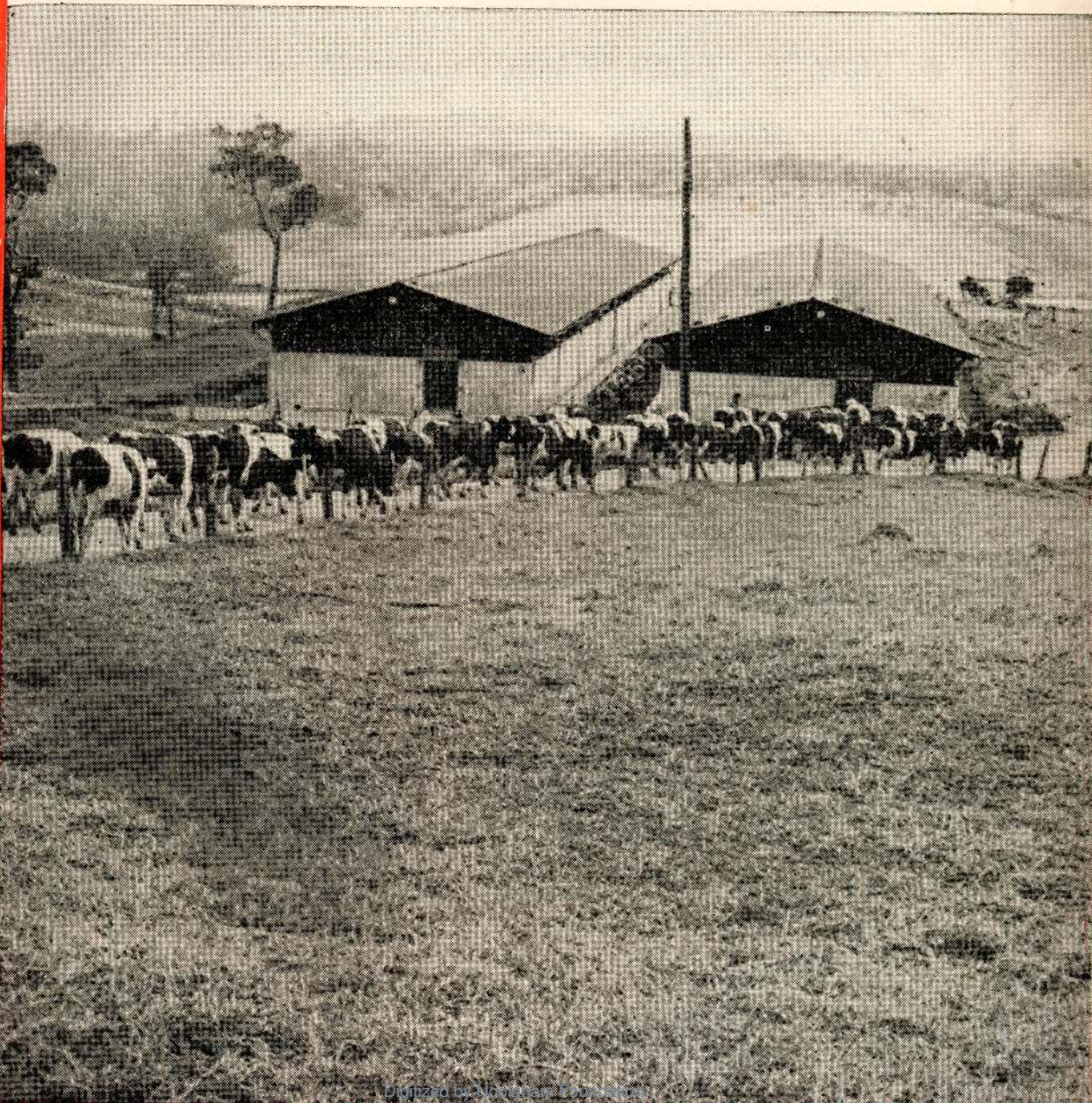


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Letter From The Editor

THE BIGGEST FAILURE that has so far overtaken the Jayewardene government is the current breakdown in electric power supplies. It is possible ostrich hike to take cover behind weather—the drought, as it is being done now. But this cannot be done for much longer. More and more people are getting wise to the fact that the present power crisis is due, only in a small way, to the weather and that it is mainly the result of the inefficiency and neglect of technocrats and bureaucrats of the Ceylon Electricity Board (CEB). The present power crisis is man-made (CEB-made) whichever way one looks at it. Readers of *Tribune* will recall that over the years men like Mr. R. Kahawita have drawn attention to the fact that from November right up to May or June every year, the catchment areas of the hydro-reservoirs received little or no rain; and that for this reason it was essential to have substantial thermal power as back-up or stand by power. For this reason, thermal plants were established and maintained for use primarily during the five to six month "drought" period to ensure adequate supplies. Unfortunately, the CEB had neglected these thermal plants—especially in the euphoria that Sri Lanka had enough hydro power even to sell to South India. The neglect of the thermal plants at Kelanitissa was so atrocious that by 1977 they had become incapable of producing even a fraction of their rated capacity. One of the two plants had become totally useless. The second plant was only capable of producing only a fraction of its capacity. Kolonnawa and the Pettah thermal plants had been dismantled. It is the failure of the thermal plants that is the root cause of the present crisis. The 5/6 month drought is not unusual and that is why the then Minister of Power, Gamini Dissanayake had early in 1978, obtained Cabinet approval to set up two or three gas turbines for thermal power and the money had also been set aside for it. International tenders had also been called for immediately. It was believed that those new thermal plants would be commissioned before the end of 1979 at the very latest. But these new thermal plants have not yet been erected. The new Secretary to the Ministry, Mr. J. H. de Lanerolle, who is trying to salvage the CEB in spite of the heavy odds, hopes that it would be commissioned by October this year, but the question why nothing was done from 1978 to date is on everyone's mind. Many feel that the October deadline is only wishful thinking. Three important questions arise at this point: (1) Who is responsible for the continued neglect and breakdown of the Kelanitissa thermal plants? (2) Why was the award of the 1978 tender for thermal plants delayed to the beginning of 1980? (3) Why have the six-year old French turbine generators at Laxapana broken down whereas the 30-year-old British generators there are still going strong? The answers to these three questions will reveal the basic cause of the present predicament in which the country finds itself. The answers are not difficult to unearth and the President must find out for himself and take appropriate corrective action immediately.

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NEW ZEALAND FARM

IN THE GATHERING GLOOM OF THE MAN (CEB)-MADE POWER CUTS, there are fortunately many silver linings on the horizon which keeps up Sri Lankan hopes for a better future. One such is the New Zealand Farm run by the National Livestock Development Board (NLDB), up at Ambawela, at the foothills of the Horton Plains plateau, which the Editor had the privilege to visit not so long ago. When the editor had visited the farm some years ago, towards the tail end of the Kobbekaduwa Land Reform fiasco, this farm, to which costly imported cattle from New Zealand had been brought, was in a decrepit state of neglect and ruin. Most of the imported NZ cattle had either died, or had been sold, or gifted, or had simply disappeared. Today, two years after the NLDB had taken over, the farm is one of the finest livestock centres one can see anywhere in this country, and one can say in this part of the world. In place of animals from down under, which are no more, we have beauties—of Freisian stock—from Holland. One must see for oneself what is presently NLDB's New Zealand Farm to realise how much has been done and how it is being done—and also how much can be done in our livestock farms.

One lesson I learnt after spending a morning there talking to a few of the zealous and dedicated animal husbandry enthusiasts who are in charge of the place is that farmers, dairymen and others who are in a position to keep a few animals in any part of the island—in the upcountry hills and also in the low country plains—can contribute immensely to the coffers of the nation and also increase their own subsistence income levels by intensive and better animal husbandry management practices.

At present nearly 70% of our milk cows plus a further 10% of our cattle population are found in the mid and up country zones. This is one reason why we have a picture of a small herd of Freisians grazing in the wide expanses of the New Zealand farm on our cover this week. We have not seen all the livestock farms in the country, but we have seen many of them including farms run by

the Department of Agriculture, and there is not the slightest doubt that NLDB farms stand out as outstanding examples of what such farms should be.

In the low country Coconut Triangle, the NLDB have not only made the coconut plantations excellent agricultural properties with increasing nut yields, but have also successfully grown fodder grass on a large scale in the midst of coconut trees to sustain large herds of cattle, sheep and goats. In these estates, the prime need today are tube-wells urgently wanted to meet the vagaries of the weather and the changing patterns of rainfall about which enough attention has not been paid by the authorities. In the coconut triangle NLDB farms we did not have the time and opportunity to study the management of cattle, but in the New Zealand farm we did and we were amazed how much one can learn in a few hours—on how to bring up calves, on how to look after the main herds, on milking techniques, on general management, on improved feeding methods (even with cattle feed in permanent short supply), on buildings to house the animals, on the veterinary services, and on all other aspects of animal husbandry. One morning is certainly not enough to learn how the job can be done: one can only know a little about what must be mastered. All dairymen and potential dairymen (and women) should be sent to places like the New Zealand farm for a week or ten days to acquire the basics of how cattle should be managed.

We were also pleasureably surprised that at the New Zealand Farm, as in other NLDB farms, self-criticism and open criticism of mistakes were encouraged and corrective measures taken by consensus in order to attain targets. The achievements of the NLDB at the New Zealand farm is all no doubt due to careful and decisive planning and the inculcation of the proper motivation to get the work moving along the correct lines. This kind of excellent organisational work and performance we have now learnt to expect from the NLDB. After seeing a number of NLDB farms we have seldom been disappointed.

The calves from the New Zealand farm will be sold to the small dairy farmers in the hill country and it is our hope that a way is

round to teach the purchasers of these high-milk-yielding animals the proper techniques of cattle management. The government will be well advised to persuade other government organisations and departments to learn from the NLDB without being inhibited by questions of prestige and personal vanity. If even a fraction of public sector undertakings of the government function the way the NLDB does, this country will be a better place for all.

In the coming weeks, we hope to see a few NLDB farms, especially in the Wannai, which is the heartland of our agriculture, and we shall write about them—after we do a piece, in the meantime, on Rosita where a calf salvage operation is being successfully carried out. If we see or spot any shortcomings in these dairy farms we will focus attention on them in *Tribune's* characteristic way, but so far we have only praise for the NLDB farms for the simple reason that all shortcomings are spotted by the NLDB themselves and corrective measures applied immediately before outside criticism builds up. This is something all public sector institutions will do well to adopt.

X X X

EDITOR'S NOTEBOOK

Anatomy Of Power

Colombo, June 2,

The rains have come to the hills and the Norton Bridge, Mousakelle and the Castlereagh hydro-reservoirs are getting replenishments of water. It was only on Sunday, June 1, that the Secretary of the Ministry of Power notified the public that the water levels were rising and that the threatened late night power cuts (11 p.m. to 4 a.m.) would be temporarily withheld and that cuts imposed earlier would continue.

Though the rains have come—and knowledgeable folk knew they were coming after Indian papers had announced that the South-west Monsoons had struck the Andamans by the 25th May. Furthermore, the *Hindu* of May 29 had published the news that a low-pressure trough had been formed in the Bay

of Bengal east of Sri Lanka and South India—and that heavy rains were expected. This was only a cyclonic cloudburst, but is these cyclonic harbingers that usher in the monsoon every year. Even when the rains had begun to fall in plenty in the catchment areas, Ceylon Electricity Board (CEB) propagandists were shrieking loudest about the "drought" that had brought the electricity crisis.

The question is *not whether* the drought this year was so serious (it was certainly not as the one in 1974) as to cause the breakdown in the power supplies, *but whether* the current crisis was due to man-made causes.

Shortly after the CEB had started cutting power in the most arbitrary and dictatorial fashion (no doubt to frighten everyone into puzzlement and silence), the *Daily News* on Friday May 23, 1980 had an excellent piece by the ANCL RESEARCH UNIT (which has in recent weeks done some excellent pieces of top rate investigative reporting) entitled **POWER CUTS: ARE THEY NECESSARY?** For the record, we publish this report *in extenso*: "The Ceylon Electricity Board has now announced extended power cuts. They have announced two-hour power cuts daily from 6 a.m. to 8 a.m. and 12 noon to 2 p.m. In addition, the half-hour peak time 'lopping' will henceforth be extended to 45 minutes each day. Are these power cuts really necessary? In the context of Sri Lanka having seriously wanted, within the past ten years, to export electricity to South India there should be no power cuts at all. In the context that there was recently been a drop of 17 percent in the generation of electricity, due to the poor maintenance of machinery and because of the hopeless miscalculations as to the country's actual requirements of electricity, the Board obviously has no other alternative.

"The Board seems to be enjoying its peak time 'lopping' exercise, matching wits with the consumer switching off at one time on one day, and at another time the next day. It even cheats at times, keeping the lights off for longer periods than scheduled. More seriously, instead of engaging itself in this futile pastime of trying to conserve electricity, it should concentrate its energies on producing more electricity and keeping the con.

sumer adequately supplied. Is it not the declared policy of the government to do away totally with the rationing of any commodity. Why should electricity be the exception?

"The position a few years ago was that there was an increasing generation of electric power in relation to demand. Hydro-electric schemes undertaken were being completed and more electricity than was needed was available. The heavy restrictions at that time on the import of electrical goods, both for domestic purpose and for manufacturing industries, contained the demand for electricity. "With the change of government in 1977 and the introduction of liberalised policies, the pattern in the consumption of electricity changed. The removal of import restrictions allowed for the greater availability of electrical equipments. The development thrust resulted in the greater use of electricity for industrial purpose. The recent village reawakening has led to the electrification of rural areas and a greater demand for lights. The construction boom has placed further strains on available electricity supplies. In addition, the oil crisis and the resultant price hikes have induced many a citizen to turn to electricity for his energy requirements. It is obvious the Electricity Board has overlooked all these factors in preparing its demand estimates, and made its prejections on outdated requirements. Probably, it was lulled into complacency because a few years ago supply far outstripped demand. Consequently, it has not concentrated on improving the supply position to meet the increasing demand. Worse, the equipment it already had in hand has not been maintained as well as it should have been as a result of which it cannot fall back on the available machinery even to overcome difficulties temporarily. (Italics ours).

"In Sri Lanka today, electricity generation is mainly hydrel. There is a thermal backup capacity of about 60 MW which helps at times when hydrel reservoirs fall to low levels. The thermal plant at Grandpass supplies 50 MW. Unfortunately, it has been badly maintained, from the time it was installed in the late 1950s, so maximum benefit has not been made of it. Its efficiency has diminished and to put back to use consumers have been called upon to pay a surcharge, which the CEB impressively termed 'Fuel Adjustment Charge.' The other thermal power generating units at

Kolonnawa and Pettah—though they could have served for many more years and would undoubtedly have been an asset today—were gradually dismantled in the belief that they were uneconomical, compared with hydrel plants which could replace them. The result of this shortsighted policy are the islandwide power cuts experienced today. (Italics ours).

"The country's main sources of electricity are the old Laxapana station where six units generate 60 MW, the new Laxapana station where two turbine units generate 50MW, the Samanala power station at Politiyaya with a capacity of 75MW and the Wimalasurendra station at Laxapana generating 50 MW. While the recently experienced droughts is blamed for the drop in electricity supply, it is closer to the truth that the present power cuts in the island are due to the fact that the turbine at the new Laxpana power station have been defective, resulting in 17 percent drop in the country's total power generating capacity—which is a substantial amount of all the energy available. The total available generating capacity in the country is about 340 MW while the peak load is known to have touched 330 MW. (Italics ours).

"It is obvious the Electricity Board has not done its planning correctly, and there has been a lack of foresight as to actual requirements proper maintenance and standby facilities. As for projects already in hand, the Bowatenne Power station project should have been completed by now and generating 40 MW but according to progress made it can be commissioned only next year. The Canyon project, which should also be generating 30 MW next year, is faced with construction problems and there will be at least a six month delay. According to present estimates by next year, particularly with the expected commissioning of large factories in the Free Trade Zone and elsewhere demand for electricity is expected to increase by 150 MW. The Government is not insensitive to this problem, and has decided to have three gas turbines whose capacity will be 75 MW installed at the power station at Grandpass. The only snag here will be the cost of generating power by the use of expensive fuel oils."

EVERYTHING THAT NEED BE SAID on the subject has been said in language and idiom befitting a government-owned paper. Only

the "t"s have to be crossed and the "i"s have to be dotted to give flesh and blood to one of the finest exposes that has appeared in the *Daily News* for a long time. What is needed to complete this picture is that the news-behind-the-CEB intrigues must be told, the behind-the-scene goings-on during Tender time has to be made public—and finally the heroes have to be named and finally everything has to be brought into the public limelight.

But more important than hanging out the dirty linen is to see corrective action taken—and only if no such action is not taken must the lid must be taken off the CEB mini-watergate that has been spawned—as they have spawned during every government after Independence.

The Ministry of Power and Energy issued a statement on the next day, May 24, refuting the points raised in the ANCL Research Unit report and also seeking to meet the criticisms that had appeared in all other newspapers notably the *Sun* and the *Weekend* which had spotlighted the shortcomings of the CEB in a most forthright manner. The Ministry's reply was a piece of heavy-handed officialese which tends to confuse and compound rather explain or convince. *It starts with the usual promise, which all officials proclaim, that all critics are frustrated grumblers who are ignorant of the facts (wisdom is solely vested in the bureaucrat and the technocrat): "The power cut which began on May 22, have understandably caused much bitterness among members of the public, particularly those in the city of Colombo. Articles have also appeared in the daily news papers which though sympathetic to the present crisis situation none-the-less show a considerable lack of understanding of the reasons that have led to the present situation."*

Then the statement goes into a lengthy preamble how the Ministry had in March 1980 warned the public of the on-coming crisis. Then the statement makes a series of admissions and glosses over the sad defaults without answering the "why's" and the "wherefore's": "Meanwhile the water levels at the Laxapana complex of reservoirs fell to very low levels while at the same time unfortunately the thermal generation capacity at Kelanitissa Power Station had been reduced by an unforeseen (sic!) failure of one turbine. In

addition to that one of the 50 MW turbines at Laxapana too had failed. It was the failure of the Laxapana turbine which made the Ceylon Electricity Board impose peak hour power lopping from about 2 weeks ago. This power lopping was largely confined to areas outside Colombo City. When, however, the levels of water reached very dangerously low levels about the 20th and when the Metereological authorities began to advice the Ceylon Electricity Board that there was no certainty of monsoon rainfall before the end of the month it became the responsibility of the Ceylon Electricity Board."

After this, the statement endeavours to draw a smokescreen by means of a semi-learned lecture about the virtues of hydro-power and disadvantages of thermal power and also how hydropower is vulnerable to drought and thermal power was expensive. All this has been said a thousand times before—even over and over again in the last three decades—but it does not explain why the Kelanitissa thermal failed or Laxapana hydro turbines had collapsed. The Kelanitissa generator's failure was not "unforeseen" as set out in the statement.

Then, there is a long and tiresome wail about the sudden increase in the demand for electricity and how the CEB was alive to it. And the statement meanders along wearily—very few people will have the patience to read it—and tries to cover the delay in commissioning the thermal plants the government had sanctioned as early as 1978 by bewailing: "However, in April 1978, when it became clear that the power demand projections were increasing steeply, the CEB recommended to the then Minister of Irrigation, Power and Highways that Gas Turbines should be installed. Government decided however that a Consultancy Firm should look into the need for Gas Turbines and design the Turbines for calling international tenders. The process of international tendering takes time, and the tender for Gas Turbines was awarded early this year. Here again, lead time for shipment, erection testing and commissioning is about one year and the Gas Turbines will come on stream only at the end of this year."

This rather cryptic paragraph does not reveal the full story of the delayed gas Turbines and the skulduggery that

had delayed the award of tender. When the real story is brought to light—many CEB heads will and must roll.

The rest of the long statement is only self-praise, self-justification and a defense of the officials of the CEB who have been in at the helm of affairs. There is only word that can adequately describe the long-winded gibberish—piffle.

Even the usual mild-mannered *Sunday Observer* in an editorial on POWER CUTS on May 25 stated: "All governments have varying degrees of control over men and materials; but no government has absolute control over the weather. Sri Lanka is no exception, and we cannot blame the government for the vagaries of nature which have brought about the chronic drought, and with it the series of power cuts which we are experiencing now. But the government has control over machinery, and is where successive governments and Boards have to take the blame. There has been no proper estimates of our power requirement. There has been no proper maintenance of machinery which are now falling apart with monotonous regularity. There has been only a half-hearted attempt to provide the power necessary for the tremendous demand generated over the last few years. And while all this is going on, there has been talk of exporting electricity to Madras! During the last couple of weeks the Ceylon Electricity Board has been virtually cheating the consumer. It has announced specific hours of power cuts, and then thrown in unscheduled cuts as well, thereby greatly inconveniencing the industrial and business community. It has in addition whacked the consumers with a 'fuel adjustment charge' which is their way of charging the consumer for thermal power. The point now is not so much as to conserve the available energy, but to make an all-out effort to provide all the power that we need....."

But the *Weekend* and the *Sun* did not spare the CEB. They called a spade a spade in a frontpage item entitled DARKNESS AT NOON IN LANKA—BAD PLANNING, CORRUPTION AND NEGLIGENCE, the *Weekend* had stated: "A serious shortage of power within the next few years could bring economic and social activity in Sri Lanka to a grinding halt, a *Weekend* Insight investigation has re-

vealed. While the demand for electricity from industry and other economic sectors as well as the general public is growing by about 30 megawatts (30 million watts) annually, the current demand at peak amounts to 312 megawatts. However, hydro-power generating potential of the country's national electricity 'grid' totals only 288 megawatts, after making allowance for a 50 MW cut for maintenance and shut downs of machinery.

"The INSIGHT investigation found that bad planning, irregularities in tender board and functioning procedures, corruption and negligence chief among numerous factors which could lead to a chaotic shortage of power in the country. While today the country's vital industries and other economic activities are being slowly strangled by power cuts being imposed to conserve energy, millions of domestic consumers are compelled to suffer inconvenience. Hospital patients may be in the middle of critical operations, attorneys and other professionals may be involved in important business, school children may be busy with studies, and at home, people may be engaged in a host of tasks such as cooking, ironing, and shaving—when power fails disrupting the life of the nation, as the INSIGHT team learnt in its investigation....."

Further on BUNGLING AND NEGLIGENCE, the *Weekend* stated: "INSIGHT investigations into CEB operations revealed numerous instances of poor maintenance work, negligence and irregularities.....The INSIGHT team which spoke to a number of CEB officials whose names have been withheld at their own request stated that the generators at the New Laxapana plant which are now being repaired at considerable cost, have been reported by the French engineering advisers as having been of faulty design. The generators are reported as not having been in proper working order when they were installed originally. Certain components were not accepted and no commissioning tests were carried out. Several defects have arisen in equipment supplied to the Trincomalee grid substation. An earthing transformer is learnt to have failed within two months of operation. Similar units are to be installed in the Free Trade Zone—EIGHT 10MVA 132/33 power transformers valued at Rs. 20 million have been left idle at various sites. On prac-

tically every rural electrification scheme unduly long spans have been used in the overhead power lines, thus overloading poles and decreasing ground clearance. Charting of cable routes has not been done in all of the installation work done in the Dehiwela and Ratmalana areas, and thus it will not be possible to locate a fault during a power failure."

The *Weekend* like the *Daily News* (ANCL Research Unit) pinpointed the failure of French turbines. **If the French connection in the CEB is unravelled, it will lead the investigator to a Mafia that rules the roost—and owing to which many good men have quit the CEB.**

The *Sun* on May 29, (Jumar Prema reporting) said that ALL'S NOT WELL WITH OUR POWER SYSTEM: "Although the much sought after rains, when they come will undoubtedly ease the country's worst power crisis, it will not mean all will be well thereafter. Many other threats which may plunge the country in darkness again loom large. Among them are two faulty generators at New Laxapana and the non-readiness of the Kelanitissa Thermal Power Station to meet any emergency. All this at a time when to use Power and Energy Minister D. B. Wijetunge's own words 'the entire system is now operating without any spare plant capacity to deal with any plant failures or maintenance which any reliable power system must incorporate.' These factors were underscored strongly when I accompanied officials of the Ministry of Power and Energy and Ceylon Electricity Board on a tour of the country's key power installations on Tuesday. Besides the fast dwindling water levels at Mousakelle and the Castlereagh reservoirs and the consequent need for power shredding, I found the officials very concerned about the two faulty generators at New Laxapana. The two generators at New Laxapana which were functioning below optimum capacity, needed repairs, officials explained. These two power plants from France generating nearly 100 megawatts of power were installed only six years ago.

"The engineers at Laxapana warned that the second plant is working with a wobbling shaft, which I myself saw. This they say, might have to be taken for a check next month. The old Laxapana which is being supplied by five British generators over 30 years old

are in working order. The CEB cabled the French firm on April 7 this year requesting them to arrange for repair staff immediately for the two power generators. The cable said, 'Immediate arrangements to send erector and winder. Position so serious that power shedding rendered necessary throughout Sri Lanka and highest authorities in country who have been acquainted with this situation are very seriously concerned.....'."

It is time that the "highest authorities" stopped being merely concerned but took some corrective action.

It is only fitting that we refer to Editorials in the *Sun* on May 27 and May 31:

After pleading that: "right now the authorities in charge of power need a great deal of public understanding and co-operation. Likewise the people expect them to do their best in averting a major fiasco", the *Sun* had thundered: "The powerless fiasco in Lanka has reached tremendous proportions and there seems to be no way out of it for quite some time. Evidently the failure of the monsoons is not the only reason that is aggravating the crisis. Even if it rains as it has never rained before the power crisis will remain with us for a long time unless urgent contingency plans are made to provide a new infrastructural supply system. This would require some time and above all a lot of money. Right now the immediate need is to get over the current problems facing the existing system of supply and distribution. In the wake of a persistent drought in the reservoir areas, power rationing must continue. Few days ago the Government decided to take drastic steps including a seven day shut down in the state run factories. At a time when the country is being geared towards development a predicament of this sort would indeed be a futile exercise. Unfortunately there seems to be hardly any alternatives available. A production crunch at a time when the country is experiencing inflation high cost of living would only compound the economic complications."

"The present crisis has provided the Government with the opportunity to size up the power situation in the country as well as the extent of bureaucratic bungling that has invariably contributed in no small measure to the present dilemma. Besides seeking urgent solutions to get over the immediate

problem the government must endeavour to investigate the events that would have led to the present state of affairs. Monsoonal delays have occurred in earlier years too. Power cuts have been resorted to as an energy saving measure down the years. But the present crisis seems to be the worst ever, because the alternative power supply schemes have apparently gone bust. Somebody must be held answerable to this. If it is sabotage the culprits must be dealt with severely and if it is due to negligence, or indifference the offenders must necessarily be weeded out of the system. Right now it is the duty of every Lankan to help conserve electricity. Compulsory power cuts will be of no use if the consumers continue to increase usage when it is available."

The important matter stressed in the editorial is that the crisis will be with us for a long time. Apart from taking appropriate measures to remedy this situation as soon as possible, the editorial rightly pointed out that "somebody must be held answerable" for permitting the alternative power supply schemes to go "bust". The *Sun* wanted the officials dealt with severely if it was sabotage and weeded out of the system if negligence or indifference.

This is the least that must be done.

But, we will, however, go further. The lessons that the CEB fiasco has taught us must be applied in streamlining other government corporations and organisations. We do not want more man-made disaster in this country.



OBITUARY

Of A Technocrat

This is a piece of pure fiction. It relates to no living or dead person. But it relates to a type of a petty VIP who has brought disgrace to the Sri Lanka Administrative and Technical services.

The curtain has fallen, unceremoniously, on the career, spanning some thirty years (including a term on compulsory leave for smuggling), of a technocrat. Let him be called by a name that sounds big—like his mouth—Henahura (or Henra for short, or just Horaf.

Henra clubg tenaciously to his post to the very end. Unlike most respected technocrats who terminate their careers with a period of leave prior to retirement, Henra occupied his room (and another's too) till the last day, hoping for yet another extension of service and planting more time bombs in his institution.

He plotted and planned and sought the good offices of influential members of a flowering circle to propel him into another extension of service. But he was retired. Even then, he could have left gracefully. He didn't. He left like a thief without bidding goodbye to the staff of his institution. No specially labouring female hung a garland of orchids round his head. No purchasing steward presented him a bunch of coconuts. No giggling belle performed a belly dance to cheer his flagging spirit. No foreign expert donated a case of whisky to boost his declining arrogance and no imported chief made an offering of the latest soya recipies.

His departure, however, excited the latent talent of a gifted versifier who sympathised with his wants too.

This was it:

PLEASE HELP POOR HENRA

*He is sick,
Jobless and
unloved.
Abandoned by his friends.
Stabbed by his foes.
Afraid to show his face.*

*Let him know that there is
someone who cares.
Someone who cares to help.*

*He does not need much
An extension of service at 57, 58 & 59
A telephone, trips abroad,
Foreign experts, basket women
The bare necessities—*

Please help poor Henra.



New Blood Is Essential

by Outsider

THE EMPHASIS ON ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT of the country is meaningless, unless the Government in power can have the services of loyal, efficient public servants who are dedicated towards the fulfilment of a programme set out by the Government elected on the basis of democratic principles. The people delegate their authority and powers to a Cabinet of Ministers, a Prime Minister and the President. The implementation of the programme of the Government is generally developed from the grassroot level and the responsibility of the public servants towards the implementation becomes a very major factor in the economic development of a country. We, in Sri Lanka are fortunate that whatever form of Government had come into existence, the public service had done very well in the implementation of Government's policy. Of course, there are a few public servants who may have not been able to keep up to the expectations of the people. However, such exceptions do not prove the rule.

It is best first to understand the various types of functions that have been performed by the officers who are delegated, such functions as are necessary for the performance in that particular sector. In Sri Lanka, we had the famous Ceylon Civil Service which was then held as the topmost in the public service selected by a competitive examination. These officers were put in various strategic positions in the Public Service and finally ended up as Permanent Secretaries of various Ministries. Even the number of Ministries grew in keeping with the necessity for accelerated economic development of the various sectors.

At present the former Civil Service has been replaced by the Sri Lanka Administrative Service, the Engineering Services, Scientific Services and other Services for Staff Grade confined to particular Ministries in relation to their own functions, programmes and policies. Although traditionally, till the recent past we confined ourselves to the selection of top grade posts like the Secretaries to the Public Service, most important landmark in

In our issue of May 10, 1980 (Vol. 24 No. 43) we published an article entitled BUREAUCRACY RE-EXAMINED. The author used the nome-de-plume XYZ because he was "a public servant of long standing" and could not reveal his identity at this juncture. In that article, the writer has disapproved the recruitment for the post of Secretaries and for other high appointments from outside the public service and had given a number of reasons as to why such appointments tended to denigrate the entire administrative system. This week we publish the first of a two-part rejoinder by one who also chooses to be anonymous and calls himself **Outsider**. He makes a spirited plea for infusion of new blood from outside the Public Service. He refers to three Secretaries from outside the Public Service who are, according to him, doing a good job of work—viz., the Secretary to the Ministry of Plan Implementation, Dr. Wickreme Weerasooriya, Mr. Ranjan Wijeyeratne, Secretary, Ministry of Agricultural Research and Development and Mr. Anura Weeraratne, Secretary to the Ministry of Fisheries—and says that they are discharging their functions efficiently and with acceptance.

Whilst **Tribune** will agree that Dr. Wickreme Weerasooriya and Mr. Anura Weeraratne are doing an excellent job in their respective fields—subject to whatever criticisms we may have made in the past—we cannot say the same for Mr. Ranjan Wijeyeratne whose administrative strategy has reduced the Agricultural Sector to be the Achilles Heel of this government. Moreover, whilst Dr. Weerasooriya and Mr. Anura Weeraratne are willing to enter into a dialogue with critics, Mr. Ranjan Wijeyeratne seems to regard critics as enemies of the State who must be either wiped out if possible or ignored the same way the ostrich hides from any danger. **Outsider** should read the Performance Reports issued by the Ministry of Plan Implementation for 1979 and for the first quarter of 1980, together with the Report of the Central Bank for 1979, to know what a mess our agriculture is in today. The references to Mr. Ranjan Wijeyeratne appear in the concluding part that will appear in our next week's issue—Editor.

the judicious selection of officers for top grade posts was effected from outside the Public Service in his wisdom by His Excellency the President, Mr. J. R. Jayawardene when he was Minister of State. It was the appointment of Mr. Anandatissa de Alwis, the present Minister of State as Permanent Secretary to the Ministry of State at that time. This appointment was hailed from all quarters, irrespective of party politics and if one were to look back, the performance at the time and the initiative taken by the then Permanent Secretary to the Minister of State, even the worst enemies cannot question the marvellous record. In fact, the present benefits Sri Lanka is reaping as a result of tourism, the credit goes to the then Permanent Secretary of State, Mr. Anandatissa de Alwis. His honesty, efficiency and integrity is beyond anybody's question. Thus, once this precedence had been created of selecting the best men in Sri Lanka, though outside the Public Service, was followed suit thereafter by subsequent governments. It may be not out of place to mention Mr. P. B. Karandawela, who was also appointed a Permanent Secretary to the Ministry of Shipping and Tourism, as another example of an efficient, honest officer and the quality of his performance is known to any and everyone. There are very numerous examples of efficient officers who have definitely contributed much to the accelerated economic development of this country.

THUS, THE SELECTION OF PERSONNEL for these top grade positions is the responsibility thrust on those who are holding the reins of Government. This choice of personnel from outside the Public Service continues. The people can be very proud of the performance of those who were put in-charge of the various Ministries from outside the Public Service for their marvellous performance in the implementation of the policies and programmes of the present Government. The success of these distinguished personnel who are manning some of the Development Ministries should be congratulated on their achievements of targets set with the assistance and full support of the fine men and women in the Public Service at all levels who have been motivated for the efficient performance of their duties and responsibilities by the very distinguished Development Secretaries. Therefore, an efficient and honest independent ad-

ministration is manned at the present by men of the highest calibre. His Excellency the President should be congratulated for drawing various categories of people from different disciplines, politicians, economists, engineers, scientists, lawyers and administrators. If I may take certain Development Ministries and analyse the performance of their work, the people at large would realise that the choice of these Development Secretaries had been done correctly and none can dispute the honesty, efficiency and the capacity in their difficult task of satisfying any and everybody.

THE MINISTRY OF PLAN IMPLEMENTATION has under it the following functions:—
(a) Census and Statistics; (b) Regional Development; (c) Employment and Manpower Planning; (d) Employment Data Bank; (e) Food and Nutrition Policy Planning; (f) International Year of the Child Secretariat; (g) Fertilizer Secretariat; (h) Womens Bureau.

The National Fertilizer Secretariat which was set up in the Plan Implementation Ministry has a multitude of tasks in the formulation of the scheme for higher subsidies for fertilizer and the stabilisation of their prices. Their Regional Fertilizer Warehouse Complex at Maho has been commissioned. Another Regional Complex is to be established at Weligama for which cost estimates and plans have been finalised. A site has been selected for the third regional warehouse complex at Galela, Kaduruwela, Polonnaruwa. A Roller Mill has been installed for the grinding of apatite (Phosphatic fertilizer). Further, this Fertilizer Secretariat has rationalised the use of approved fertilizer mixes. The Sri Lanka L.Y.C. Secretariat has evaluated 43 Projects and additional 19 Projects were approved for funding. The main areas of concern being Child Care, Health and Sanitation, Vocational Training and Children's Libraries. The Employment Data Bank scheme has coded and computerized about 84,300 applications. About 68,400 persons with educational attainments lower than GCE (OL) have been registered during 1979.

The Plan Implementation Ministry also looks after Manpower Planning. This Division while rendering information and data and services to the Public Section Institutions, Technical Assistance Missions and individuals carried out several surveys indicated below:—

(a) Survey of employment opportunities in the Private Sector; (b) Survey of out flow of skilled manpower for employment abroad; (c) Survey of Manpower surpluses and shortages; (d) Survey of Engineers, Architects and Technologists; (e) Requirements of Medical Doctors; (f) Technical Vocational Training programmes; (g) Driver Training Programmes.

THE MOST IMPORTANT WORK carried out by the Plan Implementation Ministry is the disbursement of decentralised budgets. The performance of this Regional Division is an example to everyone of the members of the Public Service as to how in the context of the contradictory problems, demands and pressures from the various districts for additional funds, peaceful solutions have been found and the tasks accomplished. The Regional Development Division of the Plan Implementation Ministry has initiated a number of Integrated Rural Development Projects in the areas of Puttalam, Hambantota, Matara, Matale, Kurunegala, Nuwara Eliya, Mannar, Vavuniya and Badulla which are being expedited, personally supervised by the Development Secretary of that Ministry. Further are those tasks with the co-ordination and monitoring of all the projects at the various Ministries which could be seen in the National Operations Room which is once again functioning as an Institution. Its ambit of influence is widening daily and fast becoming the symbol of country's commitment on economic development. The weekly meetings of the Development Secretaries are held at the National Operations Room where it provides the forum for top level discussions on all matters relating to the formulation as well as implementation of Development Programmes and Projects.

Food and Nutrition Policy Planning is another section in the Ministry of Plan Implementation. There is a Communication Support Project which disseminates information on the theme of nutrition. There is a Project on Nutrition Education for adults which is being implemented in six districts. A Research Panel has been set up and 15 Research proposals have been studied. Nutrition Status Surveys and Socio-economic Surveys are being conducted in districts covered by Integrated District Rural Development Projects. A Food, Science and Technology Panel constituted for this purpose has recommended

fortifying wheat flour with soya bean—42 small school farms have been established. There is a National Food and Nutrition Co-ordinating Committee which is an Apex body to apprise His Excellency the President and the Cabinet on food and nutrition policies.

The Division of Population and Family Planning responsible for the formulation of Population policy and its implementation has 15 Population Projects funded by the UN/FPA under implementation. There is a Population Information Centre providing population related data. A number of Seminars have been held on Population Family Planning for various groups of participants like Parliamentarians, Journalists, Government Agents, Semi Government Officers, Ayurvedic Medical Practitioners and Medical Officers. A Women's Bureau was established in the Ministry of Plan Implementation whose primary concern has been improving the status of women and using them in the process of development.

Thus, the above briefly shows the meteoric performances of the Ministry of Plan Implementation, the credit, of course goes to Dr. Wickreme Weerasooria, the Development Secretary of the Ministry of Plan Implementation. He is a Ph.D. in Law (London). He gave up his lucrative job as Lecturer in the University of Monash. This is an example of an Attorney-at-Law selected from outside the Public Service who has performed his function efficiently as Development Secretary of the Ministry of Plan Implementation.

(To Be Concluded)

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LETTERS

● JAFFNA AND THE WRB

Sir,

With the appearance in your *Tribune* of 3.5.80 of a contribution by Mr. L. R. Vethanayagam raising his voice against what he terms as a pernicious permit system to dig new wells and the attendant complications, I now feel it extremely necessary to air my own candid views also on the same subject matter. The current WRB moves to severely restrict the digging of new wells etc. are based only

on fanciful and not on factual grounds. I am preparing a lengthy article to convince all concerned that the WRB is building a mountain out of a molehill on the question of salinity increases in our peninsula's wells.

It must be remembered that the word SALINITY has not been properly used but deliberately misused by the WRB, to create the entirely wrong impression in the readers' minds. Before sitting down to write my article I am awaiting a reply to a registered letter, Regn. No. 9982 of 7.12.79, I wrote to the Chairman of the WRB seeking some clarifications. At the same time, I also wrote another letter to the Resident Irrigation Engineer in charge of Ground Water Investigations (GWI), Jaffna, to kindly furnish me with some information available with him. More than 5 months have lapsed and no replies are forthcoming. So on 7.5.80 I wrote a letter to the DIE Vavuniya asking him to kindly instruct the G.W.I. Unit in Jaffna to furnish me with the information asked for. To my big surprise came a reply requesting me to write to the Chairman, W.R.B. to get the information I require. Are the available hydro-survey records so confidential that no one except the W.R.B. should have access to them? Or can it be that the Chairman's deliberate silence is due to the nagging fear that the supply of the information asked for by me may prove detrimental to the EXPERT opinion he is now supplying on the above subject matter?

Well then whatever the reasons may be, I feel it my bounden duty in the best interests of science to wake up from my enforced silence and speak out my mind. So a memorandum is just under preparation by me to be sent to you in due course. I am sure you will find that the one under preparation merits publication in the *Tribune*. In the meantime, herewith attached please find copies of the letters mentioned earlier for your perusal and necessary action if any.

C. P. Vairamuthu

Uduvil,
Jaffna.

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COPY REGISTERED POST

The Chairman, W.R.B.,
Colombo.
Dear Sir,

With reference to your advertisement in the C.D.N. of 29.8.79 on the above subject matter as a lay graduate in Geology myself I know that a lot of confusion has been created in the public mind by your liberal use of the word SALINITY. In the said belts you will agree that the ground waters come under four broad categories, i.e. Fresh waters, Brackish waters, Saline waters and Sea waters. Will you please let me know the NORMS under which each of the above categories fall into? If you have not set down any, then will it be acceptable if as a keen student of the subject matter myself, I set down the following norms for waters containing:

1. 0.025 gms/litre to 1.75 gms/litre as
Fresh Waters
2. 1.75 gms/litre to 7.50 gms/litre as
Brackish Waters
3. 7.50 gms/litre to 18.00 gms/litre as
Saline Waters
4. Above 18.00 gms/litre as Sea Waters.

By way of information let me please mention that even though 0.5 gms/litre is set down by Municipal Health regulations as fresh waters, there are certainly wells containing salts say up to about 1.75 gms/litre that are freely used in many areas of Ceylon for domestic and agricultural purposes. Under category 2 come the brackish waters which are rather unpalatable to the taste, but some of whose waters are sometimes used by the enterprising Jaffna farmers for irrigation purposes. Those wells under category 3 are very very few and far between and whose waters are seldom or never used at all. Under category 4 come any wells with sea waters. So far as is presently known, the famous Puttur tidal well is the only one of its kind in existence in the whole Jaffna Peninsula. I have personally analysed in the science laboratory some sea waters collected in the Northern coasts and found the salt contents to be 18.00 gms/litre. Please have me corrected if I have gone wrong in my above calculations in the salinity content

of sea waters. Awaiting the favour of an early reply please.

Yours truly,
C. P. Vairamuthu

My No. 419/GEN/1/J,
D.D.I.'s Office, Kilinochchi
15.5.80

Dear Sir,

Ref. your letter dated 7.5.80 addressed to the D.I.E., Vavuniya, you may address the Chairman, Water Resources Board direct as this matter comes under his purview.

Sgd: M. Santhirasekera, IE/JD
for D.D.I. Kilinochchi.

COPY

7.12.79

The Resident Irrigation Engineer,
G.W.I.,
601, Navalar Road,
Jaffna.

Dear Sir,

With reference to the advertisement in the C.D.N. of 21.8.79 by the W.R.B. under the heading "Ground Water Exploitation in the Miocene Limestones", will you please have me supplied early with the following information needed by me:

1. The salinity contents of the Puttur Tidal well at its descending depths.
2. The salinity contents of the Kondavil drill hole;
3. The salinity content of the saltiest of all the 400 odd wells under observation by the G.W.I. unit;
4. Any of the existing 18000 farm/agricultural wells that had suddenly gone saline since the hydro-survey works commenced in 1965. If so then from p.p.m. to what p.p.m and the year of such changes taking place
5. The same information as in 4 concerning any of the existing 85,000 domestic wells;
6. NACL contents in gms/litre of sea waters collected along the northern coasts

Thanking you,
Yours truly,

C. P. Vairamuthu

● CATTLE

Sir,

With reference to Mr. Edirimanne's letter which appeared in the *Tribune* of 17.5.80, may I say that his letter is as indigestible as fodder in the drought. He claims to be acquainted with the functioning of the Department of Agriculture and also the Department of Animal Production and Animal Husbandry and what they have developed. Mr. Edirimanne does not say what the results are. The author talks of uneconomic importation of cattle? Can we ignorant dairy farmers know when and how many were imported due to lack of planning? The author talks of "sophisticated foreign aid." Could he be a little more specific? We are inundated with foreign aid and good intentions. What is "sophisticated foreign aid?"

The author talks of the Swedish aid and then refers to Artificial Insemination (AI). I believe he refers to the CIDA programme. Can he enlighten us on the objectives and achievements of the CIDA? AI is not a simple solution. It is a widespread means of improved stock rapidly, but can it come without dedicated, committed, trained people of integrity? He refers to the Animals Act and wants to couple those not owning bulls to use AI under compulsion or supervision. Can this be done considering the act that we have a large number of enactments and laws on our statute book that are not implemented. And have we the vets and men trained in AI work.

The suggestion about the regular inspection of stud bulls by veterinarians is ludicrous. Nobody can find a veterinarian in the rural areas and nobody can afford to keep a

COPY

This is the reply received to the letter, I wrote to the D.I.E. Vavuniya asking to please instruct the G.W.I. unit in Jaffna to supply me with the information asked for in my letter of 29.11.79 to it.

stud-bull nowadays. The author refers to a survey indicating preferences for government officers against trained private inseminators. When was this survey conducted and by whom? The price comment however is that breeding should be confined to government farms and private dairies. What has been the performance of the Government farms and what specifically does Mr. Edirimanne mean by private dairies.

Mr. Edirimanne's letter however indicates one important fact about the non-existent Extension Services. The situation is so bad that no dairy farm will inquire where the Vets are? Where are they? Where do they disappear when their services are needed? What happened to the animals the Vets are supposed to look after?

Dairy Owner

Galaha.
18.5.80

● **Editor's Note:** *The performance of the CIDA programme is closely guarded secret. Nobody knows what Sri Lanka's performance in the AI campaign is. AI is more successful in developed countries than in developing countries. Occasionally we have had news flashes that 10,000 inseminated calves have been born and that synchronising programmes have been introduced. But where are the 10,000 calves? Are they like the IPIL IPIL trees that can't be found—though millions of imported IPIL IPIL seeds have been sown since 1975? But the Nitty Gitty (a phrase that has become popular when the press is unable to get at the truth) points to other unsuccessful ventures. Incidentally has the CIDA programme been completed? Where are the vast amounts of money going to? Where has it gone all these years?*

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● **POSTAL**

Sir,

It is true that *Tribune* has provided publicity with regard to several postal problems in our country. Let me add one more to the lot. It is staggering to hear that more than 3500 people living in a shanty town called 'Sammanthrana pura' (Summit pura), at Mat-

takkuliya in the northern part of Colombo have the least access to postal facilities.

It is a thirteen acre marshy land quarter of which is reclaimed where most of the marginal settlements of the city of Colombo were demolished and dumped in, prior to the 1976 Non-Aligned Summit Conference. They were uprooted brutally, from Kollupitiya, Slave Island, MacCallum Road, Thotalanga, Pettah, Grandpass, Kotahena and transplanted in a shoddy manner and it is aptly named 'Sammanthrana pura' today. Since its inception, amidst numerous impoverished conditions, people do suffer from the want of postal services as well. Consequently, many, we are told, have forfeited employment opportunities, schooling facilities, telegram from the hospitals (in fact, the dead patients were kept at the mortuary for several days and buried by the hospital authorities due to no way of informing the people concerned) and a variety of postal benefits that the city people at large enjoy.

In the beginning of the year 1980, attempts were made to admit 250 children to the nearby government schools. Surprisingly, the principal's letters to the parents were "returned by the Postal department stating that there is no delivery". The following is a copy of the Principal's letter to the PMG on the questioning of the Admission of children for Grade I from Sammanthranapura, Mattakuliya.

Dear Sir,

All the letters sent to the parents of children seeking admission to this school residing in Sammanthranapura, Mattakuliya have been returned by the Postal Department stating that there is no delivery. Kindly take steps to inform the parents of the concerned children to come to this school with the following documents on the 16th of January 1980 at 12.30 p.m.
1. Birth Certificate of the child
2. Vaccination certificate.

Yours faithfully

(Signed) M. A. H. de Silva
for Principal

C/o Madampitiya Methodist Mixed School
Mahawatte Colombo 14.

Further, the Sammanthra pura Community development Council (SPCDC) has already prepared a mass petition to be despatched to the Minister concerned demanding the deprived human right to have postal benefits as citizens of Sri Lanka. Besides, we have also made correspondence with the Chief Post Master and the Post Master General concerning the unjust situation.

Granted, that we all live under the same sun, why, some do not have access to possess the rightful light, is indeed a sad story, in a so-called Just and Righteous Society.

Mervyn Anandapulle O.M.I.

Centre For Society and Religion,
281, Deans Road,
Colombo 10.
23.5.1980

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● COCONUT

Sir,

I shall be glad if you would kindly give publicity to this letter in your valuable News Magazine: *Tribune*. This is concerning the delay in the payment of coconut rehabilitation subsidy to the coconut growers of the cyclone affected Area. The coconut cultivators of the Batticaloa-Amparai Districts whose estates had been severely devastated by the cyclone of November 1978 and who have already replanted them undergoing immense hardships, have not been paid their subsidy in time. There has been much delay in effecting the first year and second year payments.

May I, as one interested and involved in coconut cultivation and rehabilitation of the coconut industry in this region appeal to the powers that be to effect the payments with the least possible delay. Admittedly timely payments will go a great way in serving as a fillip to the promotion of the Industry.

V. Sri Pathmanathan

Pannankiyar Thottam,
Olivil,
Palalmunai.
25.5.80



AMERICAN VIEWPOINT

The Chinese Missile

by Chris Kern VOA News Analyst

Washington, May 23,

The Chinese Government demonstrated graphically this week that despite its recent emphasis on domestic economic development, China is likely to play an increasingly important role in strategic military affairs in the years ahead. In two separate tests, the Chinese have test-fired a new Intercontinental Ballistic Missile into a target area in the south Pacific Ocean.

The immediate purpose of this new Chinese missile capability—which has long been reported to be under development—is to modernize China's nuclear deterrent against the Soviet Union. Until now, China, has depended on an aging fleet of long-range bombers and a few medium-range missiles to carry its nuclear weapons—a method of delivery far inferior to the sophisticated Intercontinental missiles in the Soviet arsenal.

But China's growing military capacity—symbolized by the development of its own intercontinental missiles—is also pushing it toward a big-power role in Asia that invites comparison with the so-called "superpowers"—the Soviet Union and the United States. Chinese leaders deny any superpower ambitions. For reasons of ideology as well as global politics, they appear to be more comfortable identifying themselves with the poorer and weaker countries of the world, and especially to contrast Chinese political motives with what they see as rampant Soviet Expansionism.

Still, China is fast achieving big-power status even if it has not sought it. That status is being thrust upon it by the Soviet "hegemonism" that the Chinese are always among the first to identify and condemn. The growing perception of the Soviet Union as a restless, aggressive giant is likely to create a growing constituency for China to act as a counterforce in international politics—especially among left-wing and developing countries that are uncomfortable relying for that purpose on the United States.

But China's ambitious program of internal modernization is also a factor in its expanding

role in international affairs. China's rapidly developing foreign trade and economic interests are drawing it into the global economy. And with the development of wider economic interests, China is acquiring a greater stake than it has had in the recent past in international stability, if only so that it can achieve its domestic goals for economic growth.

China's current moderate leadership may be interested primarily in turning inward, to repair the damage done by the excesses of the "cultural revolution" and to proceed toward building a modern industrial state. But internal events as well as external ones are combining to turn China toward the outside world—whether that is on the Chinese government's international agenda or not.

—USICA.

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U.S. VIEW

Moscow's Summitry

by William W. Wade
VOA News Analyst

Washington, May 20,

Moscow has been proposing new global peace initiatives even while Soviet troops in Afghanistan dig in for a long stay. The Warsaw Pact, at its 25th anniversary last week, called for a top-level meeting of leaders from all regions of the world to remove "hotbeds of international tension." And in Warsaw May 19, Party Chief Leonid Brezhnev met French President Valery Giscard D'Estaing to discuss what Moscow called "initiatives directed at lessening the existing tension."

No one can quarrel with the states objective. East-West tensions have increased sharply in the past year for several reasons. One is the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan; still another the deployment of new Soviet SS-20 Missiles with multiple warheads of improved accuracy, targeted on west European cities and defense installations. Both these sources of tension were pinpointed in a NATO defense committee communique last week. So were the remedies NATO considers appropriate—including a Soviet withdrawal from

Afghanistan and East-West negotiations, without preconditions, on limiting the level of nuclear arms on the European continent.

Other western initiatives for improving the international climate include a detailed proposal on Afghanistan offered by the nine-nation European community in April. The European plan called for troop withdrawal, and an international commitment to respect Afghan sovereignty and to refrain from interfering in its internal affairs. The aim would be to return Afghanistan to its traditional position as a neutral, non-aligned state and to allow the Afghan people freely to determine their own future.

U.S. officials see this initiative as being compatible with President Carter's goals of a non-aligned, independent Afghanistan, choosing its own government and free of foreign troops. The European proposal has been discussed with Soviet officials a number of times; presumably it played a part in French President Giscard D'Estaing's May 19 talks with Brezhnev. Unfortunately, a French spokesman reported, the positions of the two sides were far apart. Unfortunately, too, there are no other signs that Moscow is seriously interested in withdrawing the 85,000 troops it now has on Afghan soil. Afghanistan certainly qualifies as a hotbed of international tension. But what is needed most is some semblance of recognition by Moscow of the global concern that its invasion has caused. At this point, a Grandiose international summit, drawing Government leaders from all parts of the world, is no substitute for responsible national action and serious diplomatic negotiation.

—USICA.

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MOSCOW COMMENT

Brzezinski

The newspaper *Newsday* has carried its Washington correspondent Clurfeld's article on US President, National Security adviser Zbigniew Brzezinski. On a bookshelf in Brzezinski's office in the White House, says the article, side by side with dummy intercontinental missiles stands, sword in

hand, a black plastic figurine of the vicious god of war from another Hollywood hit. Many in Washington visualise Brzezinski as a kind of war symbol of the Carter administration, writes the *Newsday*. It was none other than Brzezinski who went this winter to the Khyber Pass at the Pakistani-Afghan border, took a gun and aimed at Afghanistan. To add, he declared in his recent interview that a nuclear war between the United States and the Soviet Union would not mean an end to civilization and that if there was anyone who stated the opposite he "talked nonsense."

According to many persons who know him, points out the article, he has a passion for trouble-making says one of his former associates: It has always seemed to me that Brzezinski would like to lead a state coup against some developing country. He won't mind toppling a petty government. In the words of L. Gelb, a former State Department official who had many fierce arguments with Brzezinski there is no doubt that the national security adviser wants to use force.

From the first days of the Carter tenure, continues the *Newsday*, Brzezinski has seen his mission in bringing more toughness to the President's foreign policy. In practice, it has taken the form of Brzezinski becoming the most staunch government advocate of military formulas for any international conflicts. Force exists to be used; so, one should use it, that is important, says Brzezinski.

He failed when he campaigned for a military *coup d'etat* to save the Shah's throne in Iran and for US armed interference in the events in the Shaba province in Zaire. But in the recent period his views have been taking the upper hand, notes the *Newsday*. As testified by top government officials, Brzezinski was the most vigorous supporter of the abortive attempt to rescue the US hostages in Iran. Today he is urging its repetition.

As it becomes clear from the article, the national security adviser's raging anti-Sovietism has largely damaged Soviet-American relations. Brzezinski's persistent efforts to slow down the SALT-2 process have finally led to its stagnation. He also worked for the discontinuation of grain and high technology deliveries to the Soviet Union. In the opinion of US State Department experts on Soviet

affairs, it is Brzezinski who is responsible for these White House decisions which have proved to be most pernicious for Soviet-American relations, adds the newspaper.

Touching upon Brzezinski's position after Vance's resignation, the *Newsday* writes that he will not lose his major influence on President Carter and that it is believed he will have furious polemics with new Secretary of State Edmund Muskie, which will finally end in a conflict.

—Pravda-APN

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AT U.N.

Afghan Protest

New York, May 20,

The American authorities are creating obstacles to the normal activity of Afghanistan's permanent mission at the United Nations, thus violating the commitments assumed by the United States as host country of the international organization. In a verbal note to the United Nations Secretary-General, the permanent representative of Afghanistan draws attention to this impermissible practice of discrimination on the part of the United States authorities.

It was only after several requests that a visa for New York was issued in March last to Farid Zarif, who had been appointed Counsellor at Afghanistan's mission at the United Nations, the note points out. In defiance of generally accepted practice he was issued only a non-diplomatic visa, at that. This diplomat encountered fresh difficulties in Guyana, where he travelled for an international conference. Guided by purely political considerations, the United States embassy in that country refused to issue a visa for his return to New York.

These actions by the United States authorities, the note points out, contradict the commitments of the host country under which it must not create obstacles to the travel of representatives of member countries to the United Nations, irrespective of the relations between the United States and other member countries of the community. Afghanistan's

permanent representative requested the United Nations Secretary-General to take appropriate steps to remedy this impermissible situation when diplomats cannot properly discharge their function:.

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RANDOM JOTTINGS

by Rambler

Carter Mania—1

THERE WAS A TIME, not so long ago when people throughout the world had begun to respect new trends in American foreign policy. Kennedy, Johnson, later Nixon and Ford had slowly but surely edged away from Dulles-McCarthy cold war aggressive imperatives of the fifties and moved towards detente. SALT I had been signed and SALT II was in the process of being negotiated. The nights of Third World countries were recognised and the Non-aligned Movement was no longer damned as "immoral". Then came Carter, Brzezinski and the cold warriors of the Tri lateral Commission. And today we have a world that has been thrust right back into the heartland of a new cold war on a nuclear dimensional level. Torn between the need to maintain a facade of detente and peace-ability and the Brzezinski madness to encircle, contain and liquidate "communism" for all time, Carter has bungled his way from one mistake to another. And his bungling has become worse after he adopted the Deng Xioping tactic of "teaching" a lesson" to nations that do not toe the Carter line.

Carter wanted to teach the Iranians a lesson and moved a Task Force into the Indian Ocean. After the students had captured the US embassy with all its classified secrets and 50 odd hostages, he declared that he would teach the Iranians a lesson even if they released the hostages. Before he taught the Iranians a lesson, he thought he could kill several birds with one stone by punitive action in Afghanistan with the help of Hafizullah Amin, but the Soviets outwitted him. Then he wanted to teach Russians a lesson. He placed a grain embargo and ordered a boycott of the Olympic Summer Games in Moscow. The grain em-

bargo has not been effective and the boycott has not won the support he expected. The French have now told him that the boycott has backfired.

IN THE MIDST OF THIS came one of the biggest US *faux pas* in recent times, namely, the vote in Security Council condemning Israeli settlements in Arab lands and then backtracking on it calling it a mistake. "A remarkable exercise in candor" was how the US Ambassador to the UN, Mr. McHenry, described Carter's explanations about this "mistake". N. Ravi writing for the *Hindu* said: "But neither politicians here nor the leaders abroad were impressed. 'Coward', 'A Toy in Israel's Hands' were some of the epithets hurled at Mr. Carter in West Asian countries whom the vote was intended to please in the first place. And even after the explanation, the Israeli Cabinet denounced the US vote, declaring 'it gives rise to deep resentment and strong protest among the people of Israel'. The US had 'the worst of both worlds', as Mr. McHenry admitted. Indeed, no single incident during Mr. Carter's term has hurt US foreign policy more than the backtracking on the UN vote. It brought out at once the enormous power of the Jewish lobby and showed that it would be difficult for any administration to back out of an embarrassing and total commitment to an Israel which continues to defy world opinion. 'Incredible bungling', said Senator Henry Jackson and almost everyone within and outside the Administration agreed with him. The Senate Foreign Relations Committee was quick to launch a hearing into the whole affair. How exactly the US came to vote for the UN resolution that condemned Israel's policy of creating Jewish settlements in the occupied Arab lands including East Jerusalem has not been explained authoritatively. But a fairly clear picture emerges when various accounts are pieced together. What triggered the apparent shift in US policy was the Israeli Cabinet's recent decision to create Jewish settlements in the ancient Arab city of Hebron. The move angered the Secretary of State, Mr. Vance, and so upset President Carter that he threatened to teach Israel a lesson."

ONCE AGAIN Carter had wanted to teach a lesson—this time to Israel—and he has had to pay dearly for this because the Jewish lobby

and the Jewish vote in the US is a powerful one. The way the lesson was taught and its aftermath makes interesting reading: "... . . . That was to be in the form of a positive vote in the UN for a resolution condemning Israel's settlements policy. The US had in the past abstained on similar resolution. However, in the Security Council, the Arabs had taken a tough stand, and were calling not just for a halt to future settlements but for the dismantling of existing settlements as well, and were also demanding that Israel vacate Eastern Jerusalem which it occupied after the 1977 war with Jordan. The US was not prepared to go that far and as the Carter administration pondered its move, the Security Council voting was postponed. According to some accounts, President Carter discussed the resolution with Mr. Vance and indicated that the US could vote in favour of the resolution if there was no reference to Jerusalem, an extremely sensitive subject in Israel. Mr. Vance understood this to mean that one para in the resolution that specifically dealt with Jerusalem and called on Israel to vacate the eastern part of the city and dismantle the Jewish settlements there, had to be removed, before the US could vote for it. He then instructed the ambassador at the UN, Mr. McHenry, to negotiate for the deletion of this paragraph. As for the call to dismantle the existing Israeli settlements on the West Bank, Mr. McHenry was asked to try to remove that as well. But even if that was not possible, he was to vote for the resolution and express reservations about dismantling existing settlements.

"Mr. McHenry succeeded in getting the paragraph on Jerusalem removed from the resolution and then voted in favour, expressing reservations about the call to dismantle existing Israeli settlements. However, besides the one paragraph dealing specially with Jerusalem, the original resolution had contained no less than seven references to the city, describing it as occupied Arab and Palestinian territory. These still remained in the final version that was passed. The Jewish lobby in the US was up in arms. The Israeli Ambassador in Washington, Mr. Evron, called on Mr. Vance and threatened that his Government might not proceed with the talks on Palestinian autonomy, a development that

would shatter the West Asian peace accord that remains the centrepiece of Mr. Carter's foreign policy achievements. It was only after vehement protests started coming in from Israel and from Jewish groups in the US that Mr. Carter realised that the resolution had gone much farther than he had been prepared to go. He then hurriedly issued a statement that the vote had been a mistake, the result of a failure in communications within his administration. He went on to say that his instructions had been to abstain if the resolution contained references to Jerusalem. The next day Mr. Vance accepted the full responsibility for the voting. Perhaps this served to soften the criticism a bit, for few politicians in the US would wish to be hard on the gentlemanly Secretary of State." This is only one more instance where Carter's policies and strategies had backfired on the US.

CARTER'S BUNGLING OVER IRAN was even more colossal. He had ignored the threats by militants to take over the US embassy and also capture hostages "if the Shah was admitted to the USA"—who would dare touch the US Carter had thought. But the students did. They did so because of Carter's stupid decision to admit the Shah on the pretext of illness. Waving the big stick, sending naval task forces, threatening a blockade and economic sanctions and the like failed to intimidate Iran. Then he tried the strategy of inviting Khomeini to join him in a *Jehad* to fight the atheistic Soviets in Afghanistan (by raising a false hue and cry that the Russians were on the verge of invading Iran and the Gulf States)—but before he launched the new Islamic-Christian crusade against Communism he had hoped that the hostages would be released.

But the Iranians refused to swallow this bait. Even the head of the UAE has publicly proclaimed that the Gulf States did not want US military protection. The Brzezinski strategy, which Carter had adopted, sought to build an arc of Islamic States around the Soviet Union and to use fundamentalist Islamic revivalism to lead a holy war against Communism. The pivot of this arc was Pakistan which was expected to be the connecting link between the Islamic States and China which has used its anti-Soviet slogans and policies to form an axis with the cold warriors in the US. From April 1978, when the left-oriented Taraki revolu-

tion took place in Afghanistan, it is now admitted by US commentators, that Pakistan was used as a base by the US and China to subvert the new regime in Kabul. The Soviets had intervened in the nick of time to prevent Hafizullah Amin from selling out the revolution lock, stock and barrel—and this made Carter to raise a global hue and cry about invasion and aggression.

IN LESS THAN TEN WEEKS, Pakistan seems to have second thoughts of playing the Carter-Brzezinski game. DPA and UNI reports from Islamabad on March 7 stated: "Rejecting US plans to ensure its security, Presidential adviser for foreign affairs to Gen. Zia ul-Haq, Agha Shahi said that Pakistan believed that Moscow could make a positive contribution towards the prosperity and economic well being of the people of Pakistan. In a major foreign policy speech delivered at a convention of local councillors Mr. Shahi disclosed that Islamabad had officially conveyed to Washington that it was 'not interested' in the 400 million dollars offered in military and economic assistance by the United States and a congressional affirmation of the 'executive' security agreement signed by the two countries in 1959. Mr. Shahi said, "Acceptance of the US offer would have detracted from rather than enhanced, our security. Also we could not ignore the fact that US sensitivity to Indian reactions appeared to be determining the size and nature of the aid package." President Zia ul-Haq in an interview with a West German magazine on March 9 had said very much the same thing as Shahi—that the US aid offer to his nation 'did not meet our requirements' and would have brought the country 'the enmity of the Soviet Union.' Gen. Zia said Pakistan needed ten times that amount to solve some of her problems.

If Pakistan persists in this new attitude it will be a major blow to Carter. And the British attempt to save the situation ignited by Brzezinski by suggesting a "neutral" Afghanistan has failed to get off the ground. The *International Herald Tribune* on February 28 concluded an editorial that examined a proposal to neutralise Afghanistan with the words: ".....And what about the Afghans? Has anyone asked them if they want to be neutral? Whatever the super-power consideration, some attention must be paid to the interests and

the wishes of the citizens of the battle-ground." China does not want neutralisation. And the British have already begun to beat a retreat by making distinctions between "neutralisation" and "being neutral"—and saying that they did not want "neutralisation" but only a way to ensure that Afghanistan was "neutral".

The Carter-Thatcher strategy has begun to collapse even before it got off the ground and the Brzezinski arc of crisis is already in shambles.

It is time that Carter realised that the cold war, like crime, does not pay.

Take another matter. *The Economist* of January 19 had this to say: "Carter declared embargo on exports of grain and technology to the Soviet Union and asked western Europe to do the same. European governments have got cold feet about such limited embargoes in technological exports, partly for fear that the trade confrontation may spread.....-trade between the rich capitalist countries and Russia (plus its satellites) is only just over 2 per cent of world trade. But in 1978 that meant exports worth 40 billion dollars. That is an awful lots of jobs.....Some European governments are worried because Russia has a handy weapon of retaliation, against Europe at least. Its exports of oil (mostly refined products) make up 8 per cent of CECD Europe's total of imports and nearly 20 per cent for a few European countries like Austria."

Will the USA at the next Presidential Election elect a President who will not bungle in this way?

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SOVIET VIEW

New Chinese Missile

by Yuri Kovalenko

Moscow, May 25,

Peking has launched a missile into the southern Pacific. Therefore, China now possesses an intercontinental ballistic missile, which, according to specialists, can cover up to 12,000 km. This salvo, fired from Chinese territory, triggered off an echo of anxiety and protests

not only in neighbouring countries like Japan, but also in states located far from the missile's trajectory.

After China exploded its first nuclear bomb in 1964, Peking, obstinately refusing to sign the Moscow Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons, made the development of nuclear warheads and missiles the most important of its "modernisations". It has already supplied its armed forces with ICBMs with a range of up to 7000km. What are the aims behind the new Chinese missile? There are several. The new weapons in Peking's hands will, of course, create additional difficulties in achieving an international agreement on the limitation of strategic arms and will impart a fresh impulse to a new round in the arms race.

It also goes without saying that China will use its updated missile arsenal for bringing even greater political pressure to bear on other countries, including its immediate neighbours—the countries in Indo-China and the ASEAN states, which belong, from the point of view of the Peking strategists, within the sphere of their own "vital interests".

The existence of new long-range missiles equipped with nuclear warheads makes people apprehensive that the Maoist concept "on the inevitability of war" may, on Peking's initiative and with direct complicity of the Washington strategists, be translated into reality, with all the consequences stemming therefrom.

When one of the apprehensive members of the Japanese Diet posed the question as to what aims Peking pursued in expanding its military capability, Hua Guofeng, Chairman of the PRC State Council, "explained" that the aims were "strategic above all."

—Pravda—APN

NEXT WEEK

● POWER CUTS—WHY?

—by R. Kahawita

● POLICE-PUBLIC RELATIONS

—In Jaffna

● CUBAN REFUGEES

—Carter Mania?

WINDOW ON INDIA—30

Indira & Sanjay

by R. Varadachari

PTI Correspondent in Colombo

INDIA IS ONCE AGAIN POISED to play an increasingly important and influential role in world affairs, and especially in the Non-aligned Movement. This is the impression of many western and other observers and commentators who have been assessing the impact of the exit of President Tito from the world stage. They noted that both Soviet President Mr. Leonid Breznev and many western leaders like West German Chancellor, Mr. Helmut Schmidt had, in their conversations with Prime Minister Indira Gandhi in Belgrade had stressed the possibility and desirability of India playing an important part in international affairs, particularly in reducing international tensions. The Chinese Premier, Mr. Hua Guo-feng, had also acknowledged that a stable Government, which had resulted from the last general elections in India, was very beneficial for building up the country to play an important role in world affairs.

For many foreign correspondents who attended a Press Conference by Mrs. Gandhi in Belgrade when she went to attend Tito's funeral, it was their first meeting with the Indian Prime Minister. Mrs. Gandhi had not been particularly admired by the Western Press in the aftermath of the Emergency, but one British Correspondent, based in an East European capital, said after the Press Conference that he was greatly impressed by Mrs. Gandhi. A Yugoslav woman information official commented: "she is like Phoenix, rising from the ashes". Some Western Correspondents commented "her quite exterior does not suggest any ruthlessness that is talked about her". Mrs. Gandhi left her incisive questioners at the Belgrade Press Conference in little doubt that the Non-aligned Movement, despite its difficulties and problems, was going to be strengthened, because non-aligned countries believed that if their own independence was strong and stable, then inter-dependence could work, and ultimately the world could survive if there was that type of inter-dependence. Significantly, both

Soviet and Chinese leaders had told Mrs. Gandhi that they attached great importance to the Non-aligned Movement for the cause of world peace.

In London, a British expert in sub-continent affairs, Peter Lyon, has said in a radio interview that India had always been an important member of the Non-aligned Movement and noted currently she was the Chairman of the Group of 77. He observed that there was no doubt Indian diplomats had great professionalism and skill and Mrs. Gandhi had a lot of experience in dealing with super-powers. Mr. Lyon added that Indian leadership had been rather oscillating, never taking politically strong leadership in the Third World. A woman of determination and consummate skill, Mrs. Gandhi would instil respect among the other non-aligned countries and before long step into Tito's shoes.

Another leading western commentator on Indian affairs, Jonathan Power, has noted that with the death of President Tito it is probable that Mrs. Gandhi will take over the helm of the moderate wing of the non-aligned movement. According to him, will she move it closer to President Fidel Castro's more radical wing or will she continue where Tito left off, fighting to keep its distance from the super-powers, is the crucial question. Power opines that a lot will depend on how seriously the West treats India. In his penetrating analysis, Power says that the first priority for western diplomacy is to show that it can disentangle its relations with China from its relations with the Indian subcontinent. This means accepting that India is the dominant power in South Asia and should be closely consulted before any step is taken that might change that balance, for example, arms sales to Pakistan or China. It also means that the West should accept at face value Mrs. Gandhi's word that she has no interest in dismembering Pakistan or developing a nuclear weapons programme. Also the West must show that it is sensitive to India's need to balance China by keeping its links with the Soviet Union in working order. Power feels that the re-birth of Indian leadership of the Non-aligned Movement should give the West time to act with balanced poise. It can, if it is sensible, harness Indian influence to seeking not only regional stability but a creative input to the

range of issues that divide North and South. He feels that it is a myth to regard Mrs. Gandhi as pro-Russian. She is nobody's fool. She has already realized that she took the Russians too much at their word over their intentions in Afghanistan. Power feels that India is a friend worth having for the West. WHILE THE WORLD PRESS envisages a pivotal role for Mrs. Gandhi in the non-aligned forum and world arena in the wake of the demise of President Tito, she is trying to consolidate her power base internally in the mini-general elections which began day before yesterday in nine Indian States. It will be the first test of her popularity after her spectacular comeback in the general elections of last January. Nearly 245 million people or two voters in three in India are eligible to take part in the two-day poll which ends tomorrow. New assemblies will be elected in these nine states which were placed under central rule by her after sacking the opposition-run government in them on the ground that they no longer represented popular will. It was on the same reasoning that the previous Janata Government dismissed the state governments run by the Indira Congress on its coming to power and ordered fresh elections to clinch a victory. With the opposition dismally fragmented, Mrs. Gandhi, according to political analysts, is poised to repeat the Janata performance and gain control of these states.

At present Mrs. Gandhi's party rules only five of India's twenty-two states. Calling on people to vote for the hand, her party's election symbol, Mrs. Gandhi has been telling election meetings across the country that her own hands would be tied in New Delhi if her supporters were not elected in the States. She has been pleading with her audiences that unless there are strong and stable Governments in states co-operating with the national government in New Delhi, development plans could not be implemented. Opposition leaders who have failed due to personal animosities and incompatibility to forge a common front against her say that she has failed miserably so far, particularly in checking prices and restoring law and order. Mrs. Gandhi has retorted that it will take more time to clear the mess, she says, she has inherited from the Janata and Lok Dal Governments. The Opposition's main refrain is that Mrs.

Gandhi is attempting to foist a "dictatorial and dynastic" rule on the country and the voters should quash her ambitions by rejecting her party. Mrs. Gandhi maintains that this worn-out charge has already been rejected by the people who had given her a massive mandate in the last general elections.

About 16,000 candidates, including 352 women, are contesting the 2,230 Assembly seats at stake. Except in southern Tamil Nadu where it has an alliance with the Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam of Mr. M. Karunanidhi former Chief Minister, Mrs. Gandhi's party is contesting virtually all the seats and has already won two in which no opposition candidate stood. Of the seven other national parties, only the Bharatiya Janata Party, dominated by the former Hindu Revivalist Jan Sangh, has entered candidates for more than half the seats. The Lok Dal of the former caretaker Prime Minister Mr. Charan Singh, is concentrating its efforts in the North Indian States of Uttar Pradesh and Bihar where he has considerable backing from the "kulaks". The other national parties are dispirited and are relying on the popularity of other individual candidates in their respective constituencies to remain in the political scene.

ELECTIONEERING in general had been on a low key mainly because of scorching heat and lack of tough challenge to Mrs. Gandhi and were confined mostly to early morning and late evening meetings. A good section of the Indian mass media maintains that the 33-year-old younger son of Mrs. Gandhi, Sanjay, storming his way to the centre of the Indian political scene, is pinning great hopes on the elections to boost his career further. The poll in the nine states, according to them, could give Sanjay the political muscle in achieving what his critics see as his ambition to succeed Mrs. Gandhi. One Indian political commentator has observed: "The pattern of distribution of tickets of the Indira Congress has clearly demonstrated Sanjay's emergence as the most powerful and undisputed leader of the ruling party."

According to the popular fortnightly, *India Today*, in northern Uttar Pradesh where Sanjay is trying to establish himself, about 290 of the 425 Indira Congress candidates, directly or indirectly, had his approval. Every second candidate in Punjab, every fourth in

Maharashtra and Rajasthan, every fifth in Bihar and every sixth in Gujerat, is said to be his loyalists. A widespread belief among his own partymen is that if the Indira Congress wins, Sanjay will decide who heads the State Governments. The continued ascendancy of Sanjay as what the opposition leaders call as "extra-constitutional power centre" with no matching responsibility in the party and the government has led to rumblings even within Mrs. Gandhi's party, particularly among old guards who find their influence waning. The first senior Party member to declare war over this issue was the former Secretary-General, Mr. H. N. Bahaguna, influential in Uttar Pradesh, the largest Indian state, which has provided four of India's five Prime Ministers. Piqued after his supporters were denied nominations in the assembly elections and more that he had a glorified party post with no authority or influence, Mr. Bahaguna has quit the party and his seat in Parliament, accusing Mrs. Gandhi of allowing Sanjay to dominate the party and government. He has said "The real man in the Congress (I) and the Government today is Sanjay Gandhi".

Indian television authorities refused to allow Mr. Yogendra Sharma of the pro-Moscow Communist Party of India to record his election broadcast unless he deleted a reference to Sanjay. They relented after a furor in the Indian newspapers. Mr. Sharma's script had said "An impression is gaining ground among people that Sanjay Gandhi is being groomed to succeed Mrs. Gandhi as the next Prime Minister" It is the talk among diplomatic circles in New Delhi that Moscow backs Mrs. Gandhi and Washington Sanjay. He is in the thick of political controversy and Mrs. Gandhi maintains that her son, as any other Indian citizen, has his inherent right to take to politics. She has however denied the charge that she is trying "dynastic rule" on the country.

Mr. Bahaguna's exit from the Indira Congress has deprived Mrs. Gandhi of the coveted two-thirds majority in the Lok Sabha, the lower house of Indian Parliament. With his resignation and six others of his followers, her strength has dropped from 353 to 346 in the 524-member house. However, she will not face any major problem because of the support of the 16-member Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam which supports her party in the

Parliament. If she registers spectacular support in the Assembly elections, her strength might further increase in Parliament because of expected cross-overs to her party from the opposition ranks. But Sanjay issue is the central theme today. —SLBC Talk-30.5.80

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MIAMI

Human Rights

by Prometheus

THE FAMOUS AMERICAN WRITER Mark Twain once referred to the US as the United Lynching States. The unrest that has swept through Miami's black ghetto, is but a good example of this. What sparked off the Black unrest and white racist repression was the beating to death of a Black Man by four white policemen. An all white jury acquitted the accused on all charges and said they were completely innocent. Mark Twain's observations proved correct. The federal government and local authorities were had the firm intention to quickly subdue the spontaneous outbreak of dissatisfaction and prevent the racial unrest from spreading to other American cities.

During the disturbances, televised reports often showed scenes of how the "rioters" were being dealt with, of Blacks lying prostrate on the ground, dogs tearing at their leashes, policemen with pistols and National Guardsmen holding automatic rifles ready against the background of burning city blocks. The local authorities did their utmost to teach the Blacks a "lesson." The ghetto, which is to the North-east of the city, has been encircled by a ring of National Guardsmen. The local policemen, who had many accounts to settle with the blacks, shot at everyone who appeared outside this ring of isolation.

More than two dozen killed, over four hundred wounded. Newspaper headlines report the casualties and demolitions of the city are shown on TV. According to the latest reports, following Miami, racial disturbances have broken out also in Tampa, Florida and in Wrights ville, Geotgia. The wave of Black unrest keeps mounting.

Why?

Long ago, a report by the Presidential Commission for Civil Disorders stated that White Racism bears the main responsibility for the explosive situations in US cities. Repression of the Blacks is the fuse that sets off explosions. In Miami, the verdict of "Not Guilty" to the policemen who killed a black for violation of traffic rules, became a fuse. In the face of such utter juridicial injustice, the whole world sees one face of US democracy,

TEN KILLED IN MIAMI RIOTS

At least 10 people were killed and scores injured in all-night riots and arson that began after the acquittal of four white ex-policeman charged with beating a black man to death. Police said the violence, primarily in black business and residential areas, appeared to be tapering off at sunrise. Five hundred National Guard (State) militia troops were called out to help local police. Within the city limits alone, police said, three people were shot dead and three dozen were being treated for bullet wounds. More than 100 people were treated for other injuries and nearly one dozen of them were listed in critical condition. The seven other deaths were reported in suburban hospitals. A spokesman for the Country Sheriff said one victim had been mutilated his ears and tongue cut off. One of the dead had been shot as he attempted to shoot a security guard. Police said they had arrested 86 people by dawn—mainly on charges of looting and disturbing the peace.

Police said the violence began after the announcement yesterday in Umpa that an all-white jury had acquitted four white Miami-area Sheriff's deputies who had stood trial for the death last Deemcber of Authur McDuffile, a black insurance executive. The four had been dismissed from duty when she charges were filed against them. After the verdicts were announced more than 2,000 blacks converged on a Miami justice building, smashing windows and glass doors. Most of the violence appeared to be aimed at business owned by blacks and at Government buildings, police said. Several retail businesses were destroyed by fire. The police reported nine major fires still burning out of control early this morning.

—Reuter

and its empty claim as a world champion of Human rights.

Martin Luther King, the well known US Civil Rights fighter, stressed that the blacks' protests show that American society is affected by the dangerous cancer of hatred and racism. "We are not the cause of this cancer, we have only uncovered the tumor" he quite rightly pointed out. American racism has both historical and economic causes. At first, there was slavery and the cheap labour of immigrants brought from Africa in shackles. Racism emerged only as an ideological substantiation of the institute of slavery. It was the attempt to morally justify the system of receiving profits that brought about the doctrine of white superiority, pointed out Martin Luther King.

AFTER THE ABOLITION OF SLAVERY, Racism remained an unhealing wound of American society. Decades of the blacks' struggle for their rights produced certain results, but they are woefully inadequate. The Blacks live worse than the whites in every regard. Unemployment is especially high among black youth. As the writer James Baldwin said, "to be a Black and a conscientious person in the United States, means to be nearly always in fury."

On the other hand, the blacks are facing another obstacle, the "white boomerang", or the negative attitude of the white population to the "riots" connected with the blacks' protests. The emergence of this boomerang is also explained by the fact that it is one thing to formally equalize the blacks and the whites in civil rights and remove "White Only" signboards, and another thing to help ensure that the blacks have equal rights to work, education and good housing. This reveals the roots of racism sweeping the US today. Quite a few white American still believe that the "niggers should know their place."

Black ghettos in US cities have become such places. A US paper recently published a cartoon—the wife of a prosperous rich man looks out of the window of her fashionable apartment, sees Black ghettos and asks her husband, when the problem of ghettos will be solved. Without tearing himself from the newspaper, the husband answers that

ghettos are not a problem, but a **SOLUTION!** For a number of years now the material position of the people in the ghettos has been growing from bad to worse. They have found themselves out of jobs and more and more often, of late. Among the white population of Miami, for instance, unemployment account, for 9 per cent, whereas among the blacks it is nearing 20 per cent now. It is becoming even harder for a black youth to receive vocational training today.

AFTER THE RACE RIOTS in the sixties, the US Govt. sought to create the impression that the "problem of Blacks" had lost its acuteness and that it was on the way of being resolved. But, in fact, racism has never disappeared, but has assumed different forms. Racism began again to clearly manifest itself in the most diverse spheres as soon as the country's economic position began to worsen. The Blacks were the first to lose their jobs and the last to find work. Acts of terror and discrimination against the Black population have become more frequent.

The disturbances in Miami have obviously shown that the Carter administration has done nothing, nor intends to do anything to improve the life of the Blacks. The only thing one can see emanating from Washington are demagogical appeals for justice addressed to other countries and peoples and lectures on the vital question of Human Rights. The incidents in Miami shows once again that the Black Americans do not accept the solution of "confinement to a ghetto". Neither do they want to remain as second class citizens. But the US govt. seems unable to end this system. Why? The US president has not yet answered an open letter to him sent by James Baldwin in 1977. Baldwin wrote that too many American Blacks are in jails, go hungry and cannot find a single door open to them.

And so, the US harps on human rights. Florida hypocritically welcomes Cuban "refugees" who came to the "promised land." They do not yet know what this land is like.



Agriculture & Inflation

by R. Kahawita

TO GET A MINIMUM of 80/85% of the acreage under production annually and hit a target of 50 bushels per acre, we do not have to deal with inflation. What is required is hard work and sweat. To achieve the target there must be hard work by the bureaucrats side by side with the cultivators. Then only the bureaucrats will realise the problems of the cultivator and how unrealistic the forecasting is and the advice tendered to the policy makers. If we deploy one tenth of the "officials" now engaged in other development activities and divert a fraction of that expenditure to maintenance of existing Irrigation and Agricultural Schemes, and the development of village tanks, we should be able to contain the effects of inflation on the C.O.L. of the "Common man". Eighty percent of our people belong to that class.

There is no such effort today. Though there are many institutions set up to give "aid and advise" to the cultivators. But such institutions are really a hinderance than a help to the cultivator. Without institutional interference our cultivators will do much better. *If they have to be there then the officials must meet, discuss and settle the problems in the cultivator's plot rather than in a room in an office far away from the cultivator's field.* This is where hard work and devotion to duty is called for from the officials; to work as a team side by side with the cultivators. This is how we can achieve results to produce more to stave off inflation.

All our ills cannot be put down to inflation. It is only an excuse to cover our own short-comings. In this effort we need not wait for this to be completed or that to be done. We can get down to the job immediately as all the pre-requisites are there to push through a cultivation. The immediate answer to the problem is to divert surplus staff and the money now wasted on the other development projects, to food production during 1980 and reduce the import of cereals.

The new prices announced for bread, flour, sugar and rice are far too high in relation to the minimum wages fixed by the various wages boards. This is hard on the masses—particularly in the rural areas. We are working with them and we know how difficult for them to get their basic food items within their capacity to earn. This should be the criterion in price fixing.

TO DEVELOP AND ORGANISE a food production drive, there are many "policy blocks". The most difficult one to overcome is the money spent at District Minister level through the "Decentralized Budget". In keeping with the pace set at the Centre, bulk of this money is spent on buildings—demolishing of existing buildings, cutting and transporting earth, levelling and preparation of sites, cutting down valuable trees and production for housing and roads. I know of six acres of good cultivated land and the cultivators were disposed to make room for "the 20 house programme"—these houses are not meant for the families dehousing either.

In the present context of our economy, this is sheer vandalism. Bulk of the transport facilities is now engaged in transport of earth, bricks said, firewood etc. etc. for the construction trades. Transport of fertilizer for a production is not there. *Why we should concentrate on food production is obvious from the Central Bank Report. According to their findings, our effort in National Production has dropped from 6.3% to 4.2% that is you and we are poorer today by 2.1%. The Agricultural Sector, where we are interested in now, contributed only 8% of the 4.2% above, where as in 1978 it contributed 18%. Of course the previous Government will claim and take credit for the 1978 effort. It is a reflection of the 1976-77 effort.*

If we can rely on these figures, it is obvious we are losing the grip on Agricultural production. Even without these figures we feel it in the market place when we go to buy onions, chillies, potatoes, vegetables and local fruits—Pineapples at Rs. 6/- a fruit, oranges at Rs. 2/50 per fruit, a papaw at Rs. 5/- a fruit, mangoes at 2/- a fruit. None of these require intensive cultivation or man power. They are almost "jungle produce". Yet the prices are high compared to an imported apple at

Rs. 5/- each or a Jaffna orange at Rs. 8/-. These prices are based on a high standard of living and high wages of farmers of those countries. We are nowhere near it.

THE SIGNIFICANT GROWTH is in the construction and mining sector—18% though it has dropped from 21% in 1978. This drop is not due to a change of policy but due “to natural causes”—supply of construction materials and paucity of trained artisans. We are pushing ahead with a brick and mortar prosperity all over the Island—demolishing, cutting, levelling transporting, road widening etc.—everything possible is being done to draw the cultivators away from their holdings—owners of 1.5 million acres of paddy land are being drawn away from their fields while we are trying to settle new comers on new land.

This is where the Government has got confused as to what the people need most today “Food at a price within their reach.” There are long term plans and short term plans. Short term plans are meant to give relief to the masses within our term of office and then seek their support for another term. Long term plans are at a national level and can never be used as a political level to gain popularity. We have gone through this since 1947. Our concept of democracy has not developed to that level yet. It is “a full stomach democracy”. “Fill my stomach you will have my vote”, is the request.

Even at a political level we are not quite mature yet to distinguish between National priorities and parochial priorities. A good illustration of what I mean is the “Olympian ruin” we face when we got out of Colombo over the New Kelanlya bridge. This was started in 1965-1970, abandoned by the 1971-77 government and it is still there as a monument to our “Political immaturity”. The work was started on an International loan and has been abandoned to date. Who repays the loan and what benefits have the people of the country gained by it?

This has a direct relation to the C.O.L. under which the common man is groaning. This has nothing to do with global inflation. This is inflation due to an immature understanding of our responsibilities.

Concluded.

ELAYAPERUMA DOCTRINE

Joker In The Pack

by Jayantha Somasundaram

OUR PARLIAMENT doesn't have anything to say. Our Press is too afraid to say anything. We are ruled by a Bureaucracy.

The SLBC reported a few days ago that Transport Secretary Mahinda Elayaperuma has warned the public that they will be severely dealt with in the event of their touching bus crews. Enhanced punishments are to be sought for those who trifle with the crews. Perhaps we might end up with an Elayaperuma Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Bus Crews. The day may not be far off when a heated argument with a bus driver or conductor could mean that you could have your hands cut off or your toe nails extracted.

Further, the Police are to be prevailed upon to refuse bail to those who fall foul of bus crews. The next time a bus conductor is peevish, all he has to do is walk into the nearest police station and say that citizen Junius Jayewardene or citizen Ranasinghe Premadasa has been thumbing his nose at him. And the police will lock up the citizen and throw away the key.

The Daily News reported last week that M. D. Kitchilan, Chairman of the Colombo North Regional Transport Board, is also demanding that assaults on bus crews be made non-bailable offenses.

What is all this in aid of?

The fact of the matter is that not withstanding the record levels at which the economy is growing, utilities that the average person enjoys are deteriorating very rapidly. This applies to transport, medical care, water supply, electricity, gas, telecommunication, etc.

Now this is not an accident. It is merely a reiteration of the kind of policy that the UNP has followed for thirty-four years. They seek to destroy public services and replace them with private enterprise.

The bus and rail services are being allowed to die a natural death in order to protect the private transport and freight services. The UNP did not earn a reputation for being a party of bus mudalalis for nothing.

But as these services deteriorate, it be-

comes necessary for the bureaucracy to protect itself from the wrath of the public. The day is not far off when irate commuters will strangle the bus conductor with the strap of his ticket machine and set fire to the driver with the alcoholic vapours of his own breath.

That people are putting up with the kind of bus and rail services that they are being provided with is a testimony to the patience of our people. But such patience as Elayaperuma envisages, is not a permanent facet of life. Like in South Korea recently, people in Sri Lanka too might decide to re-define democracy. To come to regard it as government where they call the tune and not where the politicians and the bureaucracy rule.

The reintroduction of private practice for government doctors has meant that the General Hospital services are fast disappearing. Doctors just don't find time to visit their wards. And soon B. C. Perera will have to come up with something on the lines of the *Elayaperuma Doctrine*. This one for government doctors, to prevent them being strangled with their own stethoscopes at the hands of infuriated patients.

Thus we see that Elayaperuma is not just a joker in the pack, but a farsighted bureaucrat who can see the long term effects of the policies of the Jayewardene Raj and the need to protect his young against the people. Soon the rest of the bureaucracy will be following suit. By then, making eyes at a traffic warden might also be a non bailable offence.



FILM FOCUS

KAMALAHASAN

South India's leading actor Shivaji Ganeshan who streaked into such a big mesmerising lead in the Tamil film world and has held it firmly for so many years now, that "After Shivaji, who?" has become a talking point in cinematic circles. It would appear that at long last someone is gradually closing the gap and gaining fast on the "Maestro", so much so that the newcomer is being referred to as the super-duper star of the South

already. He is none other than Kamalahasan who has graduated from smaller roles—remember *Arangetram* in his teenage days—to someone now sought after by Tamil, Telugu and Hindi Producers. He is known to have acted quite often in five films per day, rushing from one shift to another. He has scaled another record with seventeen releases in a year and four of them were released simultaneously on one particular day all over Tamil Nadu. Quite unlike Shivaji and Chief Minister M. G. Ramachandran who hitched themselves to political "wagons" to strengthen their sojourn as the "top", Kamalahasan is not interested in politics and adhors it. He has however a flair of sheedding a glow of the "West" in his artistry and embellishing it effortlessly with flawless English, which factor I believe, draws the present generation to him. There is absolutely no doubt, that more will be heard of him in the years ahead.

KALYANA RAMAN (Tamil)—This A.V.M. Production based on a story by Panchu Arunachalam and directed by N. Rangarajah stars actor Kamalahasan in dual roles. Opinion is however sharply divided as to whether this film is one of his best efforts, and while the "pros" have it in their favour that it registered a successful run in South India, the "cons" claim that it does not sustain the magnetism and pace reflected in Bharathi Raja's films such as *Niram Maratha Pookal* which however was considered a comparative failure in Madras. My observation however is that it is the Kamalahasan reputation that is pulling the crowds towards it, which wanes rather disappointingly as the story unreels. A family drift, a resultant separation of twin brothers, who grow up separately, one as a mental defective, and the other as a dynamic and dashing youngster respectively pilot the story in two stages. While the former meets a tragic and untimely death, at the hands of those who are after his wealth, the other goaded on by the physical manifestation in spirit of his dead brother, steps forward to harry and hound out the crooks. The versatility of Kamalahasan came into full play only as the innocent idiot, but declined sheepishly in his other role which sags into mediocrity to tease one's gullibility, and test the camera on its voyage of animation. I thought that actors Soundarajan who is now in Sri Lanka

with a drama troupe and V. K. Ramasamy supplemented the film with more convincing performances. This is a family film, provided your expectations remain within limits—Kamalahasan notwithstanding.

SIRIBO AIYA (Sinhalese)—Coming off the directional prowess of young Sunil Ariyaratne, who gave us the award winning "Sarungalee" in 1979, I thought this brilliant film tapped its acting material to the fill and squeezed out some fine performances. The threesome Joe Abeywickrema, Geetha Kumarasinghe and Vasanthi Cholurani added lustre convincingly to a love triangle that grew enmeshed in rural surroundings, with appropriate lyrics tuned on to the parallel background. The story turned the harsh teeth of the rural law, strengthened by envy and the evil tongue that is devastatingly let loose. Joe as the gay carter who shuttles his heart between the married Geetha and the village virgin Cholurani gives an award worthy performance. Together with the remarkable and sensuous sobriety of Geetha and the inborn innocence depicted by Churani who displayed it profusely by her countenance alone, I feel this film is heading for higher honours and recognition when the local "Oscars" go around next year. Its a gem of a film after a distressing spell, not to be missed by the future, and those whose cinematic tastes are discerningly high.

THE BLAZING FLOWER (English)—An Italian production in colour that packs all the cheap gimmicks that swing from violence to sex to attract the audience to its web. It nevertheless disappoints by a stereotyped course, that has been adequately scale by American films in the past decade. Recommended only for those who have time to laze around with.

James N. Benedict



SRI LANKA CHRONICLE

May 19 — 21

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

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

MONDAY, MAY 19: President J. R. Jayewardene told a massive public meeting at Biringiya on Saturday that the great educational revolution his government had set in motion was to provide equal opportunities in education—from the Kindergarten to the University—to every boy and girl in the country. The Minister for Colombo Hospitals, Mr. Ranjith Atapattu and the acting Minister of Health Mr. Premaratne Gunasekera yesterday appealed to minor employees of the Children's hospital, Borella to return to work; the employees had struck work after one of them was remanded by a Magistrate on a complaint of assault on a doctor. By January 1982 the Urban Development Authority's 70 million rupee showpiece market complex, in the heart of the Pettah, will stand as a monument to the national gains from accelerated development. There was a unique religious ceremony in the Maduru Oya camp of the accelerated Mahaweli development scheme when over 500 Tamilyouths led by their shramadana organiser Mr. K. Ganeshalingam offered forenoon dana and ataprikara to nearly one hundred Buddhist monks—CDN. The President Mr. J. R. Jayewardene has laid down priorities for national economic development; they are the accelerated Mahaweli project, the Investment Promotion Zones, Housing, population control and exports; these priorities were outlined by the President at a special meeting of Ministers held at his office last week—CDM. The proposed Open University of Sri Lanka will conduct four diploma and certificate

courses from July this year; the courses will be in science, mathematics, management studies, electrical technology and electronics and telecommunications technology, according to officials. All public performances to be staged during the Vesak season will first have to be cleared by public performances boards, specially constituted by civil administration authorities; this decision has been taken by the government following intelligence reports that attempts are being made to introduce political innuendo into stage plays and performances during the Vesak celebrations—*SU*. About eight million rupees worth of dried chillies have been imported from India; this was after domestic production specially in the Jaffna district had started and the 'season' was on—*DP*. The trade unions and workers are questioning why the government salary increase is not forthcoming; the government led by the President promised a salary increase in March or April of this year. A youth wing of the TULF is now trying to throw out present leadership of the TULF—*JD*.

TUESDAY, MAY 20: The strike by minor employees at the Children's Hospital (Lady Ridgeway) Borella, the de Soysa Maternity Hospital and the Colombo Eye Hospital was called off yesterday after the government's ultimatum to them that they would be dismissed if they do not report for work by today. The Health Department sent 65 nurses to the Colombo General Hospital to meet a severe shortage of nurses in the institution. A cabinet sub-committee, presided over by Prime Minister R. Premadasa, yesterday decided to upgrade the service conditions of workers in construction grades by providing them better facilities and ensuring continuity of employment. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs yesterday officially announced the appointment of three career diplomats as Ambassadors to China, Japan and West Germany; Mr. C. Mahendra, Director of the Publicity and Administration Divisions of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, has been appointed Ambassador to China in succession to Mr. Chitra Raja Dias Desinghe; Mr. W. Susantha Leslie de Alwis, Director, Economic Affairs Division of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, has been appointed Ambassador to Japan in succession to Mr. Bernard P. Tilakaratna; Miss Lakshmi Naganathan has been appointed Ambassador to West Germany in succession to Mr. C. W.

Pinto—*CDN*. Passports of 20 Sri Lankan Tamil youth who attempted recently to enter West Germany illicitly have been impounded by the Sri Lanka Government; the authorities acted on passed information on to the Government by the Government of West Germany that they were turned back when they attempted to enter that country illicitly—*CDM*. For many Sri Lankans down under the shining bubble of Australian goodwill burst recently through a cruel shaft of racial venom; thousands of phoney letters aimed against Lankans—letters purported to be circulars from the "Australian Department of Commonwealth Relations"—have sparked off a nationwide investigation by both Federal and New South Wales Police. Trade and Shipping Minister Lalith Athulathmudali stressed yesterday that no policies in Sri Lanka could last without the will of the people and the people had accepted the reality that the country, could not develop without foreign assistance. The Ceylon Tea Traders' Association has called upon the Government to clarify its policy in regard to the packeted tea industry; this follows the rescinding of a gazette notification which provided for enhanced incentive rates for exporters of packeted tea and tea bags—*SU*. In a bid to ease people's problems in the purchase of postage stamps, 10 stamp agents will be appointed in each district—*DP*. The Minister of Lands, Land Development and Mahaweli Development Mr. Gamini Dissanayake yesterday said that the population should be controlled for the development of the country and the good of future generations; the growth of population was competing with the speed of the different development projects and this is causing more problems he added—*VK*. The Deputy Minister of Higher Education, Mr. A. M. R. Atthanayake went as a special representative of President Jayewardene to Jaffna yesterday to find out the administrative as well as the Student's problems and grievances in the Jaffna campus; he returned in the evening—*EN*. Some members of government party itself have expressed surprise why Mr. Upali Wijewardene, Director General of the GCEC has not been removed on the recommendation of the Presidential Select Committee to Check on high appointments; the reason President has given for not removing Mr. Upali Wijewardene is that though the Select Committee decided that he was

not suitable to hold the post they have not reasons for this decision—ATH. The government is considering dissolving the 9 regional boards of the CTB and setting up a authority to manage the CTB—JD. The price of bread is to be increased by Re. 1/- according to well informed sources—DK. A new type of stone with which the demand for cement could be met has been found; a team of experts that investigated the cement used in Sigiriya fort have come up with this unique new method of producing cement using stones that were used to make cement at the time of building the Sigiriya Fort. About 2 million people who were not qualified to get food stamps have obtained food stamps according to a survey conducted by the food department—DV.

WEDNESDAY, MAY 21: Deputy Solicitor General Mr. Sunil de Silva yesterday told the Special Presidential Commission investigating charges against former Prime Minister Mrs. Sirima Bandaranaike that though she withdrew from the Commission on the last date (May 7) she had participated in the proceedings against her when she filed answer in April denying all the charges. With effect from today there will be two 2-hour all island power cuts from 6 a.m. to 8 a.m. and from 12 noon to 2 p.m. the Ministry of Power and Energy announced yesterday. The Open University of Sri Lanka which will be ceremonially opened by President J. R. Jayewardene on July 19 will not be second to any other traditional university now in existence, Professor Stanley Kalpage, Secretary, Ministry of Higher Education said yesterday. Admission of students to the six traditional universities will be finalised by the end of July this year when about 5,000 students will be selected for the new academic year which begins on October 1, Prof. Stanley Kalpage, Secretary to the Ministry of Higher Education said yesterday. All minor employees in the 3 hospitals in Colombo who struck work on Monday over the remanding of one of their colleagues by a Magistrate following a complaint of assault on a doctor will lose a day's pay, a spokesman for the Health Ministry said yesterday. The Sri Lanka Exports Development Board, will enter the cut flower and foliage plant export business to help Sri Lanka's exports of these commodities reach a target of 10 million US dollars (approximately Rs. 1160 million) at the end

of 1981. A new ministry called the Ministry of Transport Boards was created yesterday for the convenience of efficient management and to give a better transport service to the public, a Ministry spokesman said—CDN. The railway colour light system is in danger of packing up at any time because it is obsolete and neither new lights of this type nor spare parts for them can be obtained in any part of the world. Two hundred and five crocodile skins ready to be smuggled out of the Island and fifteen bags of ganja containing 150 lbs. each were discovered by the Pettah Police at Hultsdorf yesterday—CDM. The Attorney General's opinion on the constitutional dispute over the vacant Pottuvil second seat in Parliament has been communicated to the Electorate Commissioner M. A. Piyasekera; although both the Elections Commissioner and the Attorney-General were tight-lipped yesterday as to the details of the AG's opinion and it is learnt that the Attorney General Shiva Pasupathy has merely set out the law—SU. Millions of tons of excess cement were imported by both the public and the private sector; the demand for cement reduced drastically with the recent price increase of cement—ATH. All anti-UNP political parties Trade Unions and other organisations have pledged their support for the protest campaign to be launched from the 5th of next month—DK.



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. 1601.00	Rs. 1604.00
Sterling Pound	Rs. 3703.50	Rs. 3709.50
Deutsche Mark	Rs. 903.45	Rs. 905.05
French Franc	Rs. 387.20	Rs. 387.95
Japanese Yen	Rs. 7.2025	Rs. 7.2175
Indian Rupees	Rs. 201.80	Rs. 202.20

Confidentially

UNP & Sugar Livestock

DID IT NOT COME AS A SURPRISE to many that *The Journal* (UNP) of May 23, 1980 had a front-page box entitled HAD SOMEONE BLUNDERED? It read: "Was the sugar position aggravated by bureaucratic bungling? This is the question which is being asked in responsible circles. When all reports indicate that the Indian Government was alive to escalating sugar prices in the world market early last month itself and took immediate action to cope with the situation, what were responsible officials in Sri Lanka doing? According to knowledgeable circles, the Indian Government was advised by appropriate officials in early April itself that the future of the beet sugar crop in the Soviet Union, the sugar cane crop in Cuba, and a drop in Indian sugar production itself, would give rise to a difficult supply situation in the world market. Acting on this advice, the Indian government took immediate steps to contract for supplies before prices reached today's steep heights. In the context of the Indian experience, what advice were our officials able to give the government last month itself? So much for the supply position. Whose local bright idea was it to advise the rationing of sugar at two pounds per household solely through co-operatives and authorised distributors? The official communique issued, in the first instance, was so vague that it created the impression in the public mind that, over and above the ration, sugar would be available in the private sector presumably at a higher price. Fortunately for the country, President Jayewardene as usual, took firm and decisive steps in relation to sugar, consistent with the declared policies of the government. The rationing scheme was scrapped and sugar made freely available to consumers through the normal outlets at Rs. 6 a lb. Thus a system of controls, which would have resulted in the usual, exploitative blackmarket price for sugar, was

done away with without ceremony. The interests of the consumer were safeguarded thanks to the prompt unequivocal action of the President?"

That the question now being asked is who was the bureaucrat or who were the bureaucrats responsible for the sugar shortage that nearly led to the Jayewardene Government to fall into the booby trap of a rationing scheme? That it is for the Government to find out how this bureaucratic tangle occurred? That this is not, however, the most important task before the government? The real task for the government is to ensure that Sri Lanka is not held to ransom everytime world prices for foodstuffs go up? That the UNP is aware of what must be done, but the problem is how soon it will be able to make Sri Lanka self-sufficient in all foodstuffs that can be grown here?

ISN'T THEREFORE MUCH SPECULATION why poultry and cattle feed is in short supply in spite of the fact that the Oils and Fats Corporation has an efficient Chairman who has done a good job of work? That there is no doubt that since he took over he had almost quadrupled output? That the present shortages had therefore come as a surprise? That information is difficult to get and the top hierarchy at the Corporation are tight lipped? That nevertheless a *Tribune* investigator has sent us a note that there are two reasons for the shortages—first that local supplies of maize, poonac, gingelly and the like have been extremely poor and second that suppliers abroad, who had been awarded tenders, have defaulted in a big-way? That in regard to the first our coconut industry is still lagging behind schedule and that the production of subsidiary crops is in shambles (the drought is trotted out as an excuse but that is only a smokescreen?) That in regard to the second, the defaulting suppliers are from one country which is new in the field? That the question that must be asked is why these suppliers from one country were given the tender awards overlooking tried and tested suppliers from other countries? That whilst these former foreign suppliers play hide and seek, our cattle and poultry starve—and most of them will soon perish?





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