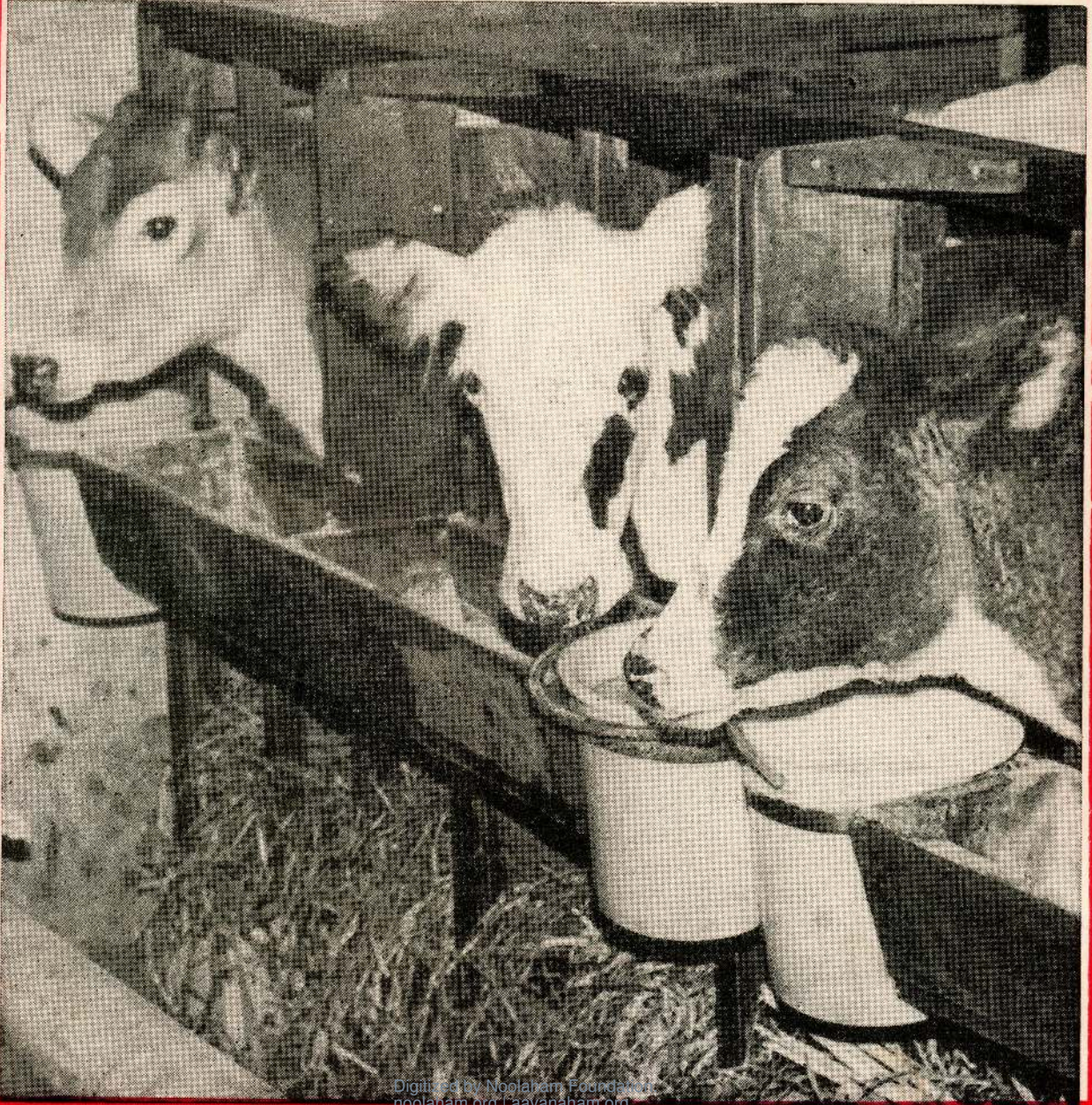


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CONTENTS

COVER	
—Calf Salvage	p. 2
POEM	
—Skanda	p. 3
FILM FOCUS	
—Theatres	p. 4
QUIDNUNC	
—JED3, UNDP, Milk Board	p. 5
WHAT IS THE MIND	
—Where Is It?	p. 8
NADESAN CASE	
—UK View	p. 9
VALAYARAVU	
—PM And A Bridge JAFFNA	p. 11
—Police-2	p. 13
LOVELY VENUS	
—Few Thoughts	p. 14
FOREIGN AID—1	
—Who Benefits	p. 16
GRAMA SASTRA-20	
—Sudu Banda (2)	p. 18
THE MEDIA	
—Virakasari Case	p. 19
CHRONICLE	
—May 28—June 3	p. 22
BOOKS	
—Chikka Norway	p. 26
ANAMADUWA	
—Another View	p. 28
CARTER MANIA—3	
—Random Jottings	p. 29
CONFIDENTIALLY	
—Smugglers Paradise	p. 32

Letter From The Editor

LAST WEEK we had briefly examined the prospects of the UNP for the 1983 General elections. What has the Opposition to offer? This week we will examine the non-Left "bourgeois" parties. There are only two parties in the Opposition in Parliament both "bourgeois"—the TULF and the SLFP. The official Leader of the Opposition is the TULF chief because it has a larger number of MPs than the SLFP. This has led to an anomalous situation. The Leader of the Opposition is far removed from the mainstream of Opposition trends—and although Mr. Amirthalingam has striven hard to play the role of a national Opposition leader, his parochial Tamilism predominates at every turn. Though the TULF claims to be the main party of the Ceylon Tamils (even after the defection of Thondaman and the CWC) observers say that it has lost ground in all Tamil areas except in the Jaffna peninsula. The ACTC led by Kumar (G.G. Jnr.) Ponnambalam is making a heroic attempt to destabilise the TULF in the peninsula, but so far it does not seem to have made much headway. The SLFP, the main opposition force in the country, continues to enjoy the traditional support of the Sinhalese masses opposed to the brown sahibry of the UNP (still suffering from a hangover of the same malady—in spite of the Jayewardene effort to exorcise these elitist maladies). The SLFP is undoubtedly the one party that has since 1955/56 been able to win a parliamentary majority by swinging the floating vote in its favour. By a swing of this vote, the SLFP had come to power in 1970 in a landslide victory. But in 1977 it was ousted in the same manner by the UNP in a bigger landslide. Nevertheless, the SLFP can even now pull 35% to 45% of the voters in the Sinhalese areas, but whether its present leadership is capable of swinging the currently disillusioned floating vote to its side in the new system of proportional representation on a district basis is yet to be seen. Unfortunately, the SLFP's party organisation is in tatters—in spite of a new Constitution. The leadership is divided in spite of protestations to the contrary. There is also an undercurrent of wishful thinking among a section of the top leadership that it would be a good thing for the SLFP if Mrs. Bandaranaike lost her civic rights as a result of the investigations by the Presidential Commission. Her charisma, they think, is best served to the people in a distant martyrdom. The SLFP is today a rudderless boat. Its propaganda machine is weak and fitful. Nor has it formulated any concrete policies and its political pronouncements have been confined to picking holes in the UNP. The SLFP is also in a dilemma because its pro-Maoist Brains Trust has been shattered by Peking adopting the very policies they condemn in the UNP. Finally the SLFP wants to go it alone without any (Left) allies. It is yet too early to make predictions especially when there is still time for the SLFP to overcome its shortcomings and to organise itself for an electoral victory in 1983. +Next week:—**THE LEFT**

Calf Salvage

ON THE COVER we have a picture of three calves salvaged from the dustheap of neglect and semi-starvation and restored to health and vitality at the Rosita Farm of the National Livestock Development Board (NLDB). Many dairy owners anxious to extract the maximum from each cow do not allow enough milk for the calves which therefore develop all the symptoms of anaemic decrepitude. The calves which survive an early death become weak, sick and unproductive animals.

On the way to the New Zealand Farm at Ambawela, the Editor had spent a few hours at Rosita. This farm is World Bank funded infrastructural operation to save the national herd. Many worm-infested calves are here transformed into productive animals. In one shed there were a group of such calves recently bought from local dairymen who have still not realised the value of looking after them. They were a pitiful sight. We were told that some of the rehabilitated calves in another shed had originally come to Rosita in a worse state.

Rosita farm itself is a story of rehabilitation. The NLDB was given a 150 acres stretch of abandoned tea as the site of this farm. It took one and a half years to uproot the tea bushes, prepare the land and plant the whole area with NB 21 and guinea. With corrective measures to rectify soil deficiencies, and also care and attention to detail, even poorer areas now yield 30 tons green matter for acre per annum whilst the better areas produce 50 to 70 tons of fodder grass per acre per annum.

We have seen many World Bank projects in this island which had found it difficult to get off the ground, and even after it they did, could only limp along slowly. But, we were certainly impressed with what has been done at Rosita. The project was speedily executed and was in full operation even before the scheduled dates. A little investigative questioning of the farm staff revealed that the reason for success was the enunciation of clear policy by the management, a well planned programme, drawn up from grassroots level, a constant

monitoring of the performance at every stage and more than anything else keeping a motivated and dedicated staff happy. One had only to talk to the Rosita boss M. A. D. Perera to realise what one man with a sense of commitment can achieve in a short time. He had started the salvaging process with 150 animals—today there are well over 300. And there was great demand for the rehabilitated animals now in the pink of health—dairy owners were in a queue for them. The NLDB sold them when they were certified pregnant. With a small staff—compared to the excess and idle labour in most government institutions—Perera has performed, and continues to perform, what anyone would consider miracles.

With this staff of loyal workers, who do not mind working round the clock, and contractors who are not allowed to cheat, several sheds with calf pens have been built. There are silage pits for the conservation of fodder for the dry period. Workers' cottages have been put up and the welfare amenities provided at Rosita are worthy of emulation.

The purchase of neglected calves is an art in itself and men at Rosita seemed to know the ropes. The average purchase price was about Rs. 500 a heifer. They had made very few mistakes. But the more difficult business is calf management to rehabilitate, invigorate and sell them back to farmers as pregnant heifers. About 150 such animals had been sold so far at price averaging from Rs. 1500 to Rs. 2500 each. The average length of stay at Rosita is from six months to a year. One does not need to know very much of animal husbandry to realise that Perera is a superb calf man. He has not only shown that neglected calves could be saved and rehabilitated, but has also demonstrated (to farmers who believed only in traditional grazing) that stall-feeding, on the cut-and-carry system, could produce excellent results.

Rosita is only one link in the chain of NLDB livestock farms that will create a new and productive national herd on new dimensional level—that is if the good work now being done is not disrupted by interference and bungling by politicians and bureaucrats who like to poke their snouts everywhere.

After visiting several NLDB farms, and talking to men who are doing a splendid job of work, *Tribune* realised that a deep sense

of frustration was creeping into them. Most of the complaints stemmed from interference by the thugs and contact men who formed the palace guards of the MPs or Ministers or other VIPs especially in the area in which the farms were situated.

Unless this thuggery against NLDB men, who are committed to doing work without succumbing to the demands of favourites of politicians, is stopped, the NLDB will lose some of its best men. They can easily get more remunerative jobs abroad or in the private sector here. Even the top management of the NLDB does not seem to be fully aware of many things happening under their nose. Ministers and MPs still seem to think that government undertakings are places where relatives and other unemployables can be pushed in—unmindful of the fact that they become passengers in the workplace and have to be carried on the backs of those who work—a costly burden to the NLDB and the State.

x x x

POEM

S K A N D A

God
 worshipped by my forefathers
 sculpture
 carved in coal-black stone
 enshrined
 in a temple of white marble.
 Skanda!
 younger son of Shiva and Shakti
 riding
 a proud peacock with a
 spear
 in one hand, bearing the
 cockerel
 flag in the other, called
 variously
 at different times—Subramanya,
 Karthikeya,
 Shanmuga. Living on in myth
 and legend
 as warrior Supreme. Brother of
 Ganesha
 the elephant-faced one.

Consort
 of Deivanai and Valli. Oh!
 conqueror
 Of Asuras and liberator of
 Devas
 why do men worship you with
 incense
 and flowers, anoint you with oil,
 milk
 and fruits; adorn you with
 Sandal
 and kumkum, enclothe you with
 silken
 robes, deck you with flashing
 jewels
 and equip you with silver armour?
 Why
 do they light lamps, burn camphor,
 ring
 bells and chant incantations to
 invoke
 your blessings? Oh! six-faced
 One
 who destroyed the forces of
 evil,
 do you take heed of all this,
 accept
 their offerings and grant them
 their
 boons? Can you hear men's voices
 crying
 out to you to ease their
 suffering
 and their pain? Dost the
 formless
 Force of the Universe assume
 form
 like vapour turns to water
 thence
 to ice? Formless and with
 form
 colourless yet with colour
 entering
 into the stone to give it
 Life,
 are you God or a mere
 piece
 of sculptured stone?

VINODINI AMARASINGAM

Cinema Theatres

There are several dead letters that litter the State Film Corporation Act No. 47 of 1971 and it was very hopeful news that President J. R. Jayewardene has recommended that this Corporation under his purview would be given wider powers to supervise, inspect and control the activities of the Cinema industry. In my frequent rounds of cinemas in the city, I have been often left aghast at the sorry returns that the patrons get for the hard cash they pay, for want of adequate supervision by those assigned to do so. The initial hustle and bustle at a cinema, mainly becomes the first concern of the management as the money for the tickets change hands at the counter from which point onwards, the woes of the picturegoers begin.

Bug ridden seats tilted often at shifty angles, toilets that stink to high heaven, with their foul odours seeping into the Hall proper are not hard to come by. Those in charge of the Bar, and other minor employees who hawk 'bites' at intervals have their own private tariffs in spite of the pious slides that are flashed on the screen, and short balances change hands with the dimming lights. It is also not rare for the bar-keeper who has collected handsome deposits for aerated sweet drinks, to vanish at curtains and hunting him down proves a futile exercise, with the management helplessly looking on.

Fire fighting equipment which were once prominently seen at cinemas are now hard to find and the uniformed fireman who stands by for an emergency is rarely seen, as he is assigned other chores in the cinema administration. The air conditioners for the pleasures of which, ticket rates have been enhanced do not function always and creaking fans add to the background sonics of films to rob them of the appropriate atmosphere. Even well maintained cinemas are sometimes counterbalanced by a rude and discourteous staff—not to speak of the items forgetfully left behind by Patrons being spirited away seconds after a show is over. The "no smoking" ban is observed more often in the breach, than its observance, even though there are

certain justifiable causes for its strict non-enforcement.

Besides having a running check on all these shortcomings, I would also commend to the Film Corporation, that awards for well maintained and managed cinemas be reserved for each Province as well, so that these necessary frills that are necessary for wholesome entertainment are not confined for the elite in the Metropolis alone. That the necessary legislative teeth to cure some of these ills of the cinema industry should come from the "Top" is a very heartening gesture indeed and this column is certain that the State Film Corporation will rise to the Presidential call for the greater enjoyment and satisfaction of the people, who in the final reckoning, sustain the cinema by their patronage.

THE DAY OF THE ANIMALS (English): This Warner Brothers production has its roots centred around a prophetic and scientific book written by a Doctor Shirley Rowlands in 1974 that forecasts a doomed future if the humans who inhabit this earth, do not cease playing ducks and drakes with nature's ecological balances. Enlarging on this concept, and emphasising the fact that a thinning of the ozone layers that protect life on this planet from the deadly rays of the sun, as a result of environmental pollution, could create a contingency when the behaviour patterns of both man and beast would change radically, the story in this film unburdens this message rather devastatingly. In excellent photography, cameraman Robert Sorentine, captures convincingly that evil day, a disturbed Fauna of this earth turn and bare their fangs murderously at all humans and particularly at a group of nature loving hikers who are trapped unawares in a once friendly animal sanctuary. The blood curdling assault of beasts and birds—many of them pets—on Man with vultures hovering around for the final cleaning up operation, have earned this film an Adults Only tag. Since the film portends a possible situation ahead, I would recommend all non-squeamish adults, particularly environmentalists and those who are hell bent on tampering with nature's bounty regardless to see it and ponder over the shape of things lurking around the corner, unless there is a quick re-awakening and awareness of the sword of Damocles swaying threateningly in the air.

RAKTHA (Sinhalese): This film is based on a popular picture story by Daya Rajapaksa, which drives a father (Rex Kodipilly) and daughter (Malini Fonseka) to a jung'e hideout to avenge the brutal murder of their late wife and mother (Sonia Disa) respectively, at the hands of a few lordly rapists. Shining through this action packed saga are the rather volatile performances of Malini and Kodippilly whose nimbleness of foot and marksmanship in Robin Hood style are on par with similar English films. Although the sequences are rather over-dramatised at times, I would yet recommend the fare for families that care for such fables! There is no doubt that, as in Anuhasa, colour photography would have enhanced the box office appeal of this film.

GNANAKKULANDAI (Tamil): This film in fine colour depicts the life story of a Hindu saint, THIRUGNANASAMBANTHAN, who traversed a path of righteousness on earth at the divine behest of Lord Shiva and Goddess Parvathi—the latter feeding him the milk of human wisdom before he sets course on his mission. A series of miracles with events where he frees a possessed princess (Jayachitra) and consols a widow (Sujatha) bent on committing suttee of the funeral pier of her husband are knit in the story set to devotional songs and music. The photography is excellent, and he will be a poor Hindu who will miss the biography of one, born on earth by the will of Lord Shiva to change the sinful life styles of his people.

James N. Benedict



OFFICIAL EXCHANGE RATES

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

CURRENCY	PER 100 UNITS	
	Buying Rate	Selling Rate
U.S. Dollar	Rs. 1600.50	Rs. 1603.50
Sterling Pound	Rs. 3750.45	Rs. 3756.45
Deutsche Mark	Rs. 909.65	Rs. 911.25
French Franc	Rs. 990.15	Rs. 390.85
Japanese Yen	Rs. 7.4075	Rs. 7.4225
Indian Rupees	Rs. 204.55	Rs. 204.95

QUIDNUNCs

• JEDB • UNDP • Vavuniya

A **QUIDNUNC**, according to the Shorter Oxford Dictionary, is "one who is constantly asking 'what now?', 'what news?' hence an inquisitive person, a gossip. The word comes from the Latin, *quid* (what), *nunc* (now)—*what now?*—and is defined in Websters Dictionary as "one who seeks to know all the latest gossip." Our own era, especially in Sri Lanka, is admittedly the *Quidnuncs'* Golden Age. Gossip is now a marketable commodity. The stories our *Quidnuncs* bring are based on a substratum of truth and *Tribune* publishes them only if the fire from which the smoke has arisen has some kind of reality. Apart from a few kite-flying stories to provoke investigation, most stories in this column are enough for a daily paper to go to town with a banner headline.

WHEN IS A PAYMENT NOT A PAYMENT ?

FOR CLARIFICATION ASK THE SECRETARY/CHAIRMAN JEDB

Our **QUIDNUNCs** in the hills has sent us the following note:

If any official in the Public sector or State Corporation sector ever falls into difficulty or has doubts as to the definition of what constitutes a "Payment" or more specifically a "Payment of Salary and Wages" he need not consult a dictionary, a lawyer or accountant or even a text-book on the subject. He need only lift up the Telephone and dial (COLOMBO) 24083 and speak to Mr. Pemsith Seneviratne the Secretary/Chairman of the Janatha Estate Development Ministry/Board (JEDB). Readers may wonder, why ask Mr. Pemsith Seneviratne. What's so special about him. Well in fact there is nothing very special about him except that he and his wife are known to the Top people (but, apart from that they are not Top people).

Pemsith Seneviratne's special knowledge and aptitude to define a "Payment" arose in this way. A few months back, there was a strike of the plantation workers in the JEDB.

estates of the Badulla district. The JEDB was unable to settle the strike and the strike was to have spread to other estates and areas as well. Hard bargaining and negotiations began and the strike was eventually settled— BUT on one important condition, namely, that the strikers had to be paid for the days on which they struck work and did not turn up for work. The JEDB management agreed to this and the decision of the Regional Director/Chairman was approved in Colombo by Mr. Pemsith Seneviratne.

Now, it is a well-known principle that STRIKE - PAY cannot be paid—except perhaps with the approval of Government i.e. the President or the Cabinet. If every public sector institution agrees to pay strikers wages or salaries for the days on which they struck or kept away from work, there would be chaos. Furthermore, employees will have no hesitation in going on strike, if eventually they will be paid for the days on which they refused to work.

We do not know whether Mr. Pemsith Seneviratne understands the logic of the above-stated principle. However, it appeared that His organization (it has really become His) decided to pay the strikers—STRIKE Pay—contrary to established principle and past practice.

The several Superintendents in the Badulla district who were ordered to pay strike pay to the workers who had struck work, were quite surprised. They wondered whether this directive was in order; they definitely doubted the wisdom of the directive but meek as they are now, they all obeyed "under some protest". We must not lose the Wood for the Trees (The Plantation Sector seems to have lost both). We must come back to our original question, "when is a Payment, Not a Payment?"

Now, as the story goes, Mr. Pemsith Seneviratne's actions in paying strike pay came to the notice of the President himself who is now the Minister in charge. When asked to explain, (and here is the interesting part) Mr. Pemsith Seneviratne denied that he Paid Strike Pay. "I did not Pay" he wrote to the President. But the question was, "Are not the estate workers on Monthly Pay calculated on Daily Wage." The reply, "Yes". Next question, "Was there any deduction

made in their pay packets for the days on which they struck work?" Here again Pemsith Seneviratne answered. "No. There was no deduction made for the days that they were on strike." Further question "If there was no Deduction, then your estates have paid the strikers". Here comes the Beauty, the Gem the Pearl. Pemsith Seneviratne says. "No. I insist I did not pay. A non-deduction of wages is not a Payment". In other words, "I admit I did not deduct from their wages for the days they struck work, But that does not mean that I paid. That does not mean that there was Payment." Can you beat this line of argument. "If you do not deduct from a person's wage, it does not amount to payment of the Wages that were not deducted." A payment means only if you Pay out; Not if you deliberately fail or omit to deduct what is not due. When one goes on like this, it becomes somewhat confusing—as confusing as the way in which the Estates are now being managed.

But let us be charitable. Let us give the benefit of the doubt to Mr. Pemsith Seneviratne. In return can we ask him whether he would like to conduct some classes for senior officials on the subject "When is a Payment Not a Payment" (we are sure that his Assistant Mr. Lassanta Fernando can attend to this). We are confident that an ardent pupil who will attend such classes may be his brother Secretary/Chairman Mr. Kenneth R twatte of the State Plantations Corporation. We understand that he did not agree with Pemsith Seneviratne on this point but a lecture or two in teacher-pupil relationship may convince him and allay his fears that the JEDB is as badly run (Oops, well run) as the SPC.

UNDP AND A COMPUTER — U.S. OR U.K.

A QUIDNUNC in the Cocktail Circuit has sent us this piece.

A story is going round in Colombo circles about the UNDP in Sri Lanka and a Computer costing about Rs. 5 million which it had agreed to give as a grant to the Department of Census and Statistics in connection with the Department's expansion programme and the National decennial Census of 1981.

The facts reveal that tenders were called for by UNDP in New York. Four tenders were received and of the four, two tenders

one from IBM (USA) and the other from ICL (UK) came within specifications.

A Technical Evaluation Committee of Sri Lanka officials went through the two offers from IBM and ICL and recommended the ICL offer. A UNDP technical representative from New York was associated with the Sri Lankan Technical Team and did not disagree with the views expressed by the Sri Lankan Team on their evaluation and their recommendation of the ICL Computer.

Thereafter, it is alleged, strange things happened. The UNDP in New York—in spite of the recommendation of the Sri Lankan Technical Committee for an ICL Computer—recommended the IBM. Apparently, US lobbying in the UN for IBM appear to have been of greater impact than UK lobbying for ICL. Since the Computer was to come as a gift, the Government of Sri Lanka had no option but to leave the final decision to the UNDP. But the question is, should an Institution like the UNP (which is a member of the UN Family) so disregard the views of a Technical Committee of a country, and ignore their recommendation and decide on another make rejected by them? More about it next week. In the meantime let the UNDP both here and in Sri Lanka think about this whole episode a little more. Undue interest is not good.

MILK AND COWS IN VAVUNIYA

*A *QUIDNUNC* from Vavuniya has written in to say: that *Tribune* should be thankful to the MP for Vavuniya (T. Sivasithambaram) for answering questions this magazine had raised several months ago about milk collection in Vavuniya. No reply had then been forthcoming from anybody says our *Quidnunc*. (But who takes notice of the nasty cracks in this weekly? When however the stormy petrol from Vavuniya takes up the question in the Parliament everybody sits up. Eureka—Ed.)

There are according to Mr. Sivasithambaram 210 registered dairy producers who sold 57,031 litres of milk to the Milk Centre at Vavuniya in April 1980. This information goes to the root of the questions the *Tribune* had raised, says the *Quidnunc*. Who are these 210 registered dairy owners? Will the Milk Centre in Vavuniya release this information—their names and addresses? How many

cows do they own? This information is not available but our *Quidnunc* says that Vavuniya cows are unlikely to yield more than 3 litres (with a marginal fat content) per animal. With simple econometrics—and hey presto—we should have 19,010 milking cows. Not all cows are in milk at the same time, so at 50% we should have in the area about 38,020 cows.

The *Quidnunc* goes on: is it not true that the official statistics have estimated that in the Dry Zone of Sri Lanka there were only about 100,000 cows and with the information now furnished by the MP for Vavuniya, it would appear that about a third of them are in close proximity of the Milk Centre at Vavuniya. If this is so, the *Quidnunc* asks: "Mr. Sivasithambaram why have you neglected the cows of Vavuniya for so long?" A clever and intelligent person like the MP for Vavuniya, says the *Quidnunc*, should not have expected the National Milk Board (NMB) to supply bowsers, collect milk without refrigerators, develop dairying, check voltages, be fair by the Vavuniya producers and also process and distribute milk. He should have also expected the occasional lapse—an odd bawser not turning, the odd 16,000 litres rejected. Shouldn't he have raised all these questions a long time ago?

From the information furnished by Mr. Sivasithambaram says our *Quidnunc*, it is also clear that our country should be overflowing with milk (powdered, condensed, adulterated, liquid, etc., etc.) Mountains of such milk and milk products will pile up in this country—and we will then have a Select Committee to deal with this waste. The *Quidnunc*, further stated that by the Vavuniya MP's outburst he may well reverse the process the NMB had contemplated, vis going North—having a new network of more centres, more milk, more rejections, more fun—the same old game. And our *Quidnunc* did not want anyone to compare *milk motors* with rice milling motors—the former was water cooled.

The *Quidnunc* ended his note with a final crack: Why should the NMB go North just now? Was it because the Polonnaruwa set-up of the NMB, including the condensary, was likely to fold up soon? What does the NMB propose doing about Polonnaruwa or Ambawela? Isn't there a Select Committee of Parliament looking into all this?

What Is The Mind And Where Is It?

is it the ghost that resides in the
bodily machine and animates it?

by Dr. H. D. Wallbeoff Jansz

Everything that the biological sciences have discovered about human nature seems to support the Materialistic conception of human personality.

The point of view presented here is that it is not necessary to seek to account for human behaviour in terms of the dualistic conception of man as being made up of two separate but interacting components—a mind and a body.

The animistic conception of mind is considered an unnecessary hypothesis.

The writer was sometime Associate Professor of Physiology in the former University of Sri Lanka's Medical Faculty at Peradeniya Campus.

The word MIND is frequently used in everyday speech in phrases such as 'the power of mind over matter', 'the interaction between mind and body', *mens sana in corpore sano*, and so on. Such phrases give expression to the common notion that MIND is some non-material thing which is connected with the body—and with the brain in particular—and yet distinct from them, a sort of ghost inhabiting the body and somehow animating the body. The notion of mind is similar to that of soul or of spirit. The ancient Greeks had a word for this; they called it *psyche*. In fact to this day we often hear psychology defined as the study of the working of the mind, in contradistinction to physiology, which is referred to as the study of the working of the living body.

There are, it is true, certain human activities which are commonly called 'mental', such as remembering, reasoning, imagining, believing, doubting, worrying, and so on. Now there is no objection to calling such acti-

vities 'mental', provided it is realised that they are performances of the organism, and not of an abstraction called MIND. Every so-called mental event is at the same time a bodily event in which the brain especially participates. To say that we think with our minds is as vague as to say that we digest with our digestions. Every functional activity in living beings is carried out by means of organic apparatus. When we say that a person's digestion is upset, we mean that a certain function is disturbed. Likewise when we say in everyday language that so-and-so's mind is upset or unbalanced, we really mean that a very important and complex function is disturbed. MIND, as conceived here, is not a non-material entity, but the highest organismal function that has been evolved by the necessity for adaptation to changing external conditions. It is the function that serves to relate a human being to his complex environment, including other human beings. The instrument by which this function of adjustment is carried out is of course the brain.

It may be asked, "what is left of psychology if you take the psyche out of it?" To this we reply that psychology is the study not of ghostly activity but of all those activities of the organism when it is functioning as a whole. All the activities of the individual in its relations with the environment constitute what is familiarly called its behaviour. Now physiology is the study of the working of the organs which together constitute the organism, and of their interdependence for the survival and well-being of the organism. But when the whole organism is studied as a unit in relation to other such units and to the world at large, then we have the study called psychology. It is the study of the human being's behaviour and experiences. In particular it is the study of how the individual's behaviour is shaped and governed by the individual's past experience.

So far we have spoken only of the human organism, as if only human beings possess minds. Now to say that we have minds is of course simply to say that we are capable of doing certain things, that we can think and calculate, reason and remember, dream and scheme, etc. etc. As Rex and Margaret Knight have said, it would be most inconvenient to avoid using the word MIND—it saves us

much circumlocution—"but we must not mistake a mere verbal convenience for a *res naturae*."

Do animals then have minds of their own? In other words, have they the capacity for certain experiences similar to ours, and have they the ability to carry out certain complex activities which we can perform? In the case of human beings other than ourselves we judge that they have minds not very much different from ours because their outwardly observed behaviour, and the inner experiences they report to us, resemble our own. Likewise we infer that some animals have minds because they appear to pay attention to present events and to benefit by past experience; because they appear to make decisions on the most suitable course of action in certain situations; because they appear to suffer pain and to enjoy pleasure; because they appear to have longings and aversions; because they appear angry at some times and affectionate at other times, and so on.

The animals which appear to have minds, even if inferior minds, are those which are nearest to man in the evolutionary scale, animals whose brains are more highly developed than those of other animals. Also, the minds of human infants are less efficient than those of human adults. It is only when the central nervous system becomes more and more developed, and more and more complex, that animal and human behaviour take on an increasingly conscious or 'mental' aspect.

Yet in a certain sense plants and bacteria and the individual cells of multicellular organisms appear to behave intelligently, behave that is to say, as if they wanted to live and as if they knew what was needed for their survival. They too have minds in the widest sense of the term. But it would be going too far to equate MIND with LIFE, for the reason that although plants and bacteria and component cells all show a certain kind of awareness, this kind of awareness is not what is called consciousness.

Consciousness means not only awareness of environment but in addition awareness of self, awareness of one's own awareness. Such awareness is shown and experienced by oneself, and almost certainly by other persons as well, and possibly also by animals having brains developed nearly as well as ours.

It is much simpler and safer, however, to refer to an animal as being awake and attentive rather than conscious.

Animal psychology then is the study of the behaviour of animals in their relations with the environment. Physiological psychology is the study of how the behavioural adjustments of the organism are related to bodily processes occurring within it. The more we compare the behaviour of human beings with that of animals of descending grades of intelligence, the more we are forced to the conclusion that bodies existed long before minds, and that minds have existence only because there are bodies fit for them.

(To be concluded)



AS OTHERS SEE

The Nadesan Case

by Francis Wheen

The verdict of the Supreme Court is awaited in what is known as the Nadesan Case. In a strange quirk of history, S. Nadesan Q.C., who was associated with some of the most famous and celebrated trials and legal battles during the last four decades, should himself become the subject of a trial that will go down to history.

A few days before the hearings began before the Supreme Court, the prestigious British weekly, *New Statesman* published an article by Francis Wheen in its feature column *The Law* entitled: "Ceylon's MPs Continue To Behave Like Oafs—Privilege And Pomposity." We publish the article with acknowledgements.. It is good to see how others view happenings in Sri Lanka.

All newspapers have their gremlins; the results of their work are normally laughed off, sent to *Private Eye* or corrected unobtrusively the following day. But the spirit that entered the office of the *Ceylon Observer* on the night of 29 January 1978 has turned out to be a tenacious little blighter; the latest consequence of his (or her) mischief is that one of Ceylon's most distinguished lawyers will appear

before the island's supreme court next Monday charged with breach of privilege and facing up to two years' imprisonment if convicted.

The origins of the affair were related in an NS piece two years ago (14 April 1978). The *Ceylon Observer* published a photograph of Peter Fonda and Susan St. James with a misplaced caption. Phillip Cooray, the paper's assistant editor, had spotted the error in proof and corrected it, but later discovered that this correction had not been implemented. He stopped the press and had the correction made after only a few hundred copies had gone out. The paper also published an apology for the mix-up.

A. C. S. Hameed MP, Ceylon's foreign minister, who was mentioned in the early version of the caption, was not satisfied with the paper's attempts to put matters right. On 2 February he complained to Parliament that people who did not know him might assume from the caption that he was "a play-boy". Fortunately, for him, there was an obvious remedy, for on the previous day, 1 February, Parliament had decided to give itself the power to fine or imprison people thought to have committed breach of privilege. Thitherto, under Ceylon's twenty-five-year-old law on privilege, this power had belonged to the courts alone.

When Mr. Hameed made his complaint, the House obediently passed a resolution that "the said caption describing the said picture is intended and calculated to bring the said A. C. S. Hameed.....Into disrepute; and that it constitutes the publication of a defamatory statement concerning a member of the National State Assembly in respect of his conduct as a member of the National State Assembly." Parliament formed itself into a committee to investigate this grave matter, and the Clerk of the House was directed to summon the editor and assistant editor of the *Ceylon Observer* to appear before the House at 5 p.m. the same day—a mere two hours after the summons was issued. The two men duly appeared, expressing their regret for the caption mix up.

Parliament was not prepared to let the affair rest there. It had, after all, only just voted itself these new judicial powers and it was rather enjoying them. As the leader of the opposition put it during the editor's

interrogation: "We are like children trying on their new clothes. We are carrying this too far. Let us bring this to an end." J. R. Jayewardene, then Prime Minister (and now president), thought otherwise: "We are acquitting ourselves very well as a court." After the end of the questioning, the House decided to fine the editors Rs. 1000 each—to be paid to the Deaf and Blind School. The most remarkable moment of the proceedings came when Mr. Jayewardene explained the House's decision:

"The reason why we have decided to impose a fine are that, firstly, we want to give a donation to the Deaf and Blind School; secondly, we wish to show that this Bill is now law with teeth in it, and in future anyone who comes before this House may not escape with a fine; thirdly the Associated Newspapers of Ceylon Ltd. of which I am shareholder, is not an indigent organisation. It has enough money to pay the fines of both these editors."

At this stage S. Nadesan QC entered the controversy. He is an extremely distinguished lawyer—an Advocate of the Supreme Court of Ceylon since 1931 and a member of the Senate of Ceylon for all but two years of its existence from 1947 to 1971 (when it was abolished). Since 1971 he has been active in the Ceylon Civil Rights Movement. Moreover in 1953 he was on the Select Committee which drafted the Bill covering the privileges, powers and immunities of Parliament and its members.

He was appalled by the House's behaviour towards the editors. He wrote a series of four articles in the *Ceylon Sun* criticising the way the law had been interpreted.

The next Act in the farce opened when Mathew Perera MP, Minister of Parliamentary Affairs and Sports (the two portfolios would seem to be identical), raised Nadesan's articles as a possible breach of privileges; they were "a studied effort aimed at defaming the House". The question was referred to the Committee on Privileges; in September last year Parliament finally resolved that the Attorney-General should make an application against Mr. Nadesan. Interestingly enough, Parliament decided that this time it would not use its own judicial powers (although it thought that it had acquitted itself so well in the

Observer case) but would make the application through the Supreme Court. The case opens on Monday, and the pompous asses of the National Assembly will doubtless be watching for breaches of privilege in public comments on the case, so that when they have finished harrying Nadesan they can bully someone else.
—New Statesman, May 9.

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PRIME MINISTER AND A BRIDGE

Valayaravu

In the *Tribune* of May 17, 1980 (Vol. 24 No. 44) our indefatigable correspondent K. Kanapathipillai, in a gossipy piece entitled **Overheard at the Fountain Club, Batticaloa**, had referred to complaints that work on Valayaravu bridge had come to a "dead halt". On May 28, the Editor had a telephone call from Additional Secretary, Ministry of Highways, T. Suppiramaniam, that the Prime Minister had asked him to tell *Tribune* that criticism was at all times welcome and also to inform the paper that work was proceeding on the Valayaravu bridge in spite of the dislocation caused by the cyclone of November 1978. This was followed by a letter which we publish below. We also publish a letter we received from Mr. K. Kanapathipillai together with a letter from the Acting Chief Engineer (Highways), Batticaloa to clarify and correct some of the "mistakes" in the talk heard at the Fountain Club.

It is a happy augury that the Government is responsive to criticism. In this respect the President and the Prime Minister have led the way, and many other Ministers have followed suit—although there are still a few Ministers and many bureaucrats who resent criticism and try to suppress it by raising a hue and cry that such criticism was sinister subversion. The more the government enters into a dialogue with its critics to sort out and ready matters, the better for the country.
—Editor

OVERHEAD AT THE FOUNTAIN CLUB, BATTICALOA

Sir,

I refer to the telephone conversation I had

with you this morning regarding the above item which appears on page 23 of your journal (*Tribune*) of 17th May 1980. The Hon. Prime Minister and Minister for Local Government, Housing & Construction and presently Minister of Highways as well, has directed me to inform you that he very much appreciates the criticisms expressed in this article referred to. The Ministry of Highways is concerned with the Valayaravu Bridge referred to in this article, which is being constructed on contract by the Department of Highways. The project itself consists of the construction of two bridges and a rubble filled causeway.

The construction of one bridge has been completed and about 60% of the second bridge been completed and work is in progress. However, during the cyclone of December 1978, extensive damage had been caused to equipment like cranes, pontoons and dredges of the contractor and this has considerably disrupted the work. Regarding the filling of the causeway, the necessary authority has been given to the Chief Engineer (Highways), Batticaloa, to call for tenders and have this completed. This matter was also discussed at a conference held in this Ministry early last month with the late District Minister for Batticaloa, and the M.P.P. of the area regarding the slow progress, and suitable action has been taken to have this work expedited.

T. Suppiramaniam
Additional Secretary,
Ministry of Highways.

Ministry of Highways,
Lower Chatham Street,
Colombo 1.
28th May 1980

x-x-x

My No. CEH/B/BR-I Vol. (II),
Office of the Chief Engineer (H),
Batticaloa, 6th June 1980.

Mr. K. Kanapathipillai,
52, Angle Road,
Batticaloa.
Sir,

Sub: Overheard at the Fountain Club
(Page 23—*Tribune* weekly of 17.5.80)

Reference your article captioned "Overheard at the Fountain Club" published on page 23 of *Tribune* Weekly of 17.5.80, I wish

to inform you the position regarding Valayaravu Bridge. In your article you have mentioned that the work on the Valayaravu bridge appears to have been brought to a dead halt after this Government came to power. But this is not correct.

The Valayaravu bridge consists of the following components: (i) Rubble filled, Earth filled approach East End; (ii) East end bridge 6 spans of 76 ft. each; (iii) Centre rubble filled causeway 1730 ft; (iv) West end bridge 2 spans of 63 ft; (v) West end causeway 635 ft; (vi) West end approach.

The position in July 1977 was as follows: (i) 60% complete; (ii) No work done; (iii) No work done; (iv) 25% complete (v) 65% complete; (vi) 60% complete. The present position of work is as follows: (i) 80% complete; (ii) 25% complete; (iii) 40% complete; (iv) (iv) 100% complete; (v) 80% complete; (vi) 70% complete.

From the above positions it will be seen that more work has been done since July 1977. Therefore I wish to humbly point out to you that your version that work had been brought to a dead halt after this Government came to power is not correct.

I also wish to inform you that action is being taken by the Department to expedite the work. The formation of the rubble filled causeway is being done directly by the Department (Highways Dept.) and the progress is satisfactory. I am confident that the work can be completed before middle of next year. The bridge (East end) is being done by the State Development & Construction Corporation. This work got disorganised by the Cyclone but the site has now been organised and the work is being expedited. There is also a problem regarding the quality of metal required for casting of the prestressed beams. The quality of metal in Batticaloa district was found to be not suitable for the work and action is being taken to test samples of metal from Amparai and Polonnaruwa Districts and make the required metal available for casting of the beams. Once this is done, the work can further be expedited.

I am sure that you will agree that the work has not come to a dead halt but on the contrary, the progress has been stepped up. I shall be very glad if you can join me on an inspection of this bridge site so that you can

see for yourself the activities that are taking place in regard to the construction of the Valayaravu Bridge Project. I hope you will accept my invitation and join me on an inspection tour whenever it is convenient to you.

Sgd: (Illegible)

Actg. Chief Engineer (H'ways),

6th June 1980.

Batticaloa.



Sr,

I am sending herewith a letter sent to me by the Acting Chief Engineer in charge of the construction work that is in progress at the Valayaravu bridge. After the cyclone of Nov. 1978 the work on the Bridge appeared to have been brought to a halt especially at the Batticaloa end of the bridge

It is a matter for deep regret that what had been given as rumour bruited at a meeting of the FOUNTAIN CLUB was not very accurate information, and that despite the fact there was some delay, work, according to the information supplied by the Acting Chief Engineer had been going on though not quite in evidence at the Batticaloa end of the Bridge.

It is really gratifying to note that the present Government has taken due note of the feelings and grievances of the people of Batticaloa and has been finding adequate remedies in time. The people of Batticaloa should therefore be thankful to the Government, the Department of Highways and the officers concerned for having taken up the work well in hand, and in time. It is the earnest wish and hope of the people that the work on the Bridge will be completed before the end of 1981.

I, as one who wrote the article, sincerely regret for, what might appear to be a misreport. It has to be admitted that there are likely to be discrepancies in what may be considered to be "rumours bruited." I personally crave the pardon of those whose good name might have been smudged by my article.

I request that you be so gracious enough as to give publicity to this, my letter and the relevant parts or the whole of the Engineer's letter.

K. Kanapathipillai

52, Angle Road,
Batticaloa. 9.6.80

Public Relations

by **Kingsley Wickremasuriya**

Senior Supdt. of Police

This is the second and concluding part of a report presented at a Seminar held in Jaffna on May 25, 1980. The first appeared in *Tribune* last week.

As I arrived in the Division in August last year, what was transparently evident was the high tension that was prevalent in the area. Both the Policemen and the public were afflicted by the presence of tension in varying degrees. As a result, the relations between the Police and the Public were strained and the reception cold.

Having grasped the situation, I set myself the defusion of this situation as my first task. We had to break the ice with the public. So I set myself to the task of getting the Policemen out into the field in performing their normal duties, having realised that that is the best way to achieve this goal. This was not an easy task, because it meant a complete re-orientation of attitudes and convictions. So simultaneously I launched a Public-Relations campaign. The response was tremendous. The first break came within less than two weeks of my holding the first seminar in Jaffna, when members of the public in Kopay apprehended a criminal which subsequently led to the arrest of 2 other persons and the recovery of a revolver. Armed with this, I decided to go before the rank and file and with a good response soon from other areas like Point Pedro, Chunnakam, V.V.T., K.K.S. and Gurunagar, I was soon able to convince them that the people needed their help very badly and that they were only waiting till the Police stretched their hand of friendship to grab it hard. The fact dawned on the rank and file gradually and they were now ready to take to the field discarding their arms. Day patrols, Bets started going out. Soon came the night patrols going in single pairs armed with only a baton. The tension was now gradually receding. More people were willing to meet unarmed Policemen. They could now go to the police stations with less fear.

So I continued my dialogue with member of the public.

The relations with the public improved in quick tempo with this continued dialogue; so much so that when I did the second round of my inspections, some of the Stations were to report to me with high elation how the ordinary Policeman out on the field is now being treated by members of the public. In fact this has reached the high water mark by the time of Thal Pongal. I was later to come to know that on the Pongal Day many of the Police Stations have been showered with "Pukkal" and other pleasantaries that the Policemen did not know what to do with the present they had received. They narrated these stories to me with glitters of gratitude in their eyes. This has brought them a feeling of being wanted and a feeling of acceptance. If Policemen have now changed in their attitude towards members of the public, it is that kind of acceptance and goodwill that has brought them around. It leaves me with a sense of satisfaction that more than my efforts, it is the people themselves who have helped change the Policemen in their outlook. This should be a lesson for the future, a lesson perhaps to be tried out in other parts of the country as well. This proves that it is the society that can make a genial personality out of an officious public servant by providing the necessary incentives of recognition, acceptance and goodwill.

In response to the public opinion we have gone a step further in organising ourselves in line with the needs of the public so that we can serve them better. Language was one of the problems brought up with me by those who had the opportunity of exchanging views. This we have sought to resolve fully by implementing the Provisions of the Law contained in sections 8 and 10 of the Code of Criminal Procedure, Act No. 15 of 1979. Administrative arrangements have now been made at Police Stations to have statements recorded in Tamil. Where facilities are lacking, we are now permitting the members of the public to write out their own complaints with guidance from the Police officer on Reserve Duty. Further, measures are being taken to augment those stations that have less number of Police Officers who are proficient in the Tamil language.

Furthermore, I have also been struck with the absence of a permanent forum where the Police and the public can get together on a common platform, to exchange views, discuss problems and thrash out their differences in a friendly and a cordial manner. With a strong public opinion for the need for such a common forum, I have now come up with a solution—Police-Public Relations Committees. During the last 2 months, we have formed Committees in respect of each Police Station area; these committees now meet the O.I.C. once a month every last week of the month. I keep myself informed of the proceedings with copies of minutes of these meetings coming to me. The committees have the opportunity of meeting the A.S.P. once in 3 months and the S.P. once in 6 months. We are just on the way to establishing a permanent dialogue between the Police and the public and have a hopeful future before us. It is now upto each of these Committees to get the maximum benefits offered by this opportunity. We have already started off well, though the movement is yet in its infancy. We have already seen their organisational prowess during the New Year period. The celebrations were entirely handled by these committees and they were a tremendous success.

There are already a few Vigilance Committees in operation. Some of these have performed yeomen's service in assisting the Police. Several others are now in the process of being formed on the initiative of the Public-Relations Committees. Some committees have even gone to the extent of amicably settling disputes. These and other varied forms of initiative shown by the Public Relations Committees have had a tremendous impact in maintaining law and order in their respective areas. V.V.T. is a case in point with Grave Crime reaching an all time low as seen from the statistics of this Police Station.

With increased contacts with members of the public, their confidence in the Police has increased. The evidence in this connection has once again been provided by no other station than V.V.T. Police Station. Three of the persons who the Security Forces were allegedly looking for during the emergency surrendered to this Police Station in the last few weeks and they were released later being no longer wanted. Recently one more person

alleged to be wanted in connection with a robbery of a MPCS committed in 1977 too surrendered at this Police Station and he is now in remand pending this matter being brought before court. We have treated all of them according to the Law. If there were to be any more who would wish to follow suit and surrender to us what we have to tell them is that the door is open. The law is equally applicable to them as well. I can assure them that the atmosphere is right for such a decision on their part.

The trends have already proved the dictum that "THE POLICE ARE THE PUBLIC AND THE PUBLIC ARE THE POLICE".

If these trends in the Division have in any way contributed in the direction of enriching the quality of life of the people in these parts, it is our greatest joy that we have served them well and that we have restored to them their basic right to live without fear.

The greatest lesson that these events have taught us is Trust begets Trust.

* * *

A FEW THOUGHTS ABOUT

LOVELY VENUS

by V. Buvasasundaram

THE LOVELY LIGHT of Venus has held the imagination of man for millenia. The Maharishis had given colours to all other planets, like Sun-copper, Mars-blood red, Moon-white, Saturn-black, Mercury-green and Jupiter-bright yellow but they could not find a colour for this planet of love and romance. Everytime they looked at it, it had a different hue and they concluded that it was a mixture of many colours.

Venus is an inner planet like Mercury. That is, it is between the Sun and earth and therefore does not get away, far from the Sun. Viewed from the Earth, the furthest it gets away from the Sun is 45 degrees. It is visible sometimes before dawn and at other times after dusk. Early Greek astronomers thought that they were two different planets and called the morning Venus Phosphorous and the evening Venus Hesperus. After 500 B.C., they seem to have known that these were

different appearances of the same planet. This discovery has been attributed to Pythagoras, famous for his theorem on right angled triangles.

"The face of Helen launched a thousand ships on the Aegean sea and burnt the topless towers of Ilium". The lovely face of Venus launched a hundred scientific expeditions over the entire globe and Captain Cooke discovered Australia. Governments financed scientific projects for the first time in human history. Jealousy and rivalry between nations for scientific knowledge began. Science became the apple of discord between nations.

The transit of Venus across Sun's disc is a rare astronomical event. In 1639, Jeremiah Horrox, a young Englishman was calculating the ephemerides of Venus, when he discovered that Venus would transit the Sun that year. These transits occur at irregular intervals that alternate between 121.5 yrs and 105.5 yrs and short regular intervals, 8 yrs apart. Horrox focused the image of the Sun on a screen and was the first man ever to see Venus move across the disc of the Sun.

HALLEY, after whom that famous comet, which appeared in 1682 was named, calculated that the next transits would occur in 1761/69. It is a little known fact that the last appearance of this comet in 1910 was most accurately forecast by a local mathematics teacher at Jaffna College, Vaddukoddai; Mr. Allen Abraham for which he was honoured, a fellow of the Royal Astronomical Society. Halley's comet will again appear in 1985. Halley published a paper in 1716 stating that if this transit of Venus was viewed from different parts of the globe an accurate determination of the distance of the earth from the Sun could be made. Halley was dead, long before this transit but his paper caused such an avalanche of interest that in 1761, over a hundred expeditions were sent to all corners of the globe. Captain Cook was in charge of one of the English Expeditions, that ran into Australia and a French astronomer, Lacaille obtained the first exact value for the distance to the Sun, which was 20 times more than the old Hipparchus figure. Those who could live till 2004 A.D. could see the next transit of Venus and those who can last till 2012 A.D. would see the other one too.

Venus has often been called the sister planet of earth, since it comes closer to earth

than any other planet and there are many similarities too. Its distance from the Sun is 108.27 million Km and Earth's 149.68 million Km. Its diameter 12,400 Km, Earth's 12,742 Km. Its mass is 0.81 of earth's. It has no satellite, earth has one. However, there is a strange unexplainable difference between Venus and all other planets. Venus spins in a direction opposite to all other planets. Its axis of spin is perpendicular to the plane of its orbit, unlike the earth which is inclined at 66 1/2 degrees Venus's spin is also very slow slower than even Moon and Mercury. Moon spins once for each revolution round the earth and Mercury does the same around Sun. Venus takes 243 earth days to spin once on its axis but only 225 days to go round the Sun.

AS THE ORBIT of Venus carries it from behind the Sun, it will be seen after sunset in the western sky. Night after night, it would appear and brighter, till it is seen for the higher longest time, halfway between the horizon and the zenith. Then it begins its motion back towards the Sun, still growing brighter and its brightest brilliancy is reached a month later. It will then outshine every other planet and star in the heavens. In two months time it gets into the solar glare and then becomes the morning Venus in the eastern sky, before dawn. It now repeats the same performance before dawn. In all, it takes 575 days for this cycle, which has been repeated ever since the solar system was evolved. This according to the Rishis was 38,93,082 years ago. This seems close enough to the estimate of 40 million years by modern astronomers. Rishis say that Man will witness this performance of Venus for many more millions of years to come, for in this Kali-Yuga itself of 4,32,000 yrs which began that day in Maha-Bharata, when Arjuna sat and talked to a standing elder brother Yudhishtira, only 5082 years have gone.

Mariner II journeyed 109 days to view Venus from a distance of 36,500 Km. It was launched three times, first from the surface of the earth, then from the parking orbit round the earth and finally, 9 days later and 1.5 million miles away, from an orbit round the Sun. It went close enough to find out that it has no magnetism of its own and the thick clouds that cover it are not of water droplets but of carbon dioxide. Though some

still doubt it, its temperature of 700C at noon and 300C at midnight cannot permit life to exist there as was suspected before the probe. THE RECENT PROBE by Voyager has revealed many startling facts about Jupiter, the King of the Gods to the Greeks and the Guru (teacher) of the Gods to the Rishis. It is the only planet that emits more energy than it receives from the Sun. Some of its dozen satellites have volcanoes, that are still erupting. It is the only planet besides earth that has magnetism of its own. Its magnetic field covers a much larger space than our own earth. When they get to the same side of the Sun, not to be obstructed by Sun's magnetic field, Jupiter's magnetic field interlocks with ours and there is a flow of electrons from Jupiter to earth along the interlocked lines of magnetic force.

To the Rishis, Venus was the Guru of the Asuras, with whom the Gods were waging a losing war, for Venus only knew the "Mantra" to give life even to a body, reduced to ashes and dust. The puranic story continues that Jupiter had eloped with Venus's wife (may be one of the dozen satellites of Jupiter, once belonged to Venus, who has none now). Jupiter's son promised eternal love to Venus's daughter and abandoned her after learning that Manthram.

This story is to illustrate the planetary attitudes of the two best benefics in astrology, when in combination. While Jupiter does not interfere with whatever Venus does, Venus prunes away everything Jupiter does until Jupiter gets all powerful, then Venus changes its attitude to "Anything you can do, I can do better." It is this that made Ramakrishna Paramahansa, Abraham Lincoln and Mahatma Gandhi write their names in Gold in the History of Man. Ramakrishna freed Hinduism from ritualism, Lincoln the blacks from slavery and Gandhi freed the Indians from the British.

Our President too has this combination. What will he free us from thralldom and write his name in Gold?



TRIBUNE, June 21, 1980

FOREIGN AID—1

Who Benefits?

by Prometheus

THE PRESENT ECONOMIC PLIGHT of many developing countries in Asia, Africa, and Latin America, is a result of the plunder perpetrated over centuries by colonial and Imperialist powers. It is also a result of developing countries continuing to be commercially and financially dependent on the metropolitan centre, despite the apparent dismantling of the outward trapping of political colonisation. The inequitable exchange of commodities, the exports of profits by foreign companies and the outflow of capital as a result of the monopolies' monetary and financial speculations, deprive many developing countries of the cash reserves and the liquidity they urgently need to modernize their economies. This is why the young states that have remained in the capitalist fold have been unable to overcome their economic backwardness in the last 15 to 25 years of political independence. The Latin-Americans have coined for this neo-colonial relationship the term "dependencia".

The lack of capital and technical resources force the developing world to turn for help from the developed capitalist states and the international organisations under their control. Taking advantage of the young states' natural desire to accelerate industrialisation, the West gives them government credits. But, for whom is this "aid to development"? Do these programmes actually foster the interests of the developing countries?

IN ASSESSING foreign economic aid from the viewpoint of its influence on the economic growth of the developing countries, specialists usually consider three basic aspects: the terms of aid, whether or not there are "strings attached", and the underlying nature of the technical assistance given.

It is an indisputable fact that Western economic aid to the developing countries, granted in the form of loans and credits, has brought about the rapid increase of the foreign debt of developing countries to astronomical proportions. The total debt of the developing countries, granted in 1977, amount-

ted to 264,000 million dollars. i.e. more than 120 dollars per inhabitant of the Third World. To pay off this debt, the developing countries reimbursed over 41,000 million dollars in 1977 alone (19 dollars per inhabitant of those countries). In 1978, the total debt of these developing countries grew to 321,500 million dollars and in 1979 it amounted to 366,000 million dollars.

The advanced capitalist states account for about 90 per cent of the developing countries' foreign debt. The developing nations find themselves increasingly unable to meet the loan and interest payments on time, and, therefore, are compelled to ask the advanced capitalist countries for new loans in refinancing the terms of the redemption of existing obligations with interest. Rescheduling of debts is on the agenda in every developing country. Thus, growing payments of foreign debt result in the annual reduction of "pure" or "net" financial aid which the developing countries can use for economic progress.

Western terms of aid have become worse recently. Specifically, from 1970 to 1977, the share of private loans and credits in the total sum of loans received by the developing countries from the advanced capitalist states has grown from 47.7 per cent to 70.7 per cent.

Private loans are usually advanced on more stringent terms than governmental loans (high interest rates and shorter terms for repayment). Therefore, the growing share of loans from private sources means a deterioration in the conditions of granting the developing countries financial aid, by advanced capitalist countries.

It must also be emphasised that the greater part of governmental loans are granted on highly unfavourable terms. For example, the rate of interest on West German state loans to India, according to a researcher, is 6.75 per cent, Japanese 5.75 per cent, American 8, Canadian 6, French 8.9. Interest on loans issued by the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD) or "World Bank" is from 3.5 to 8.85 per cent. This is several times more, for instance, than the rate of interest (2.5 per cent) on credits granted to the developing countries by the Soviet Union and some other socialist states.

The worsening terms of Western econo-

mic aid to the developing countries is shown by the fact that the share of financial resources received on "unfavourable" or "tied" terms in the total sum of Western aid, has increased from 56 per cent in 1970 to 70 per cent in 1978, and it continues to grow. Consequently, the percentage of favourable loans and gifts with "net" benefits, is steadily becoming smaller.

IN FACT, western government aid has become a "battering-ram", making the way for private capital into the developing countries. Another reason for such "aid" is the fact that capitalist industrialisation carried out on western credits and loans, bolsters the private sector in the developing countries, thus keeping them in the capitalist fold.

The existence of socialist countries and their objective financial and technical aid extended to the developing countries, makes these western countries at least to feign interest in the economic development of the Third World.

The true face of the west's "humanitarian aid" programme, can be seen from the experience of many years, which has clearly demonstrated that this "aid" actually is an instrument of penetration and influence of the new colonialism. The resources they have made available to the newly-independent states have made no tangible impact on the latter's economic development. The bulk of this "aid" has been funnelled into projects of infrastructure or into industries in which the West itself has a stake, in the sense that such development is a precursor for private foreign investment. Moreover, the west has been underpricing the products of those industries which they need at low cost, thus thwarting genuine industrial progress.

Consequently, the gap between the developed and the developing countries, instead of narrowing, has further increased. For instance, the proportion of the developing countries in the industrial output of the capitalist world dropped from 15.7 per cent in 1975 to 15.5 in 1976. The Third World is not "developing" but "underdeveloping."

It should also be stressed that the extent of "development aid" has by far not reached the equivalent of 0.7 per cent of the gross

national product of the capitalist industrialised countries, an objective which the latter committed themselves in 1970, as UN members. In spite of the fact that this would be but a small fraction of what the former colonial powers have squeezed out of these countries when they were in direct political control, Great Britain, FRG, USA and Japan—the leading capitalist powers—are not even carrying out this basic obligation. “Development aid” as expressed in percentage points of the GNP is becoming increasingly smaller.

For the period 1960 and 1977, “aid” given by all OECD countries, fell from 0.5 per cent to 0.31 per cent. The USA, with its 0.22 per cent average was below the average in 1977 and so was the FRG with 0.27 per cent and Japan with 0.21 per cent.

The situation is further aggravated by the fact that a major portion of development aid is concentrated on only a few countries.

(To Be Continued)

GRAMA SASTRA—20

—Scribblings On Uva Villages

Sudu Banda Story (2)

by Gamiya

I TOLD YOU of Sudu Banda and how he greeted us and how he was sorry his two boys stopped from school. I forgot to tell you that a suspicious-looking white-clad “character” (quite un-village-like in appearance) looked up and down at our group when we felt we were lost. He urged his bike which he was leading with one hand, down the road, looking furtively at us. He looked like a town-teacher who had been let loose on unwary people in the village.

He was one. It is such upstarts who feel that anybody else is an intruder in the village and would move heaven and earth to see that others will be nipped in the bud, that others would not meddle with his affairs (like getting schoolboys to work on his land and call it ‘agriculture class’; buying up an unsuspecting parent’s land or two, just for a lark, don’t you know, and all that, difficult area, what!).

THE MEAL OVER, we sat down to chat. Around 8 p.m., a flashlight announced the arrival of our suspicious all-suspecting character. He edged his way to where Sudu Banda was, sat down, took out a pack of cards and started playing with a friend he had brought. He was measuring us up and down meaning “who are you, unwanted people, you are a menace to me.” Under the pretext of cards, he had come to find out. Words fell to a whisper, with a card-word thrown in for good measure. But it was the answer given aloud by Sudu Banda, that revealed to us what type of question the aching mind of Mr. Spotless had asked. In the whispered conversation, there came forth a loud answer, quite incongruously, from Sudu Banda: “*Apoi, kavuru unama moko, minissu nema*” which would mean: “Oh my goodness, what does it matter, as long as they are human beings” And both looked at us and all three felt embarrassed. Two or three more inanities and our “Defensor Fidei” of the villager bade good night and went away!

When the town-teacher walked off with his friend, Sudu Banda said he did not like their probing, their questioning. He said he was saddened to see many “town fellows coming here and not allowing them to lead their own quiet life, but foisting all kinds of ideas dangerous for them and their peace.” “If they are out to help us genuinely, we know, we can easily find out, but when they have other motives against our people, then we are disturbed. His summing up was superb: “Man is dignified, man cannot be bought for money Money we can easily find. We cannot easily find, true people: “*Salli hoyaganda lesi; hebe minissu hoyaganda amarui*”. Sudu Banda and his family had taught us a lesson. What a grand thing if we sat at the feet of the wise and learned of the village, going there not so much to teach but to learn, to be ready to be with them and go with them all the way into a simplicity of life, for there, there is true power; hidden but sure. Our craving heart we must truthfully leave behind, when we go to the sacred precincts of the villager: *tanha jayati soko*—avarice is the mother of sorrow, says the Dhammapada.

THEN CAME the dawn. Before we left, Sudu Banda asked us: “Do you like to see my aged parents? On their own, they left us this house and said that they would like to live their

last days in a small hut, together, as an *upasaka* and *upasikava* (living a life of quiet reflection and meditation). I go to see them twice a day, with food, and they are happy to see me. They have done a lot for me and for us. Nibbana will be theirs. I hope so for us to and for you." An unforgettable experience. A moment of truth we will easily not forget.

... ..

THE MEDIA

The Virakesari Case

by Tribune's Legal Correspondent

Tribune's Legal Correspondent has dealt with the judgement in the recent *Virakesari* case at some length because it is one of the rare cases in our Courts that concern the media and one of the big newspaper groups in this country. The daily papers in Colombo (including the *Virakesari*) have published only the bare fact that the petition had been dismissed—without indicating that the facts presented by the petitioners were accepted as factually correct. The judge had held that the action could not be maintained in law even though he rejected the evidence of the Respondent Directors on several crucial issues.

The facts disclosed in the case throw revealing light on some aspects of the inner workings of the big newspapers and also the conduct of the tycoons who own and control the papers.

An appeal has been filed against the order of the A.D.J. by the petitioners, and as the matter is *sub-judice*—no comment on the facts revealed is possible until the verdict of the higher court has been delivered.

The summary of the facts and matters in dispute below together with the findings of the Judge will help the reading public to know the salient features about the case and also of the working of the ownership and management of the *Virakesari*.
—Editor.

IT IS NOT OFTEN that the inner workings of the ownership of a Company-owned news-

paper comes to light in the certified proceedings of a Court case. But such a revelation took place in the *Virakesari* case (D.C. Colombo No. 1673/Spl.) which was recently concluded in the Additional District Court of Colombo. *Tribune* has often referred to the way the big newspaper groups in this country have functioned, and in the fifties and sixties *Tribune* had disclosed some of the manipulations of the private owners of the big groups like the Lake House, Times of Ceylon, *Virakesari* etc.

In the recent *Virakesari* case, the judgement was delivered on May 20, 1980 by Mr. H. W. Senanayake A.D.J. The parties in this case were: (1) R. A. Nadesan; (2) R. Krishnamoorthi and (3) A. Ramanathan—Petitioners and (1) A. Y. S. Gnanam; (2) M. G. Wenceslaus; (3) K. Kaliappa Pillai; (4) M. A. Lucas Fernando; (5) K. Selvanathan and (6) Express Newspapers (Ceylon) Ltd.,—Respondents.

The shareholders of this company are only a handful, but they are in two groups—in the words of the Additional District Judge: "the petitioners' clique was known as Nadesan's clique and the respondents' clique was known as Gnanam's clique. The two cliques have come to an agreement as the party running the administration of the 6th respondent company". The persons referred to are R. A. Nadesan and A. Y. S. Gnanam both well-known businessmen belonging to the Indian Tamil community long settled in the island.

The Petitioners had prayed for the following relief: (a) That the 2nd Petitioner (R. Krishnamoorthy—RK) be appointed as the Managing Director of the respondent company and for a decree that the 2nd respondent (M. G. Wenceslaus—MGW) is not holding the said post; (b) that in terms of the agreement entered into between the parties in August 1970 the 2nd petitioner (R.K) be appointed as the Managing Director of the Company or if not the 1st petitioner (R. A. Nadesan—RAN) be appointed as the Chairman of the 6th respondent company, or (c) in the alternative the court do fix the value of the shares and make order directing the 1st (A. Y. S. Gnanam—AYSG) and 5th respondents (K. Selvanathan—KS) to re-transfer the shares to the 1st Petitioner. As an alternative to all the said relief it was further requested that an order be made that under Section 162 (b) of the Companies' Ordinance

liquidating the 6th respondent company as such liquidation is justifiable.

FOR THE INFORMATION of our readers it is necessary to recall that Mr. R. A. Nadesan had originally bought 49,865 shares out of a block of 50,000 shares from Messrs J. R. Jayewardene, Dudley Senanayake, and E. L. Wickremasinghe. The Chettiar who had owned the entire business of *Virakesari* had sold the business and quit the country. R. A. Nadesan had later invited A. Y. S. Gnanam and others to join him to run the *Virakesari* "in the interests of the Tamil community" on certain conditions specified and agreed upon between them. It was a kind of a gentlemen's agreement which the Judge has held to be a fact.

It was in pursuance of this agreement that R. A. Nadesan had transferred the bulk of the shares to the respondents. This is what the Judge says: "In view of the mutual confidence and understanding between the parties based on the said agreement the petitioner has transferred 49,395 shares of the 49,895 shares held by him to Gnanam's clique and Nadesan's clique. It is stated that at the request of Gnanam's clique 13,255 shares have been transferred to the 2nd petitioner (R. K.) 500 to the 3rd petitioner (A. Ramanathan), 7128 to first respondent (A. Y. S. Gnanam) and his wife, 7128 to the 4th respondent (M. A. Lucas Fernando), 128 to 5th respondent (K. Selvanathan) and a further 15,752. "Before the transfer of these shares, except for a small number of shares amounting to 105, the first petitioner (R.A.N.) had bought all the other shares. Accordingly the first petitioner (R.A.N.) was a person with a powerful number of shares in the 6th respondent company. An important fact that has emerged therefore is that in view of the mutual confidence and understanding prevalent between the parties at the time based on the agreement entered into in August 1970, the first petitioner (R.A.N.) has transferred these shares."

IT WAS BECAUSE the conditions of the agreement were not fulfilled, for one, regarding the condition that the 2nd Petitioner (R.K.) should resume his position as Managing Director after a period of leave, that the petitioners had gone to court to obtain redress.

The Judge, whilst accepting the facts presented by the petitioners, has held that they could not maintain the action in law

or obtain the relief asked for. The judge also held that an agreement did in fact exist between the parties but that once the 2nd petitioner (R.K.) had gone on leave for a lengthy period of time of his own accord, there was no law to compel the Company to reappoint him as Managing Director. In this connection the Judge has observed:

"The second respondent (M.G.W.) has submitted a certain report (R4 of 6.11.75) to show that the second petitioner (R.K.) was dishonest in his activities. But this report was withdrawn. The fact that the 2nd respondent (M.G.W.) has taken such a long time till 6.11.75 to submit a report on the work and administration of the 2nd petitioner (R.K.) clearly shows that what he had tried to achieve was to prevent the 2nd petitioner (R.K.) from getting the post of Managing Director. A comparison of P3 and P4 with the report P2 makes it obvious that the 2nd respondent (M.G.W.) has been appointed when the 2nd petitioner (R.K.) has been away from the post on leave. I accept that the second respondent has not been permanently appointed to the said post." (italics ours).

IN REGARD to another allegation made by the Respondents that the 1st petitioner (R.A.N.) had not disclosed the true financial position of the company when he persuaded the respondents to participate in the running of the *Virakesari*, the judge says: "The contention of the learned counsel for the respondents was that the 1st petitioner (R.A.N.) in order to achieve his own ends, persuaded the respondents to buy the shares of the 6th respondent (Express Newspapers) owning *Virakesari*. He stated further that the 1st respondent (R.A.N.) was unable to conduct the affairs of the company. As the financial position of the company was unsatisfactory and in jeopardy bond R2 was executed for payment of damages and the 1st petitioner (R.A.N.) has transferred a large portion of the shares with them to the respondents and the persons nominated by the respondents and also to the 2nd petitioner (R.K.) and the 3rd petitioner (A.R.) for consideration of money

"However, at the time of the transfer it was stated by the Respondents that the petitioner has failed to declare honestly in the deed of transfer R2 the assets and liabilities of the company and sold the shares to the said persons duping them. I am unable to accept this contention

firstly because, if at all there is any liability that is not indicated in R2 the 1st petitioner (R.A.N.) is liable to pay the company. He stated further that the schedules give only the assessment of the assets and the petitioners cannot bear the responsibility for its genuineness or correctness. He further submitted that he cannot assure the recovery of monies due from the debtors shown in the books of accounts. This clearly indicates that the 1st petitioner (R.A.N.), at the time of selling the shares of the company, has revealed the position to the respondents. R2 confirms this."

Apart from this, at the time of examination of the statement of accounts marked R8, only the value of the assets indicated in the books have been shown. In the books of account, the value of machinery and equipment depreciates annually. In fact the value of such assets is not shown in the books. Moreover, when the accounts in R7 and R8 were examined, accepting the genuineness of these statements was a problem to court. These statements have not been proved as correct. The judgement in defamation cases filed against this Company by Dr. S. A. Wickremasinghe and Dr. N. M. Perera had not been delivered by 31st March 1971. If any damages had been ordered, it must have been granted after the statement of accounts ending 31st March 1972. If so such damage could not have in any way been included in the bond for payment of damages marked R2. The petitioner is unable to state what amount has been ordered as damages for these persons. Therefore, those liabilities could not have been included in R2.

"Moreover, this court has to examine what type of persons the respondents were. The facts placed by the learned counsel for the petitioner reveal that the first respondent (A.Y.S.G.) is a businessman of the highest order in this country. The statement that such a businessman had purchased the shares without examination of assets and liabilities of the company can in no way be accepted by the court. It is from Messrs. J. R. Jayewardene, Dudley Senanayake, and C. L. Wickremasinghe that the 1st petitioner (R.A.N.) has bought 49,895 shares except for 105 shares, issued by the company in 1969. (Italics ours.)

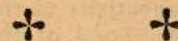
"He states that from that time until August 1970 he conducted the affairs of the company. It is stated that during that period, as a help to him, the second petitioner (R.K.)

too had worked as a Managing Director. It is apparent that in May 1970 in order to enable him to carry on with the newspapers and the administration of the company for the upliftment of the Tamil people, the respondents were invited and with consent of both parties an agreement has been entered into. The respondents have tried to prove that the assets and liabilities have been shown in a fraudulent manner and they have been sold these shares with the intention of duping them. I do not at all accept this statement made by the respondents.

"As the respondents are persons actively engaged in business activities, I cannot accept the statement that they were misled by the petitioners. I do not accept that the document R2 is one which has been executed fraudulently or with fraudulent intention. It is my conclusion that the petitioner (R.A.N.) has not practised any fraud with regard to the assets and liabilities of the company. As a businessman the 1st respondent (A.Y.S.G.) is a person who has an understanding of the value of the company buildings and the other assets and liabilities of the company. I can in no way accept the statement that from August 1970 to the end of 1975 he was not aware of the assets of the company.

"P8 makes it clear that in the year 1972 the 1st petitioner has left the Chairmanship of his own accord. P8 further states that before the transfer of the shares there were negotiations and the conditions of the agreement were laid down. The 1st respondent (A.Y.S.G.) has not given an honest reply to P8....."

These are a few of the highlights in the judgement. In another instalment it will be necessary to touch on the reasons adduced in the judgement why the petition could not be maintained in law—together with some other interesting aspects of the dispute.



NEXT WEEK

- × MILKY MESS
 - × POWER CRISIS
 - × MAY RAINS
 - × LEFT DISARRAY
-

May 28 June 3.

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

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

WEDNESDAY, MAY 28: President J. R. Jayewardene is expected to attend the Commonwealth Heads of State and Government regional meeting to be held in New Delhi in September this year, informed sources said yesterday. The US embassy in Colombo yesterday sent an urgent cable to the US Military Commander-in-Chief in the Pacific, at Honolulu, asking whether he could help Sri Lanka with a generator to overcome the current power crisis; this was in response to a request made by Foreign Minister Shahul Hameed for assistance to meet the power shortage here. The Gaffoor Building Trusts yesterday instructed all occupants of the building to vacate immediately for security reasons. The Asian Elephant Secretariat of the World Wild Life Fund, on which there has been some difference of opinion, will be set up in Sri Lanka; the Department of Wild Life has recommended it and according to an official source, State Minister Anandatissa de Alwis will make his own recommendations to the government. There was no likelihood of the South-West monsoon breaking within the next 36 hours to feed the country's fast receding hydro and City water service reservoirs. Meteorological Department Director, K. D. N. de Silva said yesterday. The Buildings Department has been ordered to immediately investigate the condition of buildings, particularly old buildings, which house public and private sector offices; this decision was taken at a conference of officials of the Ministry of Local

Government and Housing and the Buildings Department; the conference was chaired by the Prime Minister Mr. R. Premadasa—CDM. The Government will not impose rent controls on new commercial and private residential complexes; a law to amend the Rent Control Act so that rent restriction laws will not apply to these new complexes will shortly be presented in Parliament by the Ministry of Local Government, Housing and Construction; the Legal Draftsman is now putting the draft bill into legal shape. The number of polio victims has now increased to 101 with the number of deaths remaining at 90—SU. The CID has sent an urgent cable to Interpol Headquarters in St. Cloud, Paris and the Interpol Bureaux in a number of Middle Eastern countries requesting all available information about an international gang of crooks responsible for a multi-million dollar gold smuggling racket into Sri Lanka—CO. Forests are to be cultivated exclusively for firewood in areas where firewood is used in large quantities—LD. The Internal Security Section of the Police Department has come to know of a plan to sabotage the National Heroes day; the plan was to blow off two railway bridges; the police sent out a special team to guard the bridges; the Internal Security Section is now investigating to find out whether any political party was behind this unsuccessful attempt—DV. The Joint Action Committee of the Trade Unions yesterday decided to send a letter to the President condemning the action taken by the President to call for a day of support to counter the day of protest called by the JACTU—DK.

THURSDAY, MAY 29: Sri Lanka is in for a massive power cut which may extend to a total blackout if rains fail to fall in the catchment area of the Castlereagh and Mousakalle reservoirs within the next week; both reservoirs have water to last only ten days. The Ministry of Power and Energy said yesterday there had been no improvement in the water levels of the hydro-reservoirs. A multi-million rupee plan for the conversion of bunker fuel oil into cooking gas is now on the boards of the Ceylon Petroleum Corporation. Cabinet yesterday approved a proposal by Prime Minister R. Premadasa, who is also Minister of Local Government, Housing and Construction that action should be taken to meter the domestic consumption of water; water

supplied to private and public institutions will also be metered. The Indian High Commission has arranged for two Sri Lankan engineers to fly to India to examine certain generators Sri Lanka has asked for to tide over the present-power crisis in the island. Government yesterday decided to increase the retail price of a tin of Perakum Condensed Milk to Rs. 6/25 from Rs. 4/35; the wholesale price of a tin will be Rs. 5/75;—CDN. Devotees converging on Colombo during the Vesak festival today and tomorrow will be able to view a number of pandals and giant "pahan kuduwas" in various parts of the City. The worsening power crisis yesterday compelled all state manufacturing corporations to shut down for a week and the Government to consider the introduction of a further five-hour (11 p.m. to 4 a.m.) power cut from Saturday. Although the much sought after rains, when they come will undoubtedly ease the country's worst power crisis, all will not 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. Two Police constables attached to the anti-pickpocket squad, joined a member of the light-fingered gentry to relieve a patrol of a posh city hotel of his wallet, Police said yesterday. A regional training institute for ophthalmic auxiliaries is to be set up in Sri Lanka—SU.

SATURDAY, MAY 31: Foreign Minister, A. C. S. Hameed signed the Instrument of Accession of the Democratic Socialist Republic of Sri Lanka in respect of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights and the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights on Thursday (Vesak Day) at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Three gas turbines with a total capacity of 60 Megawatts, costing Rs. 324 million would be added to the already highly taxed power generation system in October, Chairman of the Ceylon Electricity Board J. H. Lanerolle said yesterday. From Sunday June 1, there will be additional power cuts during the late night hours between 11 p.m. and 4 a.m. the Ministry of Power and Energy announced yesterday; these cuts will be on an unannounced basis and deliberately done at random for security purposes: they will be in addition to the power cut hours already announced and now enforced, the

Ministry said. The Vesak Poya signifying the birth, death and enlightenment of the Buddha was celebrated throughout the country on Thursday and Friday. The upward trend in the generation of employment evident since the latter half of 1977 was maintained in the second half of 1979, a survey of Employment in the Private Sector for July-December 1979 has shown—CDN. A major shake up in the administration of the Department of Internal Trade was ordered yesterday by the Trade Ministry in view of certain lapses in the system of bringing profiteers to book. The majority of the academic staff doing administrative work in the Universities of Colombo and Sri Jayawardenapura have threatened to resign from their posts as heads of departments and deans because they have not been granted enhanced salaries. Sri Lanka has made a request to the Executive Board of the International Monetary Fund for a loan of Rs. 1,760 million under the extended fund facility to be used as a balance of payments support—CDM. The Ministry of Youth Affairs and Employment will implement a pilot project to provide assistance to small-scale industries and self-employment schemes—SU. There is excitement and fear expressed in TULF circles because it is believed that a planned sabotage is being planned against the party leadership and administrative body; this plot, it is believed is to create unpleasant clashes within the party membership and supporters and thereby break it up—VK. Rs. 15 lakhs worth of steel imported by the government owned business undertaking of CEATO from England has been auctioned for Rs. 5 lakhs—ATH.

SUNDAY, JUNE 1: The Employers' Federation of Ceylon and private sector Chambers of Commerce and Industry have been summoned to a meeting tomorrow by the Labour Department to explore the possibility of private industry shutting down in the context of the mounting power crisis. The 6 Megawatt turbo-generator at the Sapugaskande urea manufactory was linked to the national grid at 11 a.m. yesterday to augment the country's fast depleting hydro-power supply. Mr. James Lanerolle, the Secretary to the Ministry of Power and Energy, said last night that heavy rain had had been reported in the Mousakelle and Castlereagh catchment areas on Saturday after-noon; the secretary said that this was welcome news and he had decided to do away with the pro-

posed late night power cut today and tomorrow. Senior government officials have expressed the view that a strong case existed for the immediate reduction in the price of petrol at a recent meeting of the Development Secretaries conference. The government is deeply concerned by what it regards to be a highly orchestrated false and malicious propaganda campaign launched by the TULF in West Germany where over 1,000 Tamils have sought "political asylum" in 1979. A Joint Sri Lanka-Maldivian team of detectives has been selected to further investigate the conspiracy to overthrow the Maldivian Government last February with the use of foreign mercenaries allegedly hired by Ahmed Naseem, former Deputy Minister of Fisheries and brother in law of former Maldivian President Ibrahim Nasir—SO. Public officers who retire prematurely on the "language" issue on the expectation of securing re-employment will not be accommodated by the government; this decision has been taken by the government following information that certain officers who left the public service pleading inability to work in the official language have done so with a view to rejoining the service. Several parts of the island yesterday recorded heavy rainfall; the highest rainfall was at Avissawella, 31.4 millimeters, while the lowest was at Kankasantural .2mm—ST. The Sri Lanka Police will soon have special airport security squads, anti-urban guerilla squads and intelligence gathering units. A flotilla of the German Federal Navy, comprising the destroyers Luetjens and Hessen accompanied by two supply vessels, Coburg and Spessart will be in Colombo Harbour on a goodwill and training visit from June 19 to 22. Electricity generators offered by Britain and India have been found to be the only types suitable for use in Sri Lanka to supplement the declining power supply here. School teachers, senior students and members of social service organisations will from tomorrow follow a special four-hour course in crime prevention at the Colombo Police Crime Prevention Bureau—WK. The Government is examining proposals to set up a modern new airport. It is reliably understood that three important TULF MPs are prepared to support another political party—VK. Family courts that deal with family problems will soon be done away with and these cases will be handed over to Magistrate's

courts like before—CM. The Minister of Agriculture has proposed to the Government to give the ownership of 1,300 acres of paddy lands owned by Tenant cultivators who are cultivating this land—SLDP. The customs are on the look out for a smuggling operation where local silver collected from villagers was smuggled to the Middle East to manufacture arms—SM.

MONDAY, JUNE 2: A closed circuit television system will be installed at the Colombo Port shortly to enforce greater security, Port Authority Chairman Wimal Amarasekere said yesterday; quotations for this Rs. 2 million project, are now being received. The Insurance Corporation of Sri Lanka (ICSL) has entered the hotel business with a bang—a Rs. 585 million investment—on two hotels; ICSL will build a 5-star hotel in Colombo and another in Paradise Island, Bentota with foreign collaboration. The police are investigating an alleged attempt on the life of the Minister of Finance and Planning, Ronnie de Mel; two persons armed with revolvers are alleged to have fired twice at the Minister's motor car at his estate at Tebuwana on May 30; the Minister was not in the car at the time—CDN. Over 50,000 casual employees in state corporations and statutory boards will be entitled to EPF benefits shortly. The water levels in the two reservoirs—Castlereagh and Mousakelle—have risen to the equivalent of 28.54 million units of electricity yesterday; two days ago the water levels at these two reservoirs were 17 million units. Science teachers will shortly receive bigger pay packets; this is the sequel to the Minister of Education, Mr. Ranil Wickremasinghe obtaining Cabinet approval to revise the salary scales of these teachers. Many qualified Sri Lankans abroad are returning to serve the country in the fields of education, health and other spheres—CDM. Police are investigating the activities of a group of slave-traders who are alleged to have lured youth to work in fishing wadiyas in the Jaffna peninsula; this came after one of the youths who escaped from these wadiyas complained to the Police that several youths were being forced to work there. Sri Lanka and Yugoslavia are making a concerted effort to revive the Non-aligned Movement from its dormancy and make it once again a relevant force in solving political problems that are plaguing the world and endangering world peace, diplomatic

sources here said yesterday; as an initial move in this regard, the new Yugoslav President Cvijetin Myatovic is sending his Foreign Minister Josip Vrhovec with a special message to Lankan President J. R. Jayewardene this week—SU. The Youth wing of the TULF is now willing to accept the invitation issued by the leadership to have discussions with all the committee members of the party at a joint meeting—DP. The Government has decided to get foreign aid to the tune of Rs. 300 million to provide facilities to 5434 schools in which 480,000 students are enrolled at present; this will be one of the proposals that will be forwarded for consideration at the next Aid Consortium meeting in Paris—DV. All anti-government political parties have expressed their support for the scheduled day of protest to be launched by trade unions on June 5—ATH.

TUESDAY, JUNE 3: A sub-committee of development secretaries headed by Secretary to the Ministry of Public Administration, D. B. I. P. S. Siriwardene has recommended that direct recruitment up to 50 per cent of the vacancies in Class II Grade I of the Sri Lanka Administrative Service should be provided through an open competitive examination; the committee also recommends that the SLAS should attract the best products of universities at a comparatively young age, to be trained and developed for senior management positions in the Administrative Service and other fields of public sector administration. Field kachcheris, an administrative innovation now being implemented in Jaffna with President J. R. Jayewardene's blessing, have already won the approval of the people of Jaffna; under the field Kachcheri system the GA and his team of officials visit remote villages on appointed dates to "investigate" the problems of the villagers and find solutions to them; seven such kachcheris have already been conducted. Sri Lanka has been elected a member of the Inter-Governmental Council for the Co-ordination of Information among Non-aligned countries; this Council, which consists of 15 countries of the Non-aligned community, is the principal policy making body in the field of information. Private buses can operate on any route now; the earlier stipulation that prevented them from operating on CTB routes has been withdrawn—CDN. The rail track at certain points has deteriorated so much

that the Railway may not be able to avoid disaster even maintaining a speed limit as low as 5 miles per hour; this note of caution has been sounded by the Sri Lanka Railway Technical Officers Union, in a memorandum to the President Mr. J. R. Jayewardene. The water levels at Castlereagh and Mousakelle are steadily rising; yesterday, the position had improved by a volume of water equivalent to 36 million units of electricity, augmenting the existing volume. The Government with the concurrence of the Government of Thailand, has decided to appoint Mrs. Irangani Manel Abeysekera as first resident Ambassador of Sri Lanka in Thailand, in succession to Mr. H. R. Premaratne, who was concurrently accredited to Thailand from Burma—CDM. All state activities and responsibilities in relation to human rights will be vested in the Sri Lanka Foundation following a decision by President J. R. Jayewardene; this will include the negotiation and implementation of treaties with international organisations concerned with human rights and the teaching of human rights in universities and secondary schools. Posts and Telecommunications Minister D. B. Wijetunge yesterday appealed to advanced Commonwealth countries not to take steps that might dilute any benefits the less developed members gained from joint Commonwealth efforts in the telecommunication field. Government plans to introduce an anti-poverty programme under which 25,000 low income families selected annually will be provided with an outright state grant of 9,000 rupees for self-improvement; a fund of 300 million rupees is expected to be allocated for this programme in the Budget for 1981 and it will be implemented from next year, Government sources disclosed—SU. Students of Jaffna Central College went on a hunger strike demanding the transfer of their Principal and redress of some other grievances; the school will be closed for a week—EN. A massive reservoir is to be constructed at Sapugaskande to provide water for Colombo and the suburbs with World Bank assistance—LD. On the scheduled day of protest on June 5, private sector employees and estate workers will launch a strike while public and local government workers will launch a work to rule campaign and picket in working places—ATH.

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BOOKS

● CHINA ● NORWAY

PEKING LEADERSHIP: TREACHERY AND BETRAYAL. BY H. D. MALAVIYA (PUBLISHED BY NEW LITERATURE, DELHI 110005, RS. 25.00)

This book published in Delhi last December was written by the well-known politician and commentator H. D. Malaviya. It reveals, as seen by an Indian, the nature of the current policies pursued by Peking's leaders—policies which are, according to the author, are suicidal for the Chinese people themselves and dangerous for the peoples of the neighbouring and other Asian countries, and also generally, for the world at large. The book is based on authentic statements by Chinese leaders and also documents which will help readers in Sri Lanka to draw their own conclusions concerning Peking's current political manoeuvring and to understand the Indian's traditional suspicion of her northern neighbour.

The preface to H. D. Malaviya's book was written by T. N. Kaul, who had for years held key posts in the Indian diplomatic service, including the post of the Foreign Secretary, and is now believed to be an unofficial foreign policy consultant to Prime Minister Indira Gandhi. In his well-written forward, Mr. Kaul has pointed out that at the present moment the world stands at a cross-road and the question is whether the nations will succeed in averting a nuclear holocaust or perish in an atomic conflagration. In our days, Mr. Kaul rightly points out, peace is not merely an absence of war. Peace also implies the absence of colonialism and imperialism, racialism and expansionism as well as an equitable distribution of benefits and products both between and within nations. The only possible *modus vivendi* in the present circumstances is "live and let live." In this context, Mr. Kaul draws attention to the danger of the current rapprochement of the West with China, of the desire of the United States and others to support China in the Sino-Soviet dispute for selfish purposes. This policy, he believes, runs counter to the interests of the developing non-aligned nations, that it was short-sighted and was ultimately doomed to failure, since it ignores China's expansionist designs, her intention to emerge as a "great power" to impose her will on their peoples. The

non-aligned countries Mr. Kaul believes, could and should play a positive role in containing the trends so dangerous for the world.

Mr. Malaviya's book has eleven chapters and deals with various aspects of China's foreign policy and the situation at home. Chapter I "Precept and Practice of Peking Leaders" shows the glaring disparity between the pseudo-progressive declarations of Peking's leaders and their undisguised desire for a rapprochement with the most reactionary and pro-imperialist forces. It dwells at great length on China's departure from the principles of "panch shila" declared by Jawaharlal Nehru and Chou En-lai in 1954. It is asserted that following the death of Mao Tse-tung leaders in Peking have taken over only the most reactionary and chauvinistic features of Maoism.

The chapter "A Dangerous Neighbour" shows that China made territorial claims to all her neighbours. Incidentally, the territory, which Peking has unilaterally claimed to be "Chinese" and occupied in India and Burma exceeds 300,000 square kilometers which is thrice as large as the territory of Sri Lanka! China supports anti-Government groups formed from the remnants of the Pol Pot forces in Kampuchea and has been giving active aid to the separatists and disruptive elements, which are engaged in an armed struggle against their Governments in India, Bangladesh, Burma and Thailand.

Peking leaders assign a major role in their expansionist plans to "Overseas Chinese"—or *huatsiao*—who number 4 million in Thailand, over 3 million in Malaysia, 1.5 million in Singapore, 3 million in Indonesia and several hundred thousands in Burma, Cambodia, Laos and Vietnam. The leaders of present-day China are acting according to the old Chinese formula: "China is there where there are Chinese. The *huatsiao* living in the countries of South and South East Asia control a significant share of trade, industries and banking in those countries, while the *huatsiao*'s capital is estimated by foreign experts at \$5 billion. The investment in Asia of all the industrial (imperialist) nations taken together are also estimated at this sum! How dangerous this is for the Asian countries has been demonstrated by the example of Indonesia, whose Government was forced to resort to emergency measures against the *huatsiao*.

In the Chapter "China's Militarisation for War" the author emphasizes that at the root of the policy of the present leaders in Peking lies ubiquitous "Sino-centrism", which implies that it is China and China alone which will remain as the bearer of true civilisation, whereas the non-Chinese barbarians were ordained to be her subordinates. From the idea of the supremacy of the Chinese culture and the Chinese in general naturally flows the desire to justify war and to build up China's military muscle. As Mao Tse-tung put it. "War is our best method", "War is a good thing not to be feared", "The A-bomb is not more fearful than a large sword", "If a war kills half the mankind, there is nothing wrong with it", As far back as in September 1959 speaking at a meeting of the leaders of the Chinese Communist Party, Mao Tse-tung said: "We are out to conquer the world". These ideas are still being voiced by representatives of the current Chinese leadership, who believe that "War is a normal thing" and so on. Small wonder that China has the largest army in the world more than 3.5 million-men strong! The main task, leaders in Peking believe, is to arm it with sophisticated weaponry. It is this task which determines the current "four modernizations" movement in China.

The author analyses in great detail Peking's attempts to bring under its control the non-aligned movement. The author reminds that originally Peking was strongly opposed to the non-aligned movement whose principles Peking dubbed as nothing less than a "deception of the people" and as a "concession to imperialism". However, later on as the authority and prestige of the non-aligned countries began to grow, in world affairs, Peking decided to take advantage of this new political factor to promote its selfish aims, while covering its actions with the profuse talk about the need "to jointly oppose the two superpowers". China is doing all it can to attach herself and impose her policies on to the non-aligned movement, to create the impression that she truly represents its interests. In practice, however, while supporting, for instance, the proposal to review the criteria of non-alignment Peking seeks to impose on the non-aligned movement other criteria which would enable her to freely manipulate with the non-aligned countries to serve her far-

reaching plans. Whilst talking sanctimoniously about the high ideals and objectives of the Non-aligned Movement, China wants the US to strengthen its Navy in the Indian Ocean and to expand the facilities in Diego Garcia. China's only pays lip service to the concept of the Indian Ocean Peace Zone.

The author is convinced that the Chinese act on the assumption that it is only a third world war that can solve all the problems faced by mankind and, therefore, they are actively getting ready for this horrible disaster. The China's stake on war serves only to emphasise the nature of her policies at a time when she is persistently trying to penetrate the non-aligned movement whose goal is to preserve peace on earth.

Mr. Malaviya's book will certainly come in handy for all those who have an interest in the Chinese affairs and policies in Asia, and will provide for them extremely interesting food for thought.

T.R.S

NORWAY — 1979. PUBLISHED BY THE EXPORT COUNCIL OF NORWAY

THE PUBLICATION is intended to assist Norwegian business interests, as well as to provide foreign trade partners with information about Norwegian economy and export industry. Harnessing of cheap energy from the country's numerous waterfalls helped to transform Norway over the past eighty years (Norway broke away from Sweden in 1905 to become fully independent) from a poor farming society to a modern industrial nation says the publication. North Sea petroleum has now added a new dimension. Norway has recognised that petroleum is a non-renewable energy resource and has thus embarked upon the testing of other forms of energy such as solar energy and wind power. Alfred Nobel and the Nobel Awards are explained in an article. Alfred Nobel, although Swedish, had specified that of the five prizes, the Peace Prize should be awarded by the Norwegian Parliament the Storting. The book says that it has been presumed that he left the selection of the Peace Prize to the Storting in recognition of the role it had played in seeking to get compulsory arbitration procedures between nations accepted as a part of international law.

Ingrid Bjoner, Norway's high-dramatic soprano is introduced in one article. It appears that after Ingrid's first appearance, the Swed-

ish singer Birgit Nilsson swept into her dressing room, took her by the throat (quite clearly in sheer delight) and cried "You have to be strangled. You are too good." This reminds me of what George Bernard Shaw is reported to have written to Heifetz after a recital "Your recital has filled me with anxiety. If you provoke a jealous God by playing with such super-human perfection, you will die young. I earnestly advise you to play something badly every night before going to bed, instead of saying your prayers. No mortal should presume to play so faultlessly."

Devaratnam Danforth

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ANOTHER VIEW OF

Anamaduwa

by R. Kahawita

THE BY - ELECTION is over. Everyone has given his or her analysis of the results. The party in power claims the results as an unequivocal endorsement of the Party's popularity, and an endorsement of their policies and programmes by a constituency that was carved out recently to ensure a SLFP majority. So they won the 1977 July elections. The total votes polled in 1977 were 33,002. The SLFP collected 50% of the votes and the UNP collected 47%, balance went to various other hopefuls. On the results of the 1977 election, Anamaduwa was declared a bastion of the SLFP supporters.. This was the conviction of the UNP because this was one of few seats they lost.

In the 1980, May elections the total votes were 36,782. UNP registered 50%, the SLFP collected 46%. The balance went to other political Parties and the Independents. Between the two elections there was an increase of 11% over the 1977 votes. The UNP claims further that the results are a clear acceptance of the present policies of the Party—which means the voters have endorsed, "the free-for-all inflation", "spiralling cost of living", "shortfall in agricultural productions", "high wages and good employment opportunities", "stranglehold of the bureaucracy on the economic life of the people", "some degree of indiscipline and chaos in the State services" etc. This claim is made by the spokesman of

the party in power. This is their own version of the success not that of the people.

ON THE OTHER HAND, if we look at the 1977 and 1980 results objectively, it is clear the voters have accepted a democratic way of life. They have been indoctrinated to think this way since 1947. Since then and now, they have cast their votes at General Elections and many by-elections in a way to show their appreciation of free elections in a democratic setting.

Since then, they have also, begun to accept a two party system in their concept of democracy. From a multi-party system in which they exercised their franchise from the beginning, they have polarized to a two-party system. At each General Elections, they indicated their acceptance of this by gradually eradicating other political parties—this was quite clear at the 1970 elections and at the 1977 election when the long-standing LSSP and CP completely erased off the political scene. The voters have repeated this at the Anamaduwa by-election too.

They also have realized that in a two party democratic system, the Party elected to power must have a working majority in the House of Representatives if the system were to work. So the voters have during the last two General Elections, in pursuance of this conviction, given a mandate to the party of their choice to set up a stable government. This happened in the 1970 General Elections even without a coalition with the Left; it happened in 1977. They have rejected the Left *in toto*; maybe because of their subterfuge to gain power, given an ell they claim an inch. Our voters today seem to be more mature, and seem to have a great understanding as to how a democracy should work—may be much more than many of our representatives are. If the Party in power fails to live up to their hopes, and if that party is rejected at the elections, the blame has to be placed at the door of the elected. The voters will decide again when the time comes. This is democracy and our voters know it well today.

A BYE-ELECTION is a drop out in the wayside. They know in a parliament with a working majority one seat is not going to upset the balance or make the party they have elected

see sense even if such disapproval is necessary to register their disgust. They are shrewd to be taken in by such a folly. They also know, that there is no point in going against the current, when the stability of the ruling party cannot be shaken by an extra seat to the Opposition. If they want to benefit by the largesse of the ruling party then they must flow with the current. They were told so in no uncertain terms during the election campaign—so the UNP scored a 4% majority over their nearest rival SLFP. In future elections these two parties will be the two rivals. The voters of 1970 and 1980 have "said so." Between the two elections, the UNP increased their strength by one percent over the SLFP.

The voters also understand the new voting system and one could almost say that they will cast their votes in such a manner to ensure a working majority to the party of their choice—in a proportional system of representation. By 1983 there will be a more understanding and decisive voting groups to replace the old school diehards. Allegiance to a political party will no longer "be hereditary."

The assessment of a party's stewardship will be far more searching than the previous elections have experienced. The voters may be silent today, they may participate heartily, at rallies, tamashas, garlanding, receptions and meetings, but none of them are an indication of the Government's popularity. They come to these functions to learn, educate themselves and see for themselves how much what the politicians claim is true and compare them with facts and the previous regime to make a final decision. This is how democracy should work and the voters have shown that they understand the value of a free franchise.

Anamaduwa election is a compliment to the voter. He is enlightened—what is a difference of 4% to the ruling party to claim popularity, except to live in a

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

Reference No. 2/7/62 iii

It is intended to acquire the land described in the schedule below for a public purpose. For further particulars see the Gazette of the Democratic Socialist Republic of Sri Lanka No. 94 (Part iii) of 20-06-1980.

Schedule

Situation: Situated in Rupala Gramasevaka Division in Walapane D.R.O.'s Division of Nuwara Eliya District.

Name of Land: Kudawapatane, Pansalawatte, Pansalagawawatte, alias Pansal-gawakumbura, Pandithagetherawatta, Dehigawatte, Nayakandu rawatte, Kettamillagollawatte, Dambagahahena, Yakdehikumburawatte, Parahena, Yakdehikum-bura, Pansalakumbura, Kehelwate, and Kettamillagollawatte.

Plan & Lot No: Lots 161, 162, 163, 164, 165, 166, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171, 173, 174, 175, 176, 177, 178, 179, 180, 5, 15, 318, 319, 320, 322, 323, 324, 326, 328, 329, 331, 343, 344, 346, 348, 349, 351, 352 and 354, 712, 332, 334, 335, 336, 338, 340, 342 in F.V.P. No. 231 and 232.

H. M. H. Abeweera
District Land Officer,

For Government Agent, Nuwara Eliya.
The Kachcheri,
Nuwara Eliya. 21st of May 1980

Govt.



Notices

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

Notice Under Section 7

Ref. No. 3/62/535/7. 75 E. 328

It is intended to acquire the Land/Lands described in the Schedule below. For further particulars please see the Gazette of the Democratic Socialist Republic of Sri Lanka No. 94 (Part III) of 20 06.1930.

Schedule

Name of village etc:— Thalwita village in Mahagalboda Megoda North Korale, Kurunegala D.R.O.'s Division, Kurunegala District.

Name of Land:— Marapitiya Watta

Plan & Lot No:— Lot No. 1 in Plan No. KU/943

H. M. W. Chandraratna

District Land Officer,
Kurunegala District.

The Kachcheri, Kurunegala. 03 June 1980

fools paradise, all the credit must go to the voter for having used his vote prudently and to his advantage in an unalterable situation.

RANDOM JOTTINGS

by Rambler

Carter Mania-2

—arson bombs—

PRESIDENT CARTER has issued one more threat last week end to the Soviet Union that he (the USA) would go to war if the Soviets made any attempt to intrude or invade into the Persian Gulf countries. But those who can read between the lines know that this threat is only a smokescreen for current actions to prevent the Iranians and other peoples in the Gulf taking over their countries fully to get the (full) benefits from their own oilfields. At the recent conference in Tehran, which was attended by a delegation from Sri Lanka, the Iranians had established with documents the fact that during the entire Pahlavi era from the end of the First World War the Western Powers led by the US had "waged war" against the Iranian people so that the oil companies and the Shah could rob the people of the huge profits from oil: that after the CIA had overthrown the Moasadeh government in 1953, this "war" had been carried on more ruthlessly and brutally than before with the Shah-CIA Savak murdering over 70,000 persons in the process.

Now that the Shah has been forced to flee the country, the US have intensified their efforts to gain total control over the oilfields. Brzezinski and Carter have done their best to provoke situations which could provide them with excuses to take military action to suppress the nationalistic, patriotic and radical forces in Iran. They even provoked the Iranian militants to seize the US embassy and 53 hostages, but the attempt to rescue them by force and at the same time lay the foundation for a military occupation as the world now knows, ended in a disgraceful fiasco in a lonely desert.

Before and after this rescue attempt, Carter has been shouting that the Russians were massing troops on the Iranian border to march into that country and the Gulf. He had also intimidated and frightened other

States in the region with the Russian bogey—that the Soviet Union was ready to pounce on their oilfields. With this slogan on his masthead (which should really have flown the skull and bones), Carter has been strengthening the US military presence in the Indian Ocean and the Gulf to assure continued massive profits for the US oil companies.

What is worse is that he has persisted in his suicidally lunatic programme to "teach a lesson" to the Iranians for their refusal to accept American overlordship. The rescue attempt itself, it now transpires, was only an excuse to achieve the military occupation of Iran. For this purpose the main objective of the rescue operation, it is now revealed, was the capture of Khomeini and other patriotic Iranian leaders.

These threats to Iran's sovereignty and territorial integrity continue to this day. For instance, reports in the international press have revealed that on or about May 12 US helicopters from US carriers now stationed in the Persian Gulf had dropped chemical bombs in the oil fields in an offshore island (i.e. Lavan). The bombs had automatically and "spontaneously" started fires—they were intended to show the natives that it was easy to set ablaze oil fields. This bombing was only a warning about what Carter and Brzezinski could do and proposed to do if Iranians or peoples in the region were reluctant to follow the US Administration and its zig-zagging policies. This May 12 bombing was also a trial experiment to see the efficacy of these chemical bombs to start fires and conflagrations.

In their mad determination to convince the world that they are in a position "to teach a lesson" to those who do not accept their policies, Carter and Brzezinski have embarked on something that pretends great danger to nations and peoples. With such self-igniting chemical bombs, the US war machine can start devastating fires in oil fields and other installations anywhere in the world—for instance, in Mexico (which is resisting Carter's demands to sell oil cheap), or Libya (which is opposed to Carter's Middle East policies), or Saudi Arabia (if the regime there gets out of step with the profit-making strategies of the US oil companies), or India (if Indira Gandhi persists in spurning US advice), or anywhere else for that matter.

In this connection, it would be relevant

to recall that the US had raised a hue and cry about an alleged "accident" in Siberia that had revealed the presence of chemical warfare bombs or material in the USSR. The Soviet Union has denied this allegation and characterised it as a foul lie started as part of the cold war propaganda to prepare the world for total nuclear and chemical war. It is significant that this charge was brought against the Soviet Union when a major scandal had broken in the US (and in Australia) as a hangover from the chemical warfare the US had carried on in Vietnam.

In a report in the *New York Times* on January 7 this year, Law D. Daniels had stated:

"Five chemical companies that manufactured the military defoliant Agent Orange in the 1960s and 70s have charged that its negligent misuse by the government is responsible for any injuries and disabilities Vietnam veterans and their families may have suffered from it. The companies also accused the government of failing to inform servicemen of the potential dangers of exposure to Agent Orange, a herbicide mixture that contains traces of an extraordinary toxic substance called dioxin, and of failing to provide medical care to veterans and families suffering from the chemical's alleged effects.

"The five companies are Dow Chemical Co., Monsanto Co., Thompson Hayward Chemical Co., Hercules Inc. and Diamond Shamrock Corp. Their assertions, filed separately Friday in U.S. District Court in Westbury, N.Y., were in response to a class-action suit brought against them last year by a Vietnam veterans' organization on behalf of more than 3,000 veterans. The veterans' group, Agent Orange Victims International, and other critics of the manufactureres contend that the defoliant caused serious maladies in servicemen exposed to it and birth defects in some of their children. That view is disputed by the firms and by some government officials.

"The government has begun a long-term study of the defoliant's possibly deleterious health effects. Last February, the Environmental Protection Agency suspended use of herbicides containing 2, 4, 5-T (one of Agent Orange's two ingredients) in forests and pastures, along rights of way, around residences and in aquatic and recreation areas. But it allowed its continued use in rice lands and

cattle grazing areas. The agency said it acted because a study had linked 2,4,5-T to miscarriages in the Alsea basin of Oregon, where it was used regularly on timberland. Other studies have found it to be one of the most carcinogenic substances known. The dioxin gets into the 2,4,5-T as a result of the manufacturing process.

"The companies' charges are the latest round of legal maneuvering in the veterans' suit. According to a Dow spokesman, the companies are not admitting that Agent Orange is harmful. Rather, they are saying that if the court rules that substance did cause injuries and disabilities the fault lies with the government not with them. The Justice Department had no comment yesterday. The attorney for the veterans' group says the companies' new claims represent "a significant departure" from their earlier position that Agent Orange absolutely could not have caused servicemen's ills. Attorney Victor Yannacone made it clear he thinks the fault lay with the chemical companies.

"Each company filed separate briefs, but, according to Mr. Freyer, they were almost identical. According to those who have read the Dow brief, it accuses the government of acting "negligently and recklessly" in failing adequately to test the herbicide, of using it in ways not anticipated by the company, of exposing servicemen to the defoliant in Vietnam, of failing to warn them of its hazards, of failing to instruct them in the proper methods of using it and of failing to attempt to provide medical care to veterans who were discharged."

Similar lawsuits have been also filed in Australia by Veterans who had fought in the Vietnam war. It is now becoming apparent that the US and Australian governments cannot escape the responsibility for the use of chemical warfare in Vietnam. It is being brought home to them by the very men they had engaged (in many cases compelled) to do this dirty work. Nor can Carter and Brzezinski get away with their attempts to "teach lessons" to sovereign nations, however, small.

But, whether their dangerous threats and postures can be stopped and their warlike provocations checked, before they plunge the world in a world armageddon, is problematic.

Confidentially

Smugglers' Paradise

HAS ANYTHING BEEN DONE about the latest scandal reported in the *Ceylon Daily Mirror* of Thursday, June 13, by Lloyd R. Devrajah under the heading MYSTERY CALLS STAYS CUSTOMS SEIZURE—FOREIGN SUITINGS WORTH RS. 8.9M: "Mystery surrounds the telephone call that was made last Sunday to a party of Customs Preventive officers who were ordered to stay seizure of nearly Rs. 8.9 million worth of foreign-origin luxury suitings, from a shirt-making factory in Kotahena. Acting on a tipoff, a party of Customs Preventive Officers raided the factory and began loading the seized textiles on to three waiting lorries to be transported to the Customs Preventive Office. When nearly all the textiles were loaded onto the lorries, a telephone call was made to the Customs party, directing them to stay any action and to unload the luxury suitings in the factory stores and to have them sealed. Investigations reveal that the suitings were given to this establishment by an export-oriented garment manufacturer of Ratmalana, allegedly to be disposed of in the local market, illegally. Textiles imported by the export-oriented garment manufacturers are debarred from disposing of the textiles or the manufactured garments in the local market, which would also be liable for them to have their licence cancelled. The Kotahena factory is said to have had no records or any documents to prove that the suitings material was given to them to turn out garments for the Ratmalana factory, on a sub-contract basis. Meanwhile, the Ratmalana firm has stated that the suiting belonged to them and were given to the Kotahena factory to manufacture ready-made garments on their behalf. Preliminary investigations also revealed that the Kotahena factory only manufactures ready made shirts and no records of the stocks of suitings taken in from the Ratmalana factory for the past several months were shown in their stock registers etc. Attempts are however being made by certain interested Customs

officers to have the whole issue hushed up, according to informed Port sources."

THAT ON READING THIS REPORT, *Tribune* detailed one of its investigators (although they have for sometime been taken off the smuggling beat because nobody seems to be interested on checking smuggling whilst many turn double-somersaults to hush up these scandals) to look into this matter? That his report confirms the *Daily Mirror* story in every detail? That according to him, *Fact 1* was that a vast mountain of textiles was unearthed enough to fill 10 lorries and the value of which was over Rs. 10 million in this place in Kotahena which was registered a shirt-manufacturing factory? That *Fact 2* was that a good part of the seized goods were suitings (what were they doing in a shirt-manufacturers' joint?) That *Fact 3* was that the shirt manufacturer (to explain how he came by the stocks) produced "documentary evidence" dated early 1979 that the textiles were for export market but he could not explain why the documents did not cover even a fraction of the goods detected? That *Fact 4* was that goods had been kept in their original packing with bands unbroken for over a year when export targets had to be met within each quota period? (That incidentally swimming trunks were not on order although they were very much in evidence)? That *Fact 5* was that when the goods were moving in convoy to the Customs Headquarters, an order was received to reverse the convoy, put the goods back, and seal the store? That *Fact 6* was that the order that the inventory should be taken in the importer's premises was something not done in Customs procedure? That *Fact 7* is that investigations have been stayed and the importer has been given time to produce documentary evidence?

THAT OUR INVESTIGATOR is certain that the VIP bureaucrat who gave the order to reverse the convoy and stay investigations will accept whatever bogus documents are produced as genuine and order the release of the goods? That in this way smuggled goods are legalised? That readers will realise that this is the same old story of success—smuggle, stall, escape and legalise? AMEN.

X X X X

For Liberalisation

To Succeed

SMUGGLING

MUST BE STOPPED

Why Let The Treasury

Be Robbed of Billions?

SPACE DONATED

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