work recently.

So, the participation of workers in the management is in no way an entirely new experience, but it should bare the imprint of local necessities and conditions, not only in each country but in different areas of work and production—if it is to succeed.

"Yugoslavia's view is: do not copy anything. See the achievements and study the circumstances. The solutions must be yours, indigenous and suited to your own conditions" Ambassador Trajanovski advised.

—Tanjug

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JAMAICA

Break With IMF

by Dan Morgan

Washington

The Government of Jamaica has broken off negotiations with the International Monetary Fund for new credits, leaving the Caribbean country with no financing to cover some \$ 150 million in foreign debts coming due this year. The breakdown of the talks occurred Monday when the Cabinet of Prime Minister Michael Manley refused to accept IMF loan

conditions that included a \$ 50 million reduction in government spending this year.

Arnoki Bertram a government spokesman, said in a telephone interview yesterday that the spending cuts would put 10,000 to 11,000 persons out of work and would force the dismantlement of programs in health, welfare and literacy. He said Jamaica "accepts and intends to honor its commitments to public and private lenders" and added that a search for other sources of financing would include contacts with socialist-bloc countries. Mr. Bertram left open the possibility of resuming talks with IMF representatives. Finance Minister Eric Bell, who had been trying to work out a compromise, resigned before the Cabinet vote, saying he was "unable to carry out his responsibilities."

IMF officials in Washington confirmed yesterday that the lending institution and Jamaica had been unable to reach agreement on terms for a one-year standby credit. In January, the IMF had halted loans to Jamaica made under a \$ 244 million, three-year program begun in 1978. It cited the nations' continued inability to curb its budget deficit or improve its balance of payments. Within Jamaica, the IMF conditions have been a constant source of debate and a political issue for the government of Mr. Manley whose People's National Party faces an election in October. To obtain the IMF's initial \$ 244 million loan Jamaica accepted harsh conditions that included a 30 percent devaluation of its currency, stringent controls on import, big tax increases on manufacturing and tourism, higher interest rates and wage controls. Subsequently, the government also agreed to some spending cuts. However, difficulty in attracting foreign investment and a disappointing return on bauxite, the aluminium base that is the country's major resources, have resulted in continuing economic problems.

Jamaican officials estimate that the country will owe \$ 150 million more to foreign banks this year than it will have available in foreign exchange, possibly leading to defaults. In Mr. Bertram's view, the IMF conditions "don't answer the fundamental problems of the economy, we've been more or less forced to go along because of the need for foreign exchange. Our experience has been very bitter." IMF officials reply that lending to

Jamaica has been high considering the country's size and economy. Last June, the credit line was increased to \$ 260 million and, between then and the IMF lending freeze, \$ 113 million was used by Jamaica.

The recent showdown came after IMF representatives agreed to make new credits available at the end of April in return for the spending cuts. But when the executive council of Mr. Manley's party met March 8 and 9, feeling reportedly ran strong against further concessions, last week, Mr. Bertram said the council recommended that the Cabinet reject the terms of the agreement.

—*International Herald Tribune*

SRI LANKA CHRONICLE

April 20 — 27

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—Virak-sari; ATH—Aththa; SM—Silumina; SLDP—Sri Lanka-dipa; JD—Janadina; SU—Sun; DV—Davasa; DP—Dinapathi; CM—Chinthamani; WK—Weekend; RR—Riviresa; DK—Dinakara; EN—Eelanadu; IDPR—Information Dept. Press Release.

SUNDAY, APRIL 20: Wheat flour consumption in Sri Lanka has hit a new low with draw-offs from Food Department stores in March being around 24,000 tons against last year's monthly average of 50,000 tons. The Government has decided to permit the State Fertilizer Manufacturing Corporation to commission the imperilled Sapugaskande urea factory which the authorities had feared would become a massive white elephant. The customs on Friday night seized a Maldivian vessel and contraband all worth nearly Rs. 3 million, after opening fire on the high seas off Negombo. Finance and Planning Minister Ronnie de Mel will attend a vital meeting of the Board of Governors of the IMF and the joint IMF-World

Bank Development Committee opening in Hamburg on Tuesday—SO. There will soon be a total ban on Sri Lankan women going to the oil rich Middle East countries for employment; the Minister of Foreign Affairs; Mr. A. C. S. Hameed and the Minister of Labour C. P. J. Seneviratne have been requested by the Cabinet to work out the techniques of enforcing this ban. President J. R. Jayewardene told a massive crowd at Avissawella yesterday that the medicine he had given to the country which was like a dying patient when this government came into power, was having effective results; the patient is showing signs of rapid recovery, he said. All Police Stations in Sri Lanka have been ordered by the Defence Ministry to trace the origin of unlicensed and locally turned out firearms, discovered in their areas and forward detailed reports to them through Police Headquarters. At least four persons are dying on our roads or are maimed in motorcycle accidents everyday; this new growing menace is soon on the way to becoming Sri Lanka's number one killer a study team revealed. A two-man CID team comprising ASP Harold Gunawardene and Inspector E. L. M. Perera leave today for Singapore to conduct further investigations in connection with the "Asphalt Deal" which the Ceylon Petroleum Corporation was defrauded of Rs. 34 million by a bogus Singaporean company. All domesticised elephants are shortly to be registered and will be subject to insurance coverage—WK. A ban has been imposed on the shouting of slogans and carrying placards on May Day; this decision by the Police high command has evoked great shock and surprise in trade union circles—VK. Ground, water investigation is soon to be carried out in many dry areas including the Northern and Eastern provinces; the Water Resource Board is making arrangements in this connection; this is being done to overcome the problems of water shortage during the dry months and groundwater drying up—DP. The Education Ministry has decided to pay teachers in the Northern Province by cheque—EN. While a section of the women agree that there should be a ban on women going to the Middle East for employment another section disagree and says it is a democratic right for women to go abroad and there should not be a ban; the government decision on the same depends on the report of the Ministerial Com-

mittee appointed to look into the problem—SM.

MONDAY, APRIL 21: All doctors eligible to go abroad for specialised studies under the no-pay study leave scheme are to be released in batches, according to the needs of the Health Department; a Health Ministry spokesman said yesterday that there were about 17 doctors in the Department coming under this category; most of them had applied to go abroad under the NPSL scheme. Sri Lanka's premier printing press, the Government press is in the red and threatened with closure if funds are not provided. Mr. M. Canagaratnam Second MP for Pottuvil and District Minister for Batticaloa died of a heart attack at Batticaloa Hospital yesterday. Prof. K. K. Y. W. Perera, Professor of Electrical Engineering, University of Moratuwa and a former Chairman of Ceylon Electricity Board has been appointed the acting Vice Chancellor of the Moratuwa University—CDN. The police may enforce a ban on footboard travel on CTB buses in view of the high increase in serious accidents in recent weeks; two or three footboard travellers die every week according to statistics. The establishment of an educational advisory body to advise the Ministry on educational matters has been decided on by the Minister of Education, Ranil Wickremasinghe—CDM. The Customs Department is probing the mysterious circumstances under which Rs. 200,000 worth of cigarettes meant for export to the Maldives by the Ceylon Tobacco Company were found in the local market. Sri Lanka has offered to assist black Africa's newest State Zimbabwe in its development by providing training facilities in Sri Lanka and permitting qualified Sri Lankan professional and technical staff to serve as consultants in Zimbabwe. The government will shortly set up a National Land authority; modelled on the lines of proposed Energy Authority and Environmental Authority, this new institution is to be vested with the task of carrying out a series of matters including acquisitions, which are now being handled by various ministries—SU. Although slogans and placards have been banned in the capital by the government, many opposition political parties have decided to celebrate worker's day as planned, carrying placards and shouting slogans—VK. Speaking at a public meeting in Jaffna, Secretary of the Tamil Congress Party

said that the TULF leaders were curbing the fervour of the youth who were clamouring for Tamil Eelam to satisfy their own parliamentary ambitions—DP. The government owned business undertaking of CEYATO which earned lakhs of rupees of profits in the past is now facing near bankruptcy because of inefficient administration and corruption. Wide differences between the TULF leadership and its youth wing is threatening to split the party ATH. A group of youths are seeking advice from top lawyers to find out whether, President Jayewardene not implementing the unanimous decision of the parliamentary select committee that Mr. Upali Wijewardene is unsuitable to hold the post of Director General of the GCEC is not insulting parliament and if so whether it is not possible to file a plaint against the President for insulting parliament—ATH.

TUESDAY, APRIL 22: The UNP will be asked to nominate a person to fill the Pottuvil seat in Parliament which fell vacant on Sunday on the death of Mr. M. Canagaratnam, the 2nd MP for Pottuvil and District Minister, Batticaloa, Commissioner of Elections M. A. Piyasekera said yesterday. Home Minister, K. W. Devanayagam said yesterday that the government had drawn up a crash program to make the country self-sufficient in food and agricultural products within two to three years and any public officer who refused to help the government to implement it would be weeded out. The Central Bank raised the bank rate by two per cent yesterday to 12 per annum; simultaneously, interest rates at which the Central Bank accommodates commercial banks above a stipulated amount, were raised by 5 percent to 20 to 30 percent per annum. The UNP-sponsored unions brought to the notice of the Working Committee yesterday that a press report stated that no placards, posters or slogans would be allowed on May Day; they thought this was not fair and should be changed. Three people have died of cholera and twenty nine other positive cases have been detected in an outbreak of the disease at Gokarella, a village about 15 miles from Kurunegala, Health Ministry sources said last night. The Ministry of Local Government, Housing and Construction has made arrangements to hold the second anniversary of the Village Reawakening Program (Udaagam) initiated by Prime Minister R. Premadasa on a big scale

On June 21, 22 and 23—CDN. The National Savings Bank yesterday increased its rates of interest on Fixed Deposits and Savings Accounts with immediate effect; the rates of interest on all newly opened fixed deposit accounts has been raised to 20 percent per annum, for 12 months and 6 months 6 deposit will carry an interest of 15 percent per annum—CDM. Stringent provisions to deal with hire purchase institutions that exploit consumers are contained in a draft bill that the Trade and Shipping Minister Lalith Athulathmudall will present in Parliament shortly. The appointment of W. M. G. Abeyratne to Sri Lanka's first diplomatic mission to Male the capital of the Republic of Maldives, has been agreed upon by the two governments. A unified syllabus for the GCE advanced level and ordinary level examinations will be introduced from next year—SU. The KKS harbour will, at a cost of Rs. 90 lakhs be developed in four phases; on the advise of the Cement Corporation the Port Authority is making all arrangements in this connection. The government has decided to raise air fares by 3% from the beginning of May—DP. The funeral of the District Minister of Batticaloa Mr. M. Canagaratnam will take place tomorrow evening—VK. The police chief of Jaffna said yesterday that crimes had decreased considerably in Jaffna because of public co-operation with the police—EN. It has been revealed that over 2 million people have got food stamps though they are earning more than the minimum wage of Rs. 300 and that large number of people suitable to get these food stamps have been deprived of getting the stamps; the President has ordered an immediate inquiry and to take steps to remedy the mistakes—LD. An international drug and gem smuggler who was deported from the country in 1967 has been allowed to enter Sri Lanka again by the Dharmista government of President Jayewardene—DK.

WEDNESDAY, APRIL 23: The People's Republic of China has entered the Sri Lanka gem market in a big way; a visiting gem purchasing team from the China National Arts and Crafts Import and Export Corporation headed by Mr. Peng Wuyao recently bought Blue Sapphires, Cats Eyes, Rubies and Star Sapphires to the value of Rs. 21 million. State Minister, Anandatissa de Alwis, said yesterday

there was thinking in government circles that an administrative structure should be set up on the lines of the old British Civil Service which existed in the island. Exporters and private sector individuals and firms involved in development ventures are perturbed over the Central Bank of Ceylon's increased rates of interest announced yesterday. Prime Minister R. Premadasa returns to the island today after an eight day visit abroad during which he represented President Jayewardene at the Independence Celebrations of the new nation of Zimbabwe. The World Bank and its International Development Association affiliate said today they are lending 391 million dollars to India, Indonesia and Sri Lanka. The Health Department began a mass immunisation campaign against cholera in the Gokarella and Kurunegala MOH areas yesterday. Political parties and trade unions are making arrangements to celebrate May Day on a grand scale this year; there will be a five big rallies in Colombo this year, according to Police sources. The Rs. 640 million Asian Development Bank-assisted project to convert abandoned chena land into permanent agricultural holdings will be implemented from the beginning of next year, Agricultural Development and Research Minister E. L. Senanayake said yesterday—CDM. The Government has decided to fill all vacancies in the public service; this include vacancies in all institutions coming under the various ministries. Laws will be enacted soon to control the import and sale of pesticides—CDM. The Government is to invite professional Sri Lankan men and women who have achieved prominence in their fields and have settled down abroad, to come back here for short technical assignments in Sri Lanka; the United Nations Development Programme is providing assistance for this project which has been titled TOKTEN—transfer of know how through expatriate nationals. The pass system introduced at the General Hospital and Colombo South Hospital has been suspended with immediate effect. British assistance for development of Sri Lanka's road network was discussed when Prime Minister Ranasinghe Premadasa met British Transport Minister M. Fowler in London on Monday morning. Five major projects to develop Sri Lanka's internal and overseas telecommunication network will be launched under a 540-million dollar programme shortly—

SU. The possibility of reviving the controversial hydro-cracker project at the Sapugaskande refinery is now under active consideration, authoritative government sources revealed today—CO. There is to be a ban on the destruction of forests for the cultivation of tobacco; laws to enforce this will soon come into being said the Minister of Agricultural Research E. L. Senanayake—VK. The government has decided to change the teachers' training programme; with the new system which comes into effect from next year the training will be for 2 years in the Training College and one year in school—DP. The Minister of Agricultural Development and Research E. L. Senanayake has decided to restrict the cultivation of tobacco as large-scale tobacco cultivators destroy fertile land. The government is to introduce courses in electronic engineering in technical institutes throughout the country—LD.

THURSDAY, APRIL 24: A new Institute called the Natural Resources, Energy and Environmental Authority will be set up to function under President Jayewardene. Sri Lanka will get a 16 million dollar loan from the World Bank for replanting of 47,000 acres with rubber in three districts; the replanting will be spread over three years. A 20-member private sector Singapore investment mission, sponsored by the Singapore Federation of Chambers of Commerce and Industry, arrived in Sri Lanka, yesterday on an eight-day visit. Drastic action will be taken against government departments, corporations and other institutions that wilfully flout the job bank scheme, a spokesman for the Ministry of Plan Implementation said yesterday—CDN. The era of common man going on bended knees to the bureaucrats seeking help from them, is gone; it is now the time of bureaucrats to go to the doorstep of the common man and serve him speedily; this is what the Prime Minister R. Premadasa has told the officials in the Ministries coming under his purview. The government yesterday decided to raise to five million rupees the ceiling on tenders that could be approved without the prior sanction of the Cabinet—CDM. A special Police team headed by a senior Deputy Inspector General will be appointed shortly to inquire into all allegations against the Police. Supporters of politicians will in future not be permitted to enter the tarmac of the airport

when politicians are leaving the country. If substantial rain does not fall in the next few weeks power cuts may have to continue throughout the Vesak festive season, warns the Ministry of Power and Energy—SU. Sri Lanka's import bill last year has shot up by 49 per cent with exports by only 12 per cent; the result was that the trade gap has been nearly five times the previous year's—CO. A Tamil music and training school will be established in Batticaloa; the government has approved this proposal of District development, Tamil Language and Hindu Culture—DP. The Police is to enact new laws by which identity card holders will be requested to have them with them at all times—LD. Air Lanka has agreed to buy two Lockheed Tri-star aircrafts for more than its price; a Tri-star aircraft is sold to other countries at 34 million dollars; Air-lanka is buying at 40 million dollars—ATH. **FRIDAY, APRIL 25:** Overseas based charter tour operators, in connivance with certain local travel agencies and charter airlines which are not registered in Sri Lanka as scheduled airlines, were hijacking ticket sales of Air Lanka and other scheduled airlines such as BOAC, Swiss Air etc., informed sources said yesterday. The Ports Authority will soon begin paying handsome rewards to persons who help it to check frauds, thefts and malpractices that are now rampant in the port. The Airports Authority has called for worldwide tenders for the design and construction of the first phase of the development of the Colombo Airport, Katunayake—CDN. Despite the recent price increase of kerosene oil and auto diesel the Ceylon Petroleum Corporation is continuing to incur a loss of Rs. 961 million a year. Ramada International Inc., USA, the second largest chain of hotels in the USA will operate a 400 room five-star deluxe hotel in Sri Jayewardenepura, Kotte—CDM. Several houses and buildings were damaged when a whirlwind struck Ambalantota on Tuesday night. Workers who are permanently disabled or the next of kin of workers whose injuries in the course of employment lead to death will be entitled to increased rates of compensation under amendments to be introduced to the Workmen's Compensation Ordinance. The Tamil United Liberation Front has requested President J. R. Jayewardene to hold a by-election to elect a member for the Pottuvil seat. All political meetings to be

held on May Day will not be allowed to proceed beyond 8.30 p.m, the SLBC announced yesterday. The massive increase in foreign investment in Sri Lanka over the past two years testified to the confidence investors abroad placed on economic policies and political stability of the UNP government, Acting Finance and Planning Minister M. H. M. Naina Marikar told visiting Singaporean businessmen in Colombo yesterday. The outbreak of cholera in the Kurunegala district, has reached epidemic proportions, with the number of cases, being treated for this disease totalling 49—SU. President J. R. Jayewardene has approved the implementation of large-scale development projects in the Northern and Eastern provinces; these development projects will be set up under special allocation of funds besides the decentralized allocations—DP. The Minister of Trade and Shipping, Mr. Lalith Athulathmudali, who flew to Washington earlier this week to lead an effort to win a viable quota for Sri Lanka garment exports to the United States has met with Mr. Philip Klutznick, the US Secretary of Commerce—CO. A top-level American military delegation is to visit Sri Lanka; the visit of this delegation is seen as an attempt by America to get military facilities for their forces in the Indian Ocean—ATH. The UNP is transporting people from outside Anamaduwa for their election meetings—DK. SPs and ASPs have been given power to arrest any Police officer who takes bribes—LD. The government has decided to prohibit by law the use of chemicals in agriculture that would be harmful to human beings—DV.

SATURDAY, APRIL 26: The United States attempted a military rescue of its hostages in Iran but the mission failed because of aircraft engine failure, the White House announced early today. A convention between Sri Lanka and Poland for the avoidance of double taxation and the prevention of fiscal evasion in respect to taxes on income and capital was signed in Colombo yesterday. The Minister of Public Administration and Plantation Industry, Major Montague Jayawickrema will shortly visit Kenya to make a study of the tea smallholdings in that country—CDN. The City Police was placed on an "embassy alert" yesterday afternoon following reports of the abortive military action by the United States to free the American hostages held in Teheran. Sri

Lanka has an unbalanced power structure as the country's labour force is split into various trade unions while the employers are united, a spokesman for a United Nations-sponsored trade union mission to the country observed yesterday. President J. R. Jayewardene yesterday cautioned trade unions against acting alone to eradicate corruption and malpractices in the country's administration—SU. A number of foreign Diplomatic missions are working on behalf of the USA to make Sri Lanka boycott the Olympic games according to well informed sources—ATH. The government is said to be considering appointing a special commission to investigate the conduct of Mr. B. J. Fernando former Permanent Representative to the UN—DK. A large number of MPs have been unable to send a report to the Ministry of Plan Implementation on the number of persons employed in their electorates through the Job Bank—DM.

SUNDAY, APRIL 27: The American hostages have been moved from the US embassy in Teheran to unknown locations outside Teheran a spokesman for the Student's Ruling Council told Reuters today. A massive Rs. 670 million investment will be needed to rejuvenate the Wellwatte Spinning and Weaving Mills one of Colombo's industrial landmarks which boasts a 93 year long history and one of the biggest workforces in the capital. Young people aged between 20 and 30 years were buying tranquilisers, dissolving them in alcohol and downing drinks with added kick, a Colombo chemist told a Narcotics Control Board meeting last week—SO. A high level committee appointed by the President Mr. J. R. Jayewardene has recommended a formula to put an end to the stigma of statelessness borne for several decades by half a million plantation workers of Indian origin in this country. Airlanka has decided to take drastic action against airlines issuing tickets on Prepaid Ticket Advice to the Middle East and Gulf areas. Approximately 540 women who obtained Art degrees in the years 1972-77 were without employment and were looking for work when the Sri Lanka Federation of University Women undertook the first phase of a project to develop the skills of low-income women arts graduates to enhance their employability; the project was undertaken with assistance from the Overseas Education Fund of the League of Women

Voters of America—ST. The Maldivian Government has uncovered a diabolical plot by mercenaries to assassinate President Maumoon Abdul Gayoom and several top-ranking politicians. Political "watchdog" committees and an even further decentralisation from district to subdistrict level, are among several proposals personally submitted by President J. R. Jayewardene for consideration by the Government in a move for a completely new institutional strategy for the country's stagnant administrative machinery. The country's state-owned and private commercial banks are this week expected to raise their interest rates on long term fixed deposits to levels higher than the recently increased rates of the National Savings Bank—WK.

O O O

LONDON LETTER

PAKISTAN—Zia's Dilemma

London, April 28,

The rather vague announcement from Riyadh of the World Islamic Conference (WIC) putting off the Islamabad conference of Islamic Foreign Ministers till 14th May—a full one-month postponement, has, according to informed Pakistani circles here, perturbed General Zia ul-Haq. He had tried, it is said, to exert pressure on WIC General Secretary Habib Shati to advance the date, but had failed.

During the January session at Islamabad of the Islamic foreign ministers, there was a clear division in the ranks of the Islamic world on the question of Afghanistan. Despite all the cover-up efforts, the division was manifested in the demand by a big section of the participants to deal with the even more urgent problem facing the Islamic nations as the Palestine issue, above all Jerusalem: and many important Muslim nations refused to accept the right of the conference to take one-sided decisions on Afghanistan, an Islamic country, without reference to its own government. Nevertheless, the conference brought partial satisfaction to Islamabad with a resolution that could be the jumping off ground for a more effective action during the subsequent gatherings of the Islamic foreign ministers.

And that is what Pakistan had hoped that the Islamic foreign ministers would accomplish during the session scheduled to start in April. But other events intervened. The Islamic group which had wanted a confrontation in West and South Asia with the Soviet Union have only the USA to blame for making their plans go wrong. And now, the abortive US commando raid on Iran on April 24/25 to rescue the hostages has brought a new element into the picture.

The Islamic foreign ministers' conference can hardly ignore these developments. On the other hand, if the conference goes all out to throw its weight behind Iran, as it must, the US will be confronted with the full strength of Islamic solidarity, and priorities would shift from Afghanistan to the Gulf area. This is something which the Islamic foreign ministers' conference had not expected to deal with—at least by the Pak-Saudi group which holds the reins of administrative control. Will the postponement be useful in these circumstances is at all remains to be seen?

Zia ul-Haq wants the WIC meeting in Islamabad as early as possible. One reason is that in this spring there will be a re-emigration of a large number of Afghans back into Afghan territories. These persons have, over the centuries, seasonally migrated to areas now in Pakistan for pasture lands and then back again. Boundaries, like the Durand line, are of recent (British) origin. The majority of the Pushtuns as well as other Afghan tribes who are nomadic cattle breeders pasture the herds in winter on what is now Pakistani territory, but in the spring they return to Afghanistan. Zia ul-Haq's government classified even these people as "refugees", deprived them of free movement, introduced in these areas Pakistani troops, made these Pushtun herders to swear an oath that they wanted asylum in Pakistan and to leave as hostages their children and wives.

This year, because of the abundance of rain there is good pasture in Afghanistan and excellent conditions for cultivation. For this reason, in addition to nomadic herdsmen, there will be a big flow across the border of a large number of real refugees, mostly peasants and other persons who left their families in Afghanistan mainly during the harsh rule of Amin. Babrak Karmal's efforts to rehabi-

litate the refugees, restore their property, and offer privileges, concessions and inducements to the peasants have already set in motion a desire among the refugees to return to their homes. It is estimated that those planning the return to Afghanistan at the end of April and beginning of May will be much more than half the number of refugees—and if this happens it would minimise Zia's pretensions of being the saviour of refugees from Afghan tyranny.

PAKISTANIS opposed to the Zia regime here feel that after WIC meeting, Zia ul-Haq will permit the bulk of the refugees to return. They have also caused him many problems because of domestic dissensions, collisions with the local population, and the destruction of ethnic and economic balance in frontier areas. But it is feared by Kabul that the return of the refugees will be utilized for planting military sabotage units amongst them with the aim of subversive activity to complicate the situation in Afghanistan. But, as matters stand it is said that the main backbone of the refugees will remain in Pakistan, not so big numerically, but ideologically hostile to Babrak Karmal's regime and to the Russians. This will give an opportunity to Pakistan to use them for the maintenance of tension in Afghanistan and on the border and to extract the maximum benefit for Pakistani military junta to play the role of the "Islamic Front Bastion."

In the meantime, AP and AFP reports reaching London have stated that the Pakistani National Alliance, a banned political organisation, has urged President Gen. Zia ul-Haq to resign and hand over power to civilians. General Zia banned political parties and activity in Pakistan last October when he announced the cancellation of general elections scheduled for November. Several thousand supporters from Pakistan crossed into occupied Kashmir for the PNA convention and were joined by thousands more supporters in occupied Kashmir where General Zia's tough martial law restrictions do not legally apply. The convention marked a further step in the open challenge to General Zia's Government which began a month ago. Earlier this month the widow and daughter of Mr. Bhutto were also freed from six month's house arrest and have openly defied the Government by criticising its Afghan policy and have begun

preparing for General Zia's downfall. The aim of all the political parties seems directed towards overcoming suspicion and personal animosities among the leaders and forming a common anti-Zia front."

FURTHER, opponents of the military regime of Gen. Zia ul-Haq have inaugurated in Britain the Pakistan Liberation Movement and announced the formation of Pakistan government-in-exile with Brig. Usman Khalid as its chairman at a largely attended one-day convention. There is also intense speculation as to the purpose of Gen. Zia's proposed visit to China in the first week of May. Will he want Chinese support to stabilise his own position? Or does he want the Chinese to agree to a scaling down and ultimate stoppage of active assistance to the Afghan rebels in order to permit a UN team (including India) to investigate the charge that there were training camps on Pakistan territory? This was the offer made to Indira Gandhi by Gen Zia when they met in Lusaka. It is a real dilemma before Zia. Opposition has begun to mount against him. A Liberation Front against his regime has been formed and a government-in-exile has been formed. And Zia's Afghan card has not paid the dividends he expected.

—Tribune Correspondent

35TH ANNIVERSARY

Victory Over Fascism

by Sergei Gorshov

—Admiral Of The Fleet Of The Soviet Union—

IT WILL BE 35 YEARS on May 9 since the victory over fascist Germany. As the war recedes into the past, the historic significance of the immortal exploit of the Soviet people and their Armed Forces in crushing the capitalist world's strongest war machine, the strike force of world imperialism, is rising in splendour and stature for the entire world to see. In an uncompromising clash, lasting 1,418 days and nights, the Soviet Army and Navy did not only defend their own homeland, but saved mankind from fascist enslavement. Hitler's armies were put to rout by the effort of all the services and arms of the Soviet Armed Forces. The ground forces, however played, the decisive role. The Soviet Navy proved

to be a powerful force substantially helpful to ground forces.

The Soviet Army and Navy had the socialist economy to rely on in striving for victory. The economies of the Third Reich and its satellites substantially surpassed the Soviet economy in its strength at the time. However, during the war Soviet industries put out from 1.5 to 2 times as many tanks, artillery guns, mortars and aircraft as those of fascist Germany. The Soviet Union's victory over Hitler Germany proved that the military organisation of this socialist country was indisputably superior to that of the armies of imperialist states. Soviet strategic command outmatched Hitler's above all, by the depth of analysis of the prospects of the war. Our military strategy and military art proved to be highly mature and capable of resolving such problems which German military strategy and military art were unable to resolve. Scores of strategic operations masterfully conducted by the Soviet Arm and Navy, have gone down in history as models of military art.

A serious blow was dealt at the enemy by the armies of our allies in the anti-Hitler coalition. A stout fight was put on by the servicemen of Poland, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia and other European countries, which rose to liberate their lands from fascism, as well as by members of the Resistance movement. The Soviet people highly value contribution of all the peoples to the victory over German fascism which had aspired for world domination. Yet the records of history irrefutably prove that it was on the Soviet-German front that the outcome of the war was decided from the very moment of Hitler Germany's attack against the USSR all the way to its final defeat. Not only did it draw the bulk of the forces of fascist Germany and her allies throughout the four years of the war, but it differed widely from other fronts in scale and intensity of armed struggle. Stretching for over 6,000 km—the Soviet German front was four times as long as the North African, Italian and Western fronts, put together.

DURING THE WAR in which fascist Germany lost 13.6 million people—killed, wounded and taken prisoner, her losses on the Soviet-German front alone amounted to ten million. On the Eastern Front, the enemy lost three quarters of his aircraft, the bulk of his

tanks and artillery. The Red Army routed and took prisoner the troops of 607 divisions of fascist Germany and her satellites. The British and American forces beat 176 enemy divisions in combat operations in Africa and Europe throughout the war. The Soviet Union's war victory conclusively demonstrated the powerful strength of the socialist governmental, social and political system. The Soviet state is a new type of state. Its social foundation is the indestructible alliance of the working class, peasantry, intellectuals and professional people, with the working class in the leading role.

The creation of the world socialist system as well as favourable conditions for a sweeping advance of the national liberation movement and the breakdown of the colonial system of imperialism have been an important sequel to the victory of the USSR and the widespread revolutionary movement at the end of the war and in the early postwar years. To reverse the course of history, the imperialists of the United States and West European countries have put together aggressive military blocs spearheaded above all, against the Soviet Union and all the other countries of the socialist community and ringed them by a chain of hundreds of military and naval bases. In so doing, they have all along laid special stress on building up their nuclear and missile stockpiles, including naval strike power, using oceans and seas as launching sites for ballistic missiles and airfields for carrier-borne nuclear-armed aircraft. While directing the efforts of the entire Soviet people towards resolving the problems involved in building the new type of society and consistently and stoutly working for the maintenance of peace and against the arms race, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union has to take into account the aggressive nature of imperialism, and its war preparations and to do its utmost to increase the defence capability of this country and the strength of its Armed Forces.

The Soviet Navy has formidable and up-to-date combat units, comprising submarine surface ships, naval air force, coastal missile—and artillery-armed forces and marines. Radio-engineering facilities and control equipment based on electronic computers, analogue and modelling devices, have come to be widely

applied in the Soviet Navy. The Soviet Union is known to have created a modern navy, but it is not for the sake of aggression that it has some of it cruising in the oceans, as imperialists are doing, but for reliable protection of this country and those of the socialist community from any attack anywhere on vast ocean expanses. —APN

IRAN

Chase-Led Loans Questioned

New York,

In the final years of the Shah's reign, many major international banks, led by Chase Manhattan Bank, disregarded the Iranian constitution and lent hundreds of millions of dollars to Iran without specific approval of the loans by that nation's parliament. If the new Iranian government challenges the legality of the loans—as now seems almost inevitable—Chase and its partners face the possibility of having to return several hundred million dollars of interest paid on the loans and conceivably part of the principal as well. The four loans in question total more than \$ 1.3 billion and were made between January 1977 and June 1978. More than 30 banks around the world participated in one or more of the loans.

Chase was advised by Mehran Tavakoli, its legal counsel in Teheran, that the loans had a problem because they seemed to be in violation of article 25 of Iran's constitution. This provision of the constitution in force to the time stated that "no state loan at home or abroad may be raised without the knowledge and approval of the national consultative assembly." A Chase statement, referring to a first loan of \$ 500 million, says, "in Chase's judgement, based on its assessment of all relevant circumstances and advice of counsel, the loan was and is in consonance with all applicable laws, and the loan agreement is enforceable." *Until the recent US freeze order, Iran had made prompt payment of all sums due on the loan, Chase points out as evidence of Iran's acceptance of the loan's legality.*

While 50 Americans remain hostages in Teheran, there is slight possibility that the lawyers for the revolutionary government will push its claims in US courts. Once that issue has been resolved, however, a flurry

of litigation seems likely as the Iranians endeavour to obtain the return of funds seized by US banks last November as an offset to loans that were declared in default. Last November, Chase declared in default the first of the four loans in question and demanded "accelerated" payment of the outstanding balance. The new Iranian government protested, but with Chase holding an estimated \$ 300 million in official Iranian funds, it appeared that the bank was in a good position to follow through on its default declaration. (Chase says the other \$ 900 million of loans is in default but that bank syndicate so far have not asked for accelerated payment.)

Now, however, if that loan agreement is found to be unenforceable, Chase will be in a poor position to keep any of that \$ 300 million as offset on the loan, according to legal and banking experts. The first loan of \$ 500 million, made around the start of 1977, was to meet a big budget deficit by the Iranian government, according to Iranian officials at the time. A few months after the loan was made, Chase found itself in line to be agent on loans to the Iranian state-owned enterprises. The credits, which were to be guaranteed by the government, were \$ 250 million to Telecommunications Co., of Iran and \$ 310 million to National Petro-chemical Co., of Iran. These were signed in December 1977. The fourth and last loan on which Chase's Iranian lawyer Mr. Tavakoli, raised his objection was for \$ 300 million in June 1978 to National Iran Gas Co.

Chase states that every bank that participated in the loan agreements was fully aware of the Tavakoli opinion, including its qualifications. One of the banks that was asked for comments, Toronto Dominion Bank, claimed to have no knowledge of the letter. In London, National Westminster Bank said that Chase and the other banks realized there was a question about the agreement. Therefore, National Westminster added, they specified that the Iranian Ministry of Economic Affairs must, within one month notify the parliament so that the legislative body could take whatever action it wanted. National Westminster said this was a condition that had to be met before the Iranian government could draw adown any of its first loan.

—AP/DJ.
—International Herald Tribune

Confidentially

o CGR o WRB

IS IT NOT AN ENCOURAGING SIGN that a spokesman of the Engine Driver's Union of the C.G.R. should contact *Tribune* in regard to a statement regarding a memorandum submitted by them to the authorities? That to refresh the memory of our readers the relevant paragraph in our issue of April 26 read as follows: ".....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 the spokesman told *Tribune* that until 1970 all tenders for locomotives with full width bodies had specified that "a cab at each end may be offered.....and a short nose shall be provided in front so that the drivers operating position may be well back from the end of the locomotive....."? That the reason for this nose or bonnet was to ensure a certain amount of safety for the driver in case of any accident or mishap? That the spokesman further stated that this stipulation about a nose or bonnet had been a specification from the time the CGR had started calling for tenders? That, for the first time, this specification was dropped by the LSSP-run Ministry in the SLFP-led United Front Government? That this specification was dropped no doubt to enable a Japanese firm to win the tender? That all that the Engine Drivers Union wanted was a restoration of the old specification about a nose or a bonnet before the cab? That this request in the memorandum was subverted into a negative specification in the later Tender "designs having one cab at one end of the locomotive is not permissible." That this tender made no reference to the need for "single cab bonnet type or a full width body

type with two cabs?" That what this means is that the "tailoring" of the last Administration was further "tailored" without meeting the specifications wanted by the engine drivers? That, all in all, it is a jig-saw puzzle and the tender-cooking boys in the CGR want to use the Engine Drivers' memorandum to justify or cover-up their "tailoring"?

IS IT TRUE that the Water Resources Board (WRB) has cabled a supplier in Hawaii for a 1000 kgs. of IPIL IPIL seeds? That the price is believed to be about US \$ 10 per kg.? That the FOB cost of the consignment will be US \$ 10,000, that is S.L. Rs. 160,000/-? That freight, presumably air-freight, will be almost as much as the seeds? That the question that must be asked is why the quick-growing IPIL IPIL which was being grown from 1974/75 under the tender care of Dr. Leslie Herath, then of the NLDB and now of the WRB, has still not produced enough seeds? That it would be pertinent to know how many million seeds of IPIL IPIL were imported from the time Dr. Leslie Herath has been promoting the cultivation of this plant? That if the campaign to make people grow IPIL IPIL was any kind of success, Sri Lanka should now be able to export seeds? That, as it is, one has to make a pilgrimage to find an IPIL IPIL grove? That an IPIL IPIL plantation—such as has been grown in the Philippines—is not known here? That if our contention is incorrect, *Tribune* will be happy to make this pilgrimage to see the IPIL IPIL and shout about them from the house tops? That a reader of *Tribune* from Australia, Aruna M. W. Fernando, has sent us information on IPIL IPIL and other matters (which we will use in due course)? That for the moment it is sufficient to cite a small extract from a Bank of N.S.W. (Sydney), Publication in 1975 on *Pasture Legumes and Grass* which confirms a statement we have made repeatedly? That the relevant part in the Bank publication on *Leucaena*—the botanical name for IPL IPIL—concludes ".....*Leucaena* contains a toxic substance, *mimosine* which can affect livestock. *Leucaena* should be used only as a grazing supplement, not as a sole diet...."? That this warning has not been given by these W.R.B. in Sri Lanka? That only its "miraculous" virtues have been extolled?



TRIBUNE, May 10, 1980

Tea Small Holding Development Authority

Decentralization

Galle Regional Manager's Office

The undermentioned services presently attended to by this Authority relating to Galle, Matara, and Hambantota Administrative Districts (Balapitiya, Amtalagoda, Karandeniya, Bentara-Elpitiya, Hiniduma, Baddegama, Ratgama, Galle, Akmeemana, Habaraduwa, Deniyaya, Hakmana, Akuressa, Kamburupitiya, Devinuwara, Matara, Weligama, Mulkirigala, Beliatta, Tangalle and Tissamaharama electorates) will be attended to by the Galle Regional Manager's office with effect from 5th May 1980.

- (1) Replanting Subsidy Payments.
- (2) New Planting Subsidy Payments.
- (3) Issue of V.P. Plants.
- (4) Infilling Subsidy Payments.
- (5) Issue of Fertilizer.
- (6) Guaranteed price for green leaf.
- (7) Registration of green leaf collecting centres.
- (8) Transport of Green Leaf.
- (9) Issue of spraying equipment.
- (10) Advisory Service.

The Galle Regional Manager's office is situated in the 2nd Floor, of the Abeyskera Building, at No. 2, Gamini Mawatha, Galle (adjoining the bus stand Telephone No. 3279 Galle

Please inquire from the above address regarding all services to the Tea Small Holder in the Southern Province.

CHAIRMAN.

**TEA SMALL HOLDINGS DEVELOPMENT AUTHORITY,
P. O. Box 1474,
YMBA BUILDING,
COLOMBO 1.**

Sri Lanka

Voluntary Family Planning 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
- 3) 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)
- 4) 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)

RELEASED BY THE MINISTRY OF PLAN IMPLEMENTATION