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# TRIBUNE

CEYLON NEWS REVIEW



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# TRIBUNE

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## Letter From The Editor

ON THE COVER we see a picture of a palmyrah palm being slowly enmeshed in the vines of what will ultimately become a mighty banyan tree. This is the beginning of a process which a few years hence will see the tall and stately palmyrah submerged as a tiny parasitic outgrowth of a big spreading banyan tree. In fact, it is the banyan which starts as a parasite on the palmyrah—birds drop the seeds of the banyan fruit around the palmyrah—and ends up as the overlord. A few years ago, on a run from Kalpitiya to Jaffna via Puttalam and Anuradhapura, hundreds of such palmyrah-cum-banyan and banyan-cum-palmyrah combinations could be seen by the roadside, but today after the recent mania for tree cutting one can rarely see even one. This palmyrah-cum-banyan tree phenomenon had interested early British botanists so much that they dug up several complete palmyrah-cum-banyan-combines and sent them to botanical gardens in England. There are references to these rare "exports" in some books, but it has not been possible to discover what happened to them in England. Now with the campaign for tree-planting and tree-growing, which will receive a big boost on the first anniversary of the coming to power of the Dharmista UNP government on July 23, 1977, there must be a parallel campaign to forbid the cutting down of trees. If this UNP campaign to grow trees and to save trees is a success—unlike the grow-more-tree campaign launched by different governments in the last decade—there is hope for the ecological and environmental future of Sri Lanka. *Tribune* has over the years not only urged that we should grow more trees, millions of them—many times more than in the official tree-planting programmes of the Forest Department—but also stop the cutting down of our forests including some of our primeval rain forests that have stood untouched for thousands nay millions of years. It is also urgently necessary for government to reorganise the Forest Department. It needs more money for its replanting work, more staff to safeguard forest reserves, more nurseries and research stations, more vehicles to implement its programmes and more than anything else, more attention to the human needs of those who are employed by the Department. For many decades now, governments have treated the Forest Department in a miserly and step-motherly fashion. The *Tribune* also commends the Ministry of Education for initiating the Schools Islandwide Tree-planting Campaign. Inaugurating the scheme by planting a mango sapling, Deputy Minister, Lionel Jayatileke, stated "Each tree that is planted today will in the future serve to ease the food problems of our nation. It will also contribute in very great measure to making our country self-sufficient.... .we have recently imported timber for various purposes. This is a very dangerous situation which should be remedied immediately. Another problem that poor people faced was lack of firewood. There are five lakhs of students in our schools and one lakh and twenty five thousand staff approximately. If each student plants one plant, each staff member two plants and others three plants each, a very great service could be rendered to the nation. It will help in making our country self-sufficient in food. It will help economically in providing the country with the timber and firewood that is needed for consumption and thirdly it will beautify the country.....". The important thing is not to plant, but to look after what has been planted to the point when they do not need any more looking after to grow. With the new felling in the Mahaweli region, the replanting has to be accelerated and expanded many times; But there is one snag. There is an unbelievable shortage of saplings, seedlings and grafts. The existing nurseries of the Forest Department are unable to cope with the demand from the public for utility forest trees. The nurseries of the Department of Agriculture, Coconut Research Institute and similar organisations are in worse plight. Something must be done to make real and meaningful the islandwide tree-planting.

# TRIBUNE

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Founded in 1954

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World Affairs**

**Editor S. P. Amarasingam  
Every Saturday**

June 10, 1978

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## EDITOR'S NOTEBOOK

### ● Purana Village ● Import Mania ● Growing Debt ● Trilateral Panacea

Colombo, June 2,

Last week, in dealing with the shadows that coming events have begun to cast in Sri Lanka, we had referred to the editorial in the *Ceylon Observer* about "fish, meat, eggs."

Take just one another shadow that has fallen across the scene. The LSSP journals — *The Socialist Nation* and the *Janadina*—have for some weeks now been highlighting the way the Mahaweli Board was getting lands ready to receive Mahaweli water and fit them into new land schemes. They had, according to Dr. Colvin R. de Silva, who had visited the scene, bull-dozed a number of traditional "purana" villages in Kala Oya (centuries old) into nothingness in order to implement the paper plans of experts. Bull-dozing or bull-dozering is an excellent modern exercise, but the damage it does in terms of human welfare and ecology can be great.

We will not cite the *Socialist Nation*, though what it had set out is worthy of record, but we will quote the editorial of the government paper, the *Ceylon Daily News*, which in an editorial on May 29 entitled NUWARAGAM or AREA H stated:

"We had reason to believe that the country duly regretted the destructive folly, it had engaged in, in its attempts to prepare the Gal Oya basin for human settlement; a form of preparation that consisted of bulldozing with the minimum of mechanical effort every tree and plant in the area regardless of the irreversible ecological chan-

ges that would follow. We felt that in the last 25 years we had outgrown such myopic attitudes to the developmental process and come to recognise the complexity of the problems involved in the harnessing of rivers for increasing the productivity of the land by human effort. The news that is trickling in about the destructive frenzy that has overtaken the once peaceful Nuwaragam Korales in the process of "developing" the Kala Oya basin the modern way, is thus very perturbing. The Gal Oya valley could have for statistical purposes been considered uninhabited—so few were the jungle villages there—but the currently threatened Nuwaragam region contains about 60 purana villages with an estimated population of 35,000. More important the villages that are earmarked for obliteration have been in continuous occupation for over 1,500 years and represent perhaps the longest patterns of settlement in the island. Apparently no one had prepared the inhabitants of the villages for the shock they suddenly received when they were ordered not to cultivate their fields this season because they have to be moved to other areas in accordance with the new project plans. Human beings develop binding ties with the land of their forefathers and in a country like Sri Lanka where traditional values are so important people's ties with their 'gamas' mean a very great deal to them. Severing the ties of 35,000 people with the villages in which generations of their ancestors lived and the yayas and henas which they have come to know so intimately will have traumatic consequences for them and perhaps for the project as well in overall terms. Planners and engineers preparing blueprints for a multipurpose project such as the Mahaweli Diversion scheme get, we might say, an aerial view of

the whole and in such a perspective villages represent mere specks which can be erased to make way for irrigation channels and grandiose land settlement plans. But anicuts, sluices, spillways and channels cannot grow the food the nation requires; which means that in the last resort the human factor is the most decisive, and creating proper conditions for enlisting the maximum degree of co-operation and motivation should receive the highest priority in plan implementation. Regrettably this aspect appears to be getting the scantiest attention. Moving people en masse from any habitat they have occupied for a lifetime is not to be lightly undertaken but when it comes to these purana villages the pros and cons should have been examined from every possible angle because it is often the case that the least apparent considerations grow into problems that are intractable and insurmountable. The whole bulldozing exercise has been embarked on to make the 10 to 16 percent of highland henas also suitable for irrigable crops. Apart from the fact that the reduction of the undulating terrain of this area to extensive flat irrigated fields will alter its fundamental ecological structure with far reaching consequences it does not appear to have been adequately recognised that the tank village system with its three fold system of yaya, gangoda and hena has evolved as a uniquely well adapted human response to the ecologist conditions of the dry zone that has shown its resilience by surviving for over thousand years even after the major infrastructure of reservoirs and trans-basin channels broke down. Area H seems to symbolise the basic approach to this vital question and if we go on in this way we can envisage future Sri Lankans telling their friends that for the Sinhala New Year they will be returning

to H one, zero zero seven of H three zero zero four where now they say they hope to go to Suria-damaṇa or Ralapaṇawewa."

Need one comment? If the much-talked of Mahaweli Project produces human tragedies and ecological disasters of this kind, then the country will probably be better off without the Mahaweli Project.

It is reported that the President has had to step in once again. Do the bureaucratic and technocratic perpetrators of this folly in Kala-Oya and the stupid experts—foreign and local—blind to human and ecological realities know that the name of the UNP has already become a hated word in some parts of the NCP? Unless the President takes drastic action to reverse the process, the UNP will find it difficult to contest a seat in the NCP at the next elections whatever wonders the Mahaweli Project may produce? Did not the UNP lose every seat in the Minneriya-Polonnaruwa region in 1956 after the great and good work of D. S. Senanayake and the UNP had done to develop the region from the 1930s onwards?

On the same day as the editorial referred to above, the *Ceylon Daily News* published a frontpage box under the heading **PRESIDENT RESPONDS TO N. M. PERERA'S REPRESENTATIONS.** The report read: "President J. R. Jayawardene has responded instantly to a letter addressed to him by the leader of the Lanka Sama Samaja Party, Dr N. M. Perera, concerning the obliteration of tank villages through land reform, in the North Central Province in the course of the execution of the Mahaweli Development Program. In his letter, which outlined the details of the problem, Dr. Perera had requested the President to grant a hearing to a deputation of the Govi Samithi of the area. along with Dr. Colvin R. de Silva

as their advisor. The *"Daily News* understands that on receipt of Dr. Perera's letter, President Jayawardene met Dr. Perera and expressed his deep concern about the matters mentioned in the letter. The very next day the President met officials, Dr. Ernest Abeyratne and others concerned along with the Minister of Irrigation, Mr. Gamini Dissanayake. He was informed that this system of land alienation in this area mentioned in Dr. Perera's letter, was a decision of the previous government. However, the present Minister of Irrigation has stopped this since he assumed office. The President himself has arranged to visit this area on June 10 and has invited Dr. Perera, Dr. Colvin R. de Silva and Dr. Abeyratne who is mentioned in the letter to accompany him on this visit."

In spite of this the *Ceylon Daily News* thought it fit to publish the editorial we have cited.

The question that many still ask is why the "official" answers that (a) this bulldozing was the result of the decisions of the last government and (b) that Minister Dissanayake had stopped this since he assumed office were not made public no sooner *The Socialist Nation* and the *Janadina* raised this matter some weeks ago. If what the officials say is the truth why could not the public have been informed about it earlier? It would then have not been necessary for the President to intervene.

Must bureaucrats and even Ministers reply to well-founded charges only when the President intervenes? In any case, there is something uncertain and fishy about the whole business. Was the bulldozing part of a plan of the last government to wipe out purana villages? Or was it something that arose after July 1977? When did the work of destruction start? When did it end? Did it stop only after all purana villages had been obliterated?

According to this report in the *Ceylon Daily News*, the President the Minister of Irrigation, Power & Highways, the officials concerned and a delegation led by Dr. N. M. Perera and Dr. Colvin R. de Silva will visit the area on June 10. What will the findings be? We await the verdict.

In our comments in this column last week, we had said that the country was getting submerged in a vast ocean of imports—even of commodities we can easily produce and grow in this country.

A UNI report published in Indian newspapers under the heading **FOREIGN GOODS FLOOD THE MARKET** provided a succinct and revealing report of the situation in this country today: "For the first time in more than a decade all types of consumer goods, most of them imported are now available in Sri Lanka's shops and pavement pitches. This follows liberalisation of exchange and import control regulations by the United National Party Government, which came to power last July, as part of its policy to switch from a socialist type of economy, towards which the country had been drifting for years, to a free market economy. In the past, only 'essential' imports were allowed. These included mostly food items, drugs and plant and machinery. Exchange for other purposes, especially for travel or study abroad and for 'luxury' imports, was stringently restricted. The UNP Government claimed this policy hampered economic growth and development. With the lifting of most of the controls and restrictions in January this year, exchange for the first time became available to any one for any purpose for the asking. Most of the goods available are what were regarded in Sri Lanka earlier as 'luxuries' such as expensive radios, tape recorders, refrigerators, air conditioners, liquor,

tinued foods, carpets, toys and trinkets. Cars are also coming in large number. Even TV sets are available, although television will not come to Sri Lanka for at least another year. This has led critics of the Government, especially former Prime Minister, Mrs. Bandaranaike's Sri Lanka Freedom Party and the leftists, to accuse it of 'frittering' away foreign exchange on non-essentials. Backbenchers within the ruling UNP have expressed unease at the turn of events. The Government had hoped with the liberalisation of controls the private sector would import goods that would accelerate the development effort. The Government's main propaganda-organ—the *Daily News*, recently castigated the private sector for 'letting down' the Government by importing 'frivolous' items. Independent observers expect that the demand for 'luxury' goods and for travel abroad would taper off after the initial rush. There after, imports are likely to be more development-oriented. This is also the expectation of the Government."

**This uneasiness felt by Government back-benchers is shared by all thinking people in the country. What has amazed everybody is that the Government does not seem to know how to use the huge foreign exchange resources made available to the country by the IBRD-IMF and the West. Instead of using them primarily to meet the developmental needs of the country, these foreign exchange resources are being squandered on reckless consumerism. In the new policy the number of items placed on the OGL (Open General Licensing system) has been increased. Nearly all the curbs and controls on free import have been removed.**

**It is clear that import liberalisation has largely stemmed from the availability of foreign exchange resources that have emanated from loans and credits without any bearing on or relevance to programmes for growth and employment. There is no indication that the thrust to OGL has been determined after an indepth assessment of the indigenous capability.**

**What this means is that the Sri Lanka market is being thrown open to foreign multi-nationals who will be able to wipe out Sri Lanka producers—public and private—without any difficulty. The multi-nationals will draw enormous profits and increase their income and employment opportunities in their own lands. No developing country committed to building an independent economy can afford the luxury of allowing foreign monopolists to treat it as their private pasture.**

What is even more alarming is that the Government does not seem to be in the least concerned about mounting burdens of debt and their servicing. On the one hand, whilst Sri Lanka has played a heroic role in UNCTAD in the attempt to reduce, if not liquidate, the debt burden of the poorer developing countries (including Sri Lanka) by urging the creation of a new international economic order intended to create conditions for faster development, on the other hand, Sri Lanka is piling up debt upon debt with gay abandon. It has not been possible to tot up all the debts that this country will soon burden itself with, but Ministers talk enthusiastically about Rs. 6,000 million for the Aid Consortium, another Rs. 6,000 million (from many sources) for Mahaweli

and a total of other sundry loans adding up to another Rs. 2,000 or Rs. 3,000 million (these may be overlapping).

The figure of new foreign debts for Sri Lanka since 1977-78 is fantastically high—no one seems to have any real idea. The old debts remain, and we pay our old debts from the new debts. A few of the old creditors have cancelled the debts, but the old and new debt burden is enough to make Sri Lanka sink into the Indian Ocean with the weight of this debt—unless we generate enough productive activity to be able to pay these debts by our earnings.

It is well to recall that the burden of international debts on non-oil exporting developing countries was \$100 billion in 1973 which has now increased to \$250 billion. The interest charges come to around \$13 billion. The non-oil exporting developing countries have to part with almost one fourth of their export-earnings to meet the interest charges. According to an estimate by UNCTAD, 45 developing countries have to part with 25 per cent of the aid received by them to meet the service charges. The mounting burden of external debts and their servicing adversely affects the pace of economic development of the third countries. Since a large part of the total export earnings and the authorised foreign assistance goes to meet the repayment and interest charges, their capacity to import machinery, equipment and technical know-how for their development gets restricted.

If the mounting burden of debts and interest charges is not checked and brought down, very soon many countries of the third world will be borrowing only to meet the repayment and interest obligations. The argument of the western countries that the main cause of the rising incidence of international

debt and interest charges and the growing deficits in the balance of payments of the non-oil-exporting developing countries is the fantastic increase in the price of oil. Superficially this is true. But, on a closer examination, one finds that the root cause is the policies of the western countries.

The oil-exporting countries have been forced to nationalise oil industry and increase the oil price only to keep the terms of trade not going against them. The western monopolists have been trying to turn the terms of trade in their favour by keeping the price of manufactured items at unreasonably higher levels. Not only this, the recent attempts of the US government to bring about a devaluation of the dollar have been costing the oil exporting countries between \$ 10 to \$ 20 billion every year. If the US government does not stop the decline in the value of the dollar, they may be forced to increase the price of oil again.

The efforts of the non-oil-exporting countries to increase their export earnings have not been yielding any success because of the low prices in the western markets, restrictions by the US and the EEC and the attempts to devalue the dollar. The urgency to earn foreign exchange to meet the debt and service obligation has been bringing about distortions in the production-pattern of many a developing country.

*The demands of the developing countries include the cancellation of old debts and service charges, a new institutional arrangement to ensure loans on reasonable terms and conditions for relatively longer periods, and the setting up of a commodity fund for 18 commodities to safeguard the developing countries against fluctuations in the prices of these commodities in the international market.*

It is in this setting, that the Trilateral Commission about which

a reference was made last week assumes a new significance so far this country is concerned. The new policies of the IMF-IBRD, which according to Jeremiah Novak (whose article appeared in the Tribune last week—Vol. 22 No. 49, 3/6/78)— were formulated by a Special Committee of the Trilateral Commission, seem to have been applied in full in the newest streamlined form to Sri Lanka. This country is one of the first guinea pigs for the Trilateral Commission's new economic order.

What is the Trilateral Commission and what are its objectives? In a blurb to Jeremiah Novak's article, the above question was briefly answered thus; "Its members include President Carter and at least several of his closest advisers and its roster reads like a Who's Who in Business, Government, and Labour..from Europe, North America and Japan (the Trilateral area). The Commission economists are working to renovate the present world economic system....."

Before we go delving into the Trilateral Commission, which was initiated and led by US top-notchers, it would be interesting to know something of the Bilderberg Conference (the 24th Conference was held in Princetown, New Jersey, April 21-23).

"The annual Bilderberg conference first began in 1954 under the direction of Prince Bernhard of the Netherlands as a complementary effort to then-emerging plans for tight British-directed postwar control of a Western alliance. Thus, the Bilderberg conference was to serve as an informal 'private' forum for the elaboration of the policy goal of the Anglo-Dutch monarchy and for screening potential leaders for the new "Atlantic" system. The 1976 "Lockheed payoff" scandals involving Prince Bernhard forced his

resignation from the Bilderberg chairmanship and his replacement by Sir Alec Douglas-Home, of Great Britain. Flanking the Bilderberg Chairman are two Honorary Secretaries General, one from the United States and one from Western Europe. The American Secretary General is now William Bundy, editor of the Council of Foreign Relations quarterly publication *Foreign Affairs*; from the European side, the Secretary General is Ernst van der Beugel, professor at Leiden University and director of the London-based International Institute for Strategic Studies. The selection of participants for the annual conferences are decided by American and European steering committees, which include George Ball, David Rockefeller, Giovanni Agnelli, Edmond de Rothschild, and Sir Eric Roll of the London Warburg interests."

The outcome of the 24th Bilderberg Conference is more appropriately dealt by some one dealing with international affairs, but the Trilateral Commission which, came into existence in the early seventies when the Bretton Woods system had all but collapsed seems to concentrate on economic matters and on policies only so far as they impinge on the economics. The Trilateral Commission brought in Japan in a big way.

The question for which an answer must be found is whether the New Economic Order of the Trilateral Commission can help countries like Sri Lanka to (a) get out of the economic mess they are in, and (b) to effect a breakthrough from third world under-developed poverty into dynamic development and genuine economic growth.

These questions have to be answered, at the present juncture of Sri Lanka's history, on the basis of low-profile pragmatism without being carried away by ideological predilections about capitalism, socialism or any other-ism.

In the coming weeks, *Tribune*, especially some of its columnists and correspondents, will examine the validity of the claims of the New Economic Order of the Tri-lateral Commission. Has the Tri-lateral Commission a panacea to save world capitalism as well as help third world developing countries into prosperity? The panacea must bring stability and prosperity to second world countries and also to "developed" third world nations like the oil-exporting OPEC nations.

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## BETWEEN THE LINES BY SERENDIB

### ○ President ○ "Luxury" Cars

\*CONVOCATION ADDRESS: The President, Mr. J. R. Jayawardene, as the Chancellor of the University of Sri Lanka, delivered a Convocation Address at the BMICH on May 31. It was a most interesting, opportune and thought-provoking speech and it was also a clear call to action. Below we reprint relevant extracts with comments of our own.

After referring to his own connections with the University College, Colombo, which later became the University of Ceylon, he said: "The earlier concept we had of the University as one modelled on the lines of Oxford and Cambridge: a residential University—where students mused about 'lost causes and impossible ideas' has disappeared long ago. Very soon it will cease to be residential, for we must find room for the youths waiting to be equipped to make ends meet both for themselves and their close relatives. Their needs are urgent and even a matter

of survival. The State must help and that too urgently. This brings me to the theme of my address to you today. There are over a million young men and women who are unemployed and the number increases every year by thousands. No government can find employment for all but it must create the necessary environment for this goal to be achieved."

From this he went on to the programme of the UNP "to deal with this problem we have chartered a new course along which the nation should travel." After outlining the development strategy of the UNP in terms of actual projects, he said: "...The total that will be found employment in 1978 and 1979 should not be less than 500,000. Since we assumed office 125,000 have been found employment. A new scheme, the job Bank Scheme, will recruit 168,000 in 1978."

If half a million of the 1.2 million believed to be unemployed find gainful employment in 1978 and 1979, a great deal would have been achieved. To implement this programme the UNP has been able to mobilise a large amount of international finance: "We have been promised international finance up to Rs. 11,000,000,000 for the Mahaweli Program and Rs. 6,000,000,000 for projects outside this program for the years 1978 and 1979. We must see to it that this money is utilised purposefully and speedily. Every cent spent means development and employment. It will ensure a higher standard of living for the majority and not for a few. It means increases in the cost of living."

Though the amount of foreign financial resources made available to the UNP has been set out in bits and pieces in various reports, the President has given us totals of a most impressive character. From this he went on to deliver a homily that every Sri Lankan must

take very seriously: "This government is opening up a new way of life for the vast majority of the people of this country. Are they going to fritter it away arguing about ideological differences; or waste their time considering who should form a future government? The future of the youth is in their own hands now; and when we commence these development programmes each one of us must help to finish it in the shortest possible time. The large sum of money available for expenditure on development is not to be used to build empires for capitalists or business tycoons. Every cent of it will be used to put on their feet the hundreds of thousands of youth, men and women who pass through the portalse of our university and our secondary schools. The government must channel this money through the existing and future administrative services. It would be a crime committed on our younger generation, born and still to be born, to sabotage this work. The vast majority of our people have entrusted my colleagues and myself with the heavy responsibility of fulfilling this task. We have undertaken it. We must not fail. We cannot fail if we have the co-operation of the people. To fulfil our task we seek the co-operation of a free people. Laws that were oppressive have been repealed. Those who abide by the law are as free as any citizen in any democratic nation of the World. Yesterday is dead, let us bury it. We have now to think of the future. Let us grasp the opportunities available to us today to achieve a happier life in the unborn Tomorrow."

The President then pointed out: "The availability of finance and the commencement of hitherto unthought of development schemes of this magnitude create new problems. Our harbours and airports



not only are not equipped to deal with the rush and volume of imports necessary for the task, they are unable to cope even with the lazy stream of traffic, human and material, that come now. The government is seeking to put this right." He mentioned briefly the steps being taken by Government to streamline and update the administrative and allied services, and then he pointed out: "Development needs stability. Political strikes, gang robberies, sabotage and 'Tigers' cause delays. Already performance during the first quarter of the 1978 Budget shows 50 per cent behind schedule. This means loss of opportunities for employment and higher cost of living. While we will not take away in the private sector the right of employees to strike to remedy their grievances, serious consideration must be given by all of us to whether those working in the public sector should delay production, distribution and exchange belonging to the people, they are held by a government elected by the people in trust for them. When those who work in them share the management with the government representatives, stoppage of production through strikes is an act of sabotage against the people the owners."

The President then re-stated the basic purposes of development and the solution the government was seeking to implement. He said that development was for "...providing the minimum services of food, clothing, housing, health and education. Adopting special measures for the promotion of employment and raising of incomes among the middle and lower income groups in village and town. Restructuring society, so that ownership of the new development production and distribution patterns and processes belong to the people. They should enjoy the products

rather than an elitist minority. Let me show you how the new path we are treading helps to achieve these goals. We are no longer restrained from importing such goods as are necessary to satisfy the basic needs of our people, mentioned above. Subject to the protection of efficient and competitive local production, we will continue to import in order to help the consumer to obtain his essential needs at world prices. We of course cannot control world prices. If the price of petrol and kerosene is raised by producers we have to do likewise, and the cost of living will rise in other spheres too. We will, however very soon provide a basket of essential goods to every household on coupons at cost price. Our solution is to create avenues of employment and rise in wages. We are doing that both and will continue to do so. The new policy has opened the doors not only to the import of consumption goods but also of machinery, spare parts and the raw material necessary to start industries and new business ventures. The middle and small entrepreneur has the whole Island, its resources and manpower, available to be ahead and earn his living. Rules and regulations, except essential ones to protect the community, need not hinder him. Like in the bad old days of not so long ago he need not stand hat in hand before Ministers, officials in the head office and the village to obtain permits to go ahead. The District Minister system should ease off any restraints that will exist."

President Jayawardene pointed out the urgent need to modernise the economy and meet the challenges of the new world by adopting the technological advances of the developed world. But apart from modernisation, the President stressed the fact that a great deal

had to be undone: 'If the economy of Sri Lanka was destroyed by war or natural phenomena and my government and I were entrusted with the task of rebuilding it, then building from scratch would have been easier than what we have to do today. We are saddled with an economy restrained, constructed and brought to the verge of collapse. Corruption and inefficiency are still rampant. Fish that is Rs. 6 per lb. on the beach is brought to Colombo and sold at high prices. The Fisheries Corporation stalls which should sell at Rs. 8 to Rs. 10 are said to be empty but the next door private stalls have plenty at Rs. 12 to Rs. 15. The shelves of some manufacturing corporations are empty while the

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**Land Acquisition Act. (Chapter 460 as amended by the Land Acquisition (Amendment) Act No. 280 of 1964.**

Notice Under Section 7.

Ref. No. 00/2894

It is intended to acquire the lands/land described in the Schedule below. The lands described in the Schedule below have been acquired. For further particulars please see the Gazette of the Republic of Sri Lanka No. 320 (Part iii) of 02/06/1978.

**Schedule**

*Situation of Land*

In the village of Godagama D.R.O.'s Division of W.B.P. (W) & Four Gravets, Matara District.

*Name of Land*

Rawatta and pathirana-gewatta Lot & Plan No.

Lot 1 & 2 in P.P. 000/714

**C. D. Pathirana**  
Acquiring Officer,  
Mztara District.

The Kachcheri,  
Matara.  
15th May 1978

next door private shops sell their products at twice the corporation price. Co-operative stores find payment hawkers selling more of the goods sent to them than they sell themselves. What is the solution? I wish I could shatter this structure to bits and then permit the people to build it closer to their heart's desire. Will the voter understand? The initial hardships and difficulties will be seized upon by our opponents who have the freedom to write and say what they please, to destroy the stability of society so necessary for progress. They are doing this now."

The concluding parts of his Address was a re-statement of his political objectives and a clarification of the political strategy of the UNP: "Systems of government have gone on unchanged or changing only gradually for over three centuries in Britain. They have learned that without national and political stability their economy will not develop and cannot be strong. Through experience they have developed the reflexes necessary for national survival. A large number of people have grown there who put their country's interest above their own. In times of grave crises they form National Governments, sinking their party rivalries to make sure the nation survived. I proposed such a Government quite publicly in 1970. I was jeered at and some in my party moved to expel me. In the 1977 Election, the people agreed with me and formed a National Government of one party, the United National Party, and gave me a mandate unprecedented in democratic elections, viz., 5/6 majority in the National State Assembly. I must not abuse this trust but use it properly. I am blamed for not doing so. I accept the censure and will try to honour the trust reposed in me in the years to come."

Finally, he presented an overall birds-eye-view of the situation from the time the UNP took over in terms of the Democratic Socialism he believed in: "I have told you that we have attempted to create a truly democratic society out of the caricature of democracy that was handed to us. Undemocratic laws have been repealed and those in jail under these laws without proper trial have been released. The independence of the Judiciary has been restored. Fundamental rights included in the Constitution will be made justifiable. Local Government elections will be held soon. Harassment under Emergency laws have been withdrawn and the Sovereignty of Parliament established once again. We treat every citizen alike irrespective of race, religion or caste. We have in short restored Freedom and Democracy in this land. Democracy without Socialism is a democracy of exploitation. Socialism seeks to redress the social injustices whereby a few enjoy luxuries and comforts while the rest live without food and clothing in huts and hovels. Democracy and Socialism must go hand in hand. All our new development programs, except the Free Trade Zone, are Socialist. We will not change the socialist pattern that has grown up during the past years. We will refashion it to make the people the owners of the means of production, distribution and exchange. We will soon introduce legislation to permit those working the State-owned enterprises becoming co-partners in the management."

**\*IMPORT OF CARS:** Suddenly, last week, the Minister of Trade, Mr. Lalith Athulathmudali, announced that the import of "luxury" cars would be totally banned. There is no doubt that this decision was made because of the indignation caused by the malpractices indulged in by importers of cars. When

the new orders was proclaimed the Ministry had not even considered the definition of the term "luxury" cars. After a day or two, it was reported in the press that engine power and fuel consumption would be the determining factors and that all cars of more than 1500 cc capacity would be considered "luxury" cars.

There is no doubt that the import of cars should have been regulated from the very start. But the government carried away by its enthusiasm for a "free economy" and "imports freely available" permitted the free imports of cars, and we have had a regular madhouse in this country with cars coming in at a furious rate. There are more cars now in the island than at any time in the past. Rich houses have half a dozen or more cars—one for each member of the family.

In a "free society" one cannot object to the "free import" of cars, but the real abuse came in with the under-invoicing of "luxury" cars not only to defraud Customs of its legitimate dues but also to evade the Income Tax authorities. New cars worth £ 10,000 or \$ 30,000 were brought into Sri Lanka at one-fifth or less of their value on the pretext they were "second-hand" or "reconditioned" cars on bogus or false certificates. It is to prevent this racket, more than the genuine import of high-priced cars, that the ban has been placed.

There is one way of dealing with this problem; a way that will deter importers from trying to cheat the government. It is for government, at its own discretion, to take over any car it believes that has been imported on an undervalued invoice at the imported price for re-sale—and the Government can make a big profit by selling such cars at the market price. The Government has every right to

take retrospective action to deal with racketeers of this kind. In the public interest, Government must take over every under-valued car that has come into the island since July 1977.

This is the only way to deal with the problem. A total ban now is useless. It is like locking the stable doors after the horses have bolted. Nearly everybody who can import such cars on undervalued invoices has done so, and the only way the government can teach them civic consciousness and ethical conduct is to take over such cars at the declared invoice values. *Tribune* does not recommend whipping and lashes for such motor car import criminals, who cheat the nation, although some government VIPs want to whip villagers who "steal" a jak fruit or a binjal to satisfy their hunger.

\* \* \*

## DISARMAMENT

# Problems Of Arms Limitation

by T. Duraisingam

The problem of arms limitation is a desperately serious one. The stockpiles of weapons through the world are higher today than what they have ever been before. Their explosive power is equivalent to several hundreds of thousands of times that of the bomb that devastated Hiroshima, and more sophisticated weapons are continually being developed. Arms expenditure is higher than at any time in history and continue to increase. The annual expenditure on arms exceeded 250 thousand million US dollars. In the meantime, the annual military expenditure according to the latest UN estimates, as given by Dr. Kurt Waldheim,

Secretary General of the United Nations Organisation, has reached the amount of 350 thousand million US dollars.

Speaking about the cost of the arms race, one must take note of the diversion of the services of 400 thousand highly skilled specialists and professional people from socially useful purposes to highly destructive ones. It is estimated that throughout the world about 15 million workers of all kinds are engaged in military work or in the arms industry. This does not count those working to supply the raw materials of food used by armies, the armaments industry and workers in that industry. Counting military personnel it is estimated that about 50 million people in all are engaged in military activities or arms production.

The salaries paid to all these provides purchasing power which is now offset by any production of consumer goods. It has to be financed by the large scale printing of currency or provision of credit and thus makes a major contribution to the widespread inflation that characterises economic relations in capitalist countries today. Military expenditure exceeds by 40 per cent all expenditure on health of all governments. Arms production is a major consumer of the most important raw materials. Between 5 and 10 per cent of the world's annual production of these materials is devoted to arms. At a time when serious consideration is being given to saving energy, large amounts of energy are dissipated in arms production.

The arms race has extremely harmful effects on developing countries. The rate of increase of the expenditure on arms is twice as great in these countries as in the most advanced countries. While the Gross National Product of the Third World has grown on the average by 5 per cent per annum

since 1950, their military expenditure has grown by 7 per cent per annum and their arms import bill by 9 per cent per annum. The trade in arms with the Third World represents a substantial proportion of the trade of some developed countries and helps to sustain their armament industries. Developing countries get into debt in order to acquire arms and a high proportion of their usually meagre investment capacity goes in acquiring arms. Often the arms sales are made on the basis of loans, the interest on which creates relations of financial dependence which can be easily exploited as has happened in the form, for example, of economic pressure and economic domination exerted on former colonies. They are often obliged to finance the arms purchases through the sale of the raw materials they produce. These raw materials include foodstuffs urgently needed to feed their own people.

The highly developed western industrial countries vie with each other in promoting arms sales on an unprecedented scale to oil producing countries, in order to participate in the profits bonanza following the drastic oil price rises in recent years. They show little concern for the damage this can cause to secure peaceful relations between the states in the regions concerned and with the local arms races which these sales initiate. It is not a very edifying spectacle. Economic aid to developing countries is made up very largely of the supply of arms. Already, in 1958 it was pointed out by F. Joliet-Curie, founder president of the World Peace Council, that more than 80 per cent of aid to developing countries was made up of military equipment and the pattern does not seem to have changed much since that time. The arms are supplied to countries with reactionary regimes pursuing anti-

popular aims and are used to strengthen their control. For example, 40 per cent of French sales of arms have been going to Latin America to support fascist type regimes, which the vendor country accepts politically because they are primarily good customers. The arms trade is a major obstacle to the development of the Third World and creates additional tensions there.

Industrial and financial circles reap enormous and often uncontrolled profits from arms production and trade. Recent revelations in the course of enquiries by US Congress committees have demonstrated how arms salesmen corrupt and manipulate politicians and business men, mount press campaigns to support arms expansion and to discredit politicians who take a progressive line. Political, military and industrial pressure groups are formed which derive their influence and importance from their connections with arms manufacturers and salesmen.

Despite all these negative factors, there is a growing realisation in the world that continuation of the arms race is the main threat to the existence of humanity. The proceedings of the United Nations General Assembly's special session on disarmament, from May 23 to June 28, are being followed with the closest attention. This session will be a major political event. For the first time in the 33 year history of the United Nations, disarmament will be discussed at an international forum attended by 149 states. Decisions at the special session will be adopted by consensus. The session will discuss the question of ending the arms race, adopt a declaration and programme of action for disarmament, consider the role of the United Nations in this field and of the international mechanism of negotiations on this question.

A good deal has been done in the field of disarmament over the past few years. A number of treaties and agreements have been concluded to curb the arms race in some important spheres and to limit or ban some types of weapons and their proliferation in certain areas. These treaties and agreements including the following, which provide an important point of departure and also an encouragement—for the struggle for further measures to halt the arms race completely and bring about serious steps towards disarmament.

The Antarctic Treaty was signed in Washington on December 1, 1959, took effect on June 23, 1961 and was ratified by 19 countries. It lays down that Antarctica should be used exclusively for peaceful purposes, and bans military bases or fortifications, military exercises and the testing of any weapons whatsoever in the areas. The Treaty Banning Nuclear Weapon Tests in the Atmosphere, in Outer Space and Under Water, also called the Partial Test Ban Treaty, was signed in Moscow on August 5, 1963 took effect on October 10, 1963, and was ratified by 106 countries. China and France have not yet acceded to it. It bans nuclear weapon tests in the atmosphere, in space and under water (including territorial waters and the high seas).

The Treaty on Principles Governing the Activities of States in the Exploration and the Use of Outer Space, including the Moon and other Celestial Bodies, also called the Outer Space Treaty, was signed in Moscow, London and Washington on January 27, 1967, took effect on October 10, 1967, and was ratified by 71 countries. It prohibits putting means of delivery for nuclear weapons and other weapons of mass destruction into the space close to the earth, depositing weapons of this kind on other cele-

tial bodies or otherwise emplacing them in space, setting up military bases or installations, testing types of weapons on celestial bodies and holding military exercise there.

The Treaty for the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons in Latin America, also called the Treaty of Tlatelolco, was signed on February 14, 1967, and has so far been ratified by 20 signatories, (Potential nuclear-weapon countries like Brazil and Argentina are not parties to it). It bans the testing, use and production of and access to, nuclear weapons for all Latin American countries, and also the reception, stockpiling, installation and any other form of possession of weapons of this kind.

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**Notice under section 7 of the Land Acquisition Act (cap. 460) As Amended by the Land Acquisition (Amendment) Act. No. 28 of 1964.**

Reference No. ATH 1/202

It is intended to acquire the lands described in the schedule below. For further particulars please see the Gazette of the Republic of Sri Lanka No. 320 (Part iii) of 02/06/1978.

D.R.O's Division: Colombo  
Situation: Ward No. 42 Havelock Town, Colombo Municipal Council.

Village: Bambalapitiya.  
Name of Land: Part of Assesment No. 339, Galle Road, New Kathiresan Kovil Temple.

Lot No: 1  
Plan No. P.P. Co.: Co 4884

**H. C. Gunawardene**  
District Land Officer  
of Colombo District.

The Kachcheri,  
Colombo.  
Date:— 15-5-78

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The Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons, also called the Non-Proliferation Treaty, was signed in Moscow, London and Washington on July 1, 1968, took effect on March 5, 1970 and was ratified by 98 countries. It has not until now been acceded to by the People's Republic of China, France, the Republic of South Africa, Israel, Brazil and some others. It places a ban on the transfer of nuclear weapons or nuclear explosive devices, their acceptance and production and any other access to them on the part of non-nuclear weapon states. It contains provisions on control by the International Atomic Energy Agency and on peaceful uses of nuclear energy.

The Treaty on the Prohibition of Employment of Nuclear Weapons and other Weapons of Mass Destruction on the Sea-bed and the Ocean Floor and in the Subsoil Thereof, also called the Seabed Treaty, was signed in Moscow, London and Washington on February 11, 1971, took effect on May 18, 1972 and was ratified by 58 signatories. It has not yet been acceded to by the People's Republic of China, France, Brazil, Chile, Argentina and others. It prohibits the emplacement on the sea-bed and the ocean floor and their subsoil of nuclear weapons or other types of weapons of mass destruction and also launching facilities or other installations specifically designed to stockpile, test and use weapons of this kind.

The Convention on the Prohibition of the Development, Production and stockpiling of Bacteriological and Toxin Weapons and on Their Destruction, also called the Biological Weapons Convention, was signed in Moscow, London and Washington on April 10, 1972, took effect on March 26, 1975, and was ratified by 64 countries and signed by more than hundred. It has not until now been

acceded to by the People's Republic of China, France and others. It prohibits the development, production, stockpiling and transfer of biological or toxin weapons and also of equipment and means of delivery. Since it contains provisions on the destruction of weapons, equipment and means of delivery, it is the first disarmament in history. And it also constitutes the first-ever total ban on one particular weapon of mass destruction.

In addition to the above international treaties and agreements, the following bilateral Soviet-American agreements, which are major successes in the struggle for the cessation of the arms race and for disarmament, have been concluded. The Interim Agreement on Certain Measures with Respect to the Limitation of Strategic Offensive Arms, This interim agreement was signed in Moscow on May 26, 1972, and took effect on October, 2 1972. The Treaty on the Limitation of Anti-Ballistic Missile Systems was signed in Moscow on May 26, 1972, and took effect on October 3, 1972. The Agreement on the Prevention of Nuclear War was signed in Washington took effect on June 22, 1973. This agreement, will be valid indefinitely provides that the two parties should do everything to avoid military confrontation and prevent nuclear war breaking out between each other and between each of them and other countries. The Treaty on Underground Nuclear Explosions for Peaceful Purposes was signed in Moscow on May 28, 1976.

However, the arms race has not yet been stopped and the nuclear threat to the human race is ever present. Implementation of the programme of general and completed disarmament would be the most radical and straight road towards nuclear disarmament. It is to be hoped that the current UN

Special Session on Disarmament will be able to make some headway towards real disarmament.

IN DEFENCE OF THE  
SRI LANKAN BUREAUCRAT—2

“...Despite Problems...  
The State Service Has  
Acquitted Itself Remarkably Well...”

by A Special Correspondent

A Tribune Special Correspondent, in a series of four articles writes spiritedly IN DEFENCE OF THE SRI LANKAN BUREAUCRAT. This series, we hope, will provoke discussion on the following questions which the writer has raised: (a) Why is the bureaucracy in this country under fire? (b) What could be the net result of this unrelenting attack? (c) How can this be contained? (d) What is it that compels the bureaucrat to hold back something of himself—what are the problems? (e) How and in what manner does the bureaucrat feel that political power can help? and (f) What kind of environment (including incentives) will make the bureaucrat contribute more than he does at present?

Tribune will welcome comments, criticisms and suggestions in regard to the questions raised. There cannot be an Administration without a bureaucracy, and without an effective administration with an efficient bureaucracy there cannot be development, growth or prosperity in any country.—ED.

THE FIRST ADMINISTRATION was built up by Frederick I of Prussia, father of Frederick the Great.

He insisted on university degrees and gave the officials adequate training. Promotion in the service was on grounds of merit. Europe was overwhelmed by France under Napoleon. He formed a hierarchy of administrators and experts. Many continental countries adopted the Napoleonic system because of its competence. Max Weber, the German sociologist regards the characteristic principle of bureaucracy as "the abstract regularity of the execution of authority, which is a result of the demand for equality before the law."<sup>1</sup>

(1) Commenting on the theory and practice of bureaucracy Micheal Crozier comments<sup>2</sup> "On the one hand, most authors consider the bureaucratic organization to be the embodiment of rationality in the modern world, and, as such, to be intrinsically superior to all other possible forms of organization. On the other hand, many authors—often the same ones—consider it a sort of Leviathan, preparing the enslavement of the human race"

Luigi Brazini writes thus of the Italian bureaucracy:<sup>3</sup> "Bureaucracy (like handicrafts) belongs to a world where time doesn't count: time is an element which does not cost anything, like the air, and which one can consume at will..."

What an eloquent description—one would have thought here is another Leonard Woolf describing the Sri Lankan bureaucrat. It is reported that in Italy there is "even a special Ministry for the Reform of bureaucracy with its own large bureaucracy. But nothing much happens"<sup>4</sup>

The concept of the silent service of anonymity which was the pre-eminent distinction of the public service in this country some years back, is inherent even in the opinion expressed by Michel Debre, one time Premier of France: He wrote: "In what modern nation has one not already noticed the

astonishing contradiction between these solemn assemblies, composed of men elected after show of popular passions, meeting in historic and sumptuous palaces, and these unknown dusty offices, where people rule whose names are not heard outside a narrow circle of initiates?"<sup>5</sup> —(1950.)

Our bureaucrat is, unfortunately, no longer silent, no longer wants to be anonymous. He seeks the limelight; and that has partly brought about his own occupational hazards which he is now unable to free himself of. An instance of the propensity of the Sri Lankan state officer to have the spotlight turned on him, found expression recently in the bet reported to have been taken by the Food Commissioner<sup>6</sup> that the price of sugar won't go up for another two years at least"—(Ceylon Daily News of 13.05.78) How on earth could a public servant commit this indiscretion on such a sensitive issue—a statement such as this would not be made even by a Minister of State. This type of immaturity in senior officials brings discredit to the state service. This is one of the many other reasons why the state officer is under unremitting fire, it was a *faux pas* hard to beat.

Elie Halevy expresses a somewhat different view: "Republican France has in reality two constitutions. One that of 1875, is official, visible and fills the newspapers, it is Parliamentary. The other that of the year VIII, is secret, silent—the Napoleonic constitution which hands over the direction of the country to the administrative corps"<sup>6</sup>—(1931)

WE IN SRI LANKA have honed our state service on the British pattern to suit our particular genius and need. The difference between the British and the French civil servants is that whereas the British counterpart remained carefully "separated from politics and studiously anonymous regarding them-

elves as umpires" the French civil servants "have been accustomed to take bold political decisions...The first Plan run by Jean Monnet which laid the basis for French Industrial recovery was never formally approved by the French Parliament, De Gaulle with his apparent contempt for experts and economics.. has given rein to the top administrators, and has provided the stability and sense of direction that they always look for"<sup>7</sup> We seem to have shed our anonymity, but are not ready to take 'bold political decisions'. It is not possible to mix water and oil. This is the tragedy of the state service in this country.

It is necessary to dwell a little longer on the French system for the purpose of this discussion. The French civil servant, like his British counterpart moves from office to office with ease. Michael Crozier commented "They have

**Notice under section 7 of the Land Acquisition Act (Chapter 460) as amended by the Land Acquisition (Amendment) Act No. 28 of 1964.**

Ref. No. EA/5/291

It is intended to acquire the land described in the scheduled below for a public purpose. For further particulars please see the Gazette of the Republic of Sri Lanka No. 320 (Part iii) of 02/06/1978

**S. Panditha**  
Land Acquiring Officer,  
Galle District.

Kachcheri,  
Galle.

18th May 1978.

**Schedule**

Name of Land: Pansalawatte alias Riilagahawatta

Situation: Patuwatha village in Wel. laboda Pattu South, A.G.A.'s Division in Galle District.

Plan and Lot. No.: Lot No. 1 & 2 in P. Plan No. Gaa/1312.

become empiricists, more devoted to economic growth than to purity of style, and, especially, financial purity. Their heroes are no longer the perfectionists but the doers". One Inspecteur des Finances commented to his class "Our metier is change" We need an administrative hierarchy of 'doers' and not 'talkers', whose attraction should not be the mass media, but service. The Chinese people and administrators say "Serve the People" everywhere and keep on saying so. The administrative service and senior officials should be big enough to be beyond the seduction of success or fear of failure. This philosophy should be our lode star.

The Daily Mirror quite recently carried an article entitled "Give The Bureaucrats A Hearing." It stated that the time was now "ripe for Government to pay heed to the woes of the bureaucrats too" The main purpose of that article appears to be aimed at drawing the attention of government to a memorandum that "appears to be gathering dust in some official pigeon hole" This is presumed to be due to the cussedness of the brahmins of the service, the reference apparently being to the members of the now defunct Ceylon Civil Service.

There should be restraint in making allegations of this nature against senior members of the former CCS. None of us should forget the work done by the members of that Service in the crucial formative years of our independence. Members of that Service maintained the highest standards of integrity and anonymity. One never heard of a Civil Servant pontificating on price of commodities and taking bets on price fluctuations. They may have had their own proclivity to maintain an appropriate distance from the community, but that was their business—an entirely personal af-

fair. They certainly held and continue to hold very high positions. If there are irregularities, the Prime Minister pointed out that it is the duty of the State to set them right—Ceylon Daily News of 5.4.78. The public servant today, should stop hitting out at everyone within striking distance and do their duty by the State.

I have often marvelled at the concept of DUTY enshrined by Marcus Aurelius in his Meditations. It is a classic piece that cannot be bettered. For the benefit, particularly of our senior officials who may not have seen this, I quote. "Hour, by hour, resolve firmly, like a Roman and a man (those were the days when *Civis Romanus Sum* was a passport) to do what comes to hand with correct and natural dignity; and with humanity; independence and justice...This you can do if you will approach each action as if it were your last, dismissing the wayward thought, the emotional recoil from the commands of reason, the desire to create an impression, the admiration of self, the discontent with your lot. See how little a man needs to master, for his days to flow in quietness and piety; he has but to observe these few counsels, and the Gods will ask for nothing more."

The bureaucrat had better read the *Ode to Duty* by Wordsworth and the Gita's references to duty. It will make him a better and more self-assured man.

Our concern in this article is to ascertain whether and if so why the bureaucracy has failed to respond to the challenges of the emerging socio-political and socio-economic demands of the country. The tremendous changes that are taking place before our very eyes create anxiety in traditional societies. Status and positions are changing and where earlier traditions and modes have been sufficient, new ways must be adapted and adopted without creating a social

upheaval. Society, like individuals can become disoriented if the change is sudden and traumatic.

The gravamen of the charge against the administrative system is that it has developed strong vested interests and that it could successfully frustrate any effort government makes to stimulate production and productivity. The administration is accused of being insensitive, of having become a burden on the State and the people, instead of being the chief instrument for executive action. It is further stated that senior officials seldom if ever leave their ivory towers and experience the hardships of the large majority of our people.

In a recent directive to the Colombo Municipal Council, the Prime Minister is reported to have sent the administration to the citizen rather than to wait for the citizen to come to it. The meeting point of administration and the citizen is severely circumscribed. "From every point of view, there is urgent need to objectivise, simplify and functionalise the system, so that it can be target-oriented, easily accountable and based on the interacting principles of individual and joint responsibility"

The following reported cases of attacks on the public service are given below for the benefit of those who may not have seen these:

- (a) Bureaucrats warned to do a job of work by the MP for Moratuwa, Mr. Tyrone Fernando—Ceylon Daily News of 25.03.78
- (b) Ministers warned to be extra vigilant when acting on the advice of the bureaucracy—Ceylon Daily News of 29.03.78
- (c) The UNP has decided to appoint a number of committees to probe bureaucratic bungling—Ceylon Daily Mirror of 30.03.78

(d) Parliamentary Committee appointed to watch the Bureaucrats—*Ceylon Daily Mirror* of 31.03.78

(e) Mr. Harold Herat, MP for Nattandiya, warned bureaucrats that stern action would be taken against officers who did not carry out orders—*Ceylon Daily Mirror* of 10.04.78.

Sir Lanka is not the only country where the bureaucracy has been the target of criticism. In Britain, the *Daily Mirror* reports in its issue of 11.04.78, the Shadow Cabinet expressed concern about stricter controls which will "involve an unacceptable increase in bureaucratic control." No one seems to like a bureaucrat.

**The rainbow on the horizon is the statement of Prime Minister Premadasa, who, striking a characteristic note of moderation and understanding, told the members of the Government Parliamentary Group (CDN. of 5.4.78) that it was no use blaming officers in administrative spheres for certain irregularities and mismanagement. It was the duty of the State to remedy the irregularities. This moderation and understanding of the Prime Minister calls for a matching response from the state service. Is the state servant in a position to do so, or rather, is he prepared to do so?**

The public is all too familiar with the discourtesy, lethargy, corruption, and favouritism that have very nearly become the trade mark of the public servant. Let me quote a few random instances before we discuss why the public servant behaves thus:

(i) I have been told of a young medical intern who was posted to a remote station. When he made representations that since he could not find a suitable place to live in, the posting be deferred

until he could find this amenity. It appears that the intern was told that he had to go and that if suitable accommodation could not be found, it was open to him to live on the top of a tree.

(ii) an applicant for fertiliser had to go to three different points in three different places to get this.

(iii) the operation "withdrawal of rice ration books" was the most ill conceived operation, management wise, undertaken in recent times. Public offices remained disorganised, while the public servants were collecting travelling and subsistence!

(iv) In order to post an air mail letter, or to register one, the caller at a post office in the city has to contend with two to three queues. One to ascertain the postage, the other to buy the stamps, and yet another to have it franked (or else the stamps are robbed somewhere) or registered.

(v) In yet another City post office, there is a counter marked 'Money Order Counter—Issues'. There is no counter for Payments. On inquiry, I was very curtly told that Payments were included in Issues! There was no point in trying to explain to the man at the Counter, because he was anxious to get rid of me—some friends were waiting outside for him.

**Let us examine each of these cases:**

(i) Does the official in the security and comfort of his room seriously expect the intern to find accommodation as suggested to him. Was the young man to live like a monkey?

(ii) What is the difficulty in issuing the fertiliser permit and the fertiliser itself at the same counter at the same time? Some archaic regulation is probably on the book of rules. The Ten Commandments were in the Old Tes-

tament—this one must be the eleventh.

(iii) Who could be the smart official who recommended this procedure? Would it not have been much simpler to have invalidated ALL the books with effect from a specified date and to request all those below the determined poverty line to apply for validation of their books at the nearest Kachcheri or other public office? I cannot think anything more sensible. Every local head of department could have been gazetted as the certifying officer, empowered to inquire and validate. Any irregularity would be caught up pretty quickly because the man next door will possibly send in a petition! Instead, millions of rupees were spent on paying overtime, subsistence and travelling for the ridiculous motoring around checking operational points. One officer boasted that he collected very nearly Rs. 5,000/. I thought to myself, "to what depths we had fallen."

(iv) and (v) are too ridiculous to need comment. Experience has shown that this type of indifference to public convenience can never be eradicated from this country. It would save much irritation and keep down medical bills, if one learns to live with this.

In making these observations, I am not unmindful of the constraints under which a public servant works. Perhaps, the senior official of the Health Services Department had, I repeat had, to post a medical officer to that rural edge, but it was certainly unnecessary for him to suggest a life style that has become alien to human beings (I have made this statement subject to correction, for this case was related to me by another medical officer with whom I had discussed the subject matter of this article).



Nor am I insensitive to the basic human desire to satisfy personal motives, professional pride, ambition and self-realisation. Ordinary mortals crave for power and prestige. There should be a means, which only the employer (in the state bureaucracy, the government) can provide, of satisfying these elementary personal desires. No state officer can be faulted for nursing these desires and feeling frustrated when the means to achieve them are denied; particularly when he knows very well that the means are there to be given but only bureaucratic insensitivity, whatever the level be, frustrates their extension.

Despite these problems, despite the alleged intervention by the political element of the Executive, the state service has acquitted itself remarkably well. I do not think anyone questions, this in point of fact the public service has been commended very often. A little introspection will do us much good, turning the searchlight inwards as exhorted by our President. Therefore may we ask ourselves, I mean the bureaucracy, two questions:

(a) Is the state officer really guilty of every charge that is flung against him? or her?

(b) Is the bureaucracy (meaning every employee in the service of the state) responding in the manner described by Howard Wriggins, presently US Ambassador to Sri Lanka, in "Rulers Imperatives" where he says that "it is a rare bureaucracy in emerging countries which possesses the rigorous applied energy, the cost-consciousness, and the innovative flexibility necessary to promote rapid and economical investment"—(page 35)

In a highly articulate environment such as ours, the answers

to these questions must determine a state officer's conduct.

It is not only Neustadt who has spoken of the unquestionably important role of the state service in the government of a country. Other political scientists have expressed similar views. For the purpose of this discussion it seems appropriate to quote Wriggins again, because it shows a deep understanding of the roles of the politician and the official in the art of government. I do not apologise for its length in view of its relevance to the Sri Lanka situation:

*"The ruler and the official use different styles in approaching their respective tasks. Impatient political leaders, newly come into prominence, have depended on the skills of oratory, political organisation and agitation. They have been active in both the more traditional society and in the more modern world. They must make their mark in a short time. The old-line officials, on the other hand, are used to a kind of security the politicians never knew. They are the masters of the regulations. From hard experience they know the difficulties of translating bright or popular ideas into institutional innovation. Their training and their mood lead to caution and an effort to balance available—and limited—resources against innumerable demands sometimes made virtually unlimited by political agitation. Rapid re-assignment or forced retirement may spur the bureaucracy to greater celerity, but scarce talent may be prematurely lost, and anxious bureaucrats can skilfully pass the buck, further clogging the decision process."*

Comment would be superfluous.

#### References

- (1) Attributed by Anthony Sampson—*The New Europeans* p. 326

- (2) Michael Crozier—*The Bureaucratic Phenomenon* p. 176  
(3) Luigi Brazini—*The Italian Bureaucracy—Encounter* June 1976.  
(4) Anthony Sampson—*New European* p. 327  
(5) Attributed by Anthony Sampson—*ibid* p. 323  
(6) Attributed by Anthony Sampson—*ibid* p. 329  
(7) Anthony Sampson—*ibid* p. 330.

(To be Continued)

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### The Land Acquisition Act (chapter 460) as amended by the Land Acquisition (amendment) Act, No. 28 of 1964

Notice Under Section 33.

My No. 25/2/334.

I, K. P. R. Gunatilaka, Assistant Government Agent of Kegalle District in terms of Section 33 of the Land Acquisition Act (Chapter 460) hereby give notice that sum of Rs. 38,499/14 being compensation and interest for the acquisition of the land described in the schedule given below has been paid into Case No. 1604/Land District Court of Kegalle respectively to be drawn by the persons by the entitle thereto.

**K. P. R. Gunatilaka**  
Assistant Government Agent,  
Kegalle District.

16th May, 1978.

Kegalle, Kachcheri.

#### Schedule

Situation:— Situated in Waldeniya Village, Mawathapattu, North, Paranakuru Korale D.R.O's Division in Kegalle District.

Plan No. P.P. 22/649

Lot No. 1

Name of Land. Korakotuwehena alias Hawahorowuwehena

Extent. 2A. OR. 11.8P

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## how's your father-figure?



"Father" is common - term for bread - winner, ambassador, protector, guardian, guide, psychologist, and what have you - all rolled into one ! Really he's quite a guy. Or should be. How else can he effectively perform his multiple role in the family he heads and provide a stable footing and foundation for his protégés? Yet, an unplanned family could ruin everything for him. Sets things awry for everybody else too. Father is reduced to being a draft-ox-harassed, unfulfilled, enslaved, frustrated . . . crushed and broken by a burden he can barely bear !

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CHAIRMAN'S "DEFENCE"

## What TRIBUNE Said About Tractor Tenders

The Chairman of the Tractor Corporation, Mahiman de Silva, was interviewed on SLBC's *Newsreel* on Monday, May 29, at 8.30 p.m. for about three minutes to reply to the queries raised in the *Tribune* of April 1, 1987.

This white-wash interview (see our comments in *CONFIDENTIALLY*, page 32 of this issue) was no doubt to go on record that all that *Tribune* had raised was effectively answered by this interview on the SLBC. The Chairman of the Tractor Corporation cannot get away with this.

We are therefore reprinting the queries we raised on February 4 and on April 1, to enable our readers to know what the Chairman, Tractor Corporation failed to answer. We invite him, once again, to send us a statement to answer all the questions we have raised. If the Chairman does not want to enter into a dialogue personally with the *Tribune* (some people feel that they are too big to deal with a small weekly) he should instruct one of his highly qualified staff to meet *Tribune* to demolish, if he can, once and for all, the allegations inherent in our questions. That is the only way this can be resolved. Otherwise in the public interest, *Tribune* will persist in these questions until the next Elections or a Presidential Commission is set up to look into this!

The SLBC interview does not throw any light on the matters we have raised. It only undermines the credibility of the Chairman.

If the SLBC wants to give opportunities to officials to explain criticisms, the SLBC must give similar opportunities to the critics to state their case.

—Editor

From the **CONFIDENTIALLY** column, *Tribune*, February 4, 1978 Vol. 22, No. 33.

## Tractors, Tenders, Human Nature

IS IT NOT TRUE that there are hushed whispers in high places about the manner in which orders were placed for 2000 two-wheeled tractors? That the tender was originally called for 650 tractors (two-wheeled) under IDA on 11.7.77? That the tenderers were Yanmar Japan and Kubota Japan? That the main specification laid down was 3-7 H.P.? That the tender prices were Yanmar Rs. 5,750/- and Rs. 6,268/- by Kubota? That these tractors were for the use of the Mahaweli Development Board and "farmers"? That, subsequently, after the closure of the tender, the Tractor Corporation management increased the number to 1000? That it will be seen that in the original tender Yanmar was the lowest and fulfilled all aspects of the tender specifications? That the Yanmar price was only Rs. 5,750/- as against Rs. 6,268/- by Kubota? That at the time this tender was called for, the Mahaweli Development Board had requested the Tractor Corporation to have one of its engineers on the Tender Board as there were no competent engineers in the Tractor Corporation? That the Tractor Corporation agreed to this but no engineer or representative from the Mahaweli Board was, in fact, called in for the meeting of the Tender Board at which decisions on the two-wheeled tractors were taken? That the Mahaweli Development Board, moreover, was not informed of the procedure adopted by the Tender Board? The Tender Board it is now learnt, has decided to award the entire 1000 tractors to Kubota although

their prices were higher than that of Yanmar by Rs. 518/- on each Tractor?

IS IT NOT FUNNY that after deviating from accepted tender procedures, apologists for the Tractor Corporation have been heard to argue that there was a "customer preference" for Kubota two-wheeled tractors? That it is not known how the Tractor Corporation decided on what the "customer preference" was? That at no time since two-wheeled tractors came into general use in Sri Lanka, were they freely available? That at all times they were on district quotas and GA's permits? That customers had no choice in the matter and had to take what was allotted? That it must be mentioned that Kubota had built up successful public relations accord with officials in all the departments and top personnel responsible for placing orders for such machinery? That inquiries made by *Tribune* reveal that Yanmar users are as much satisfied with their machines as Kubota users? That if the Tractor Corporation was serious about "customer preference" it should have called for a poll or referendum from users and potential users—at least the Mahaweli Development Board and the permit-holders on the waiting list? That instead of doing this, the corporation decided to purchase a further 1000 two-wheeled tractors under the Yen credit? That this purchase was decided upon and finalised without tender procedures or even calling for quotations? That in the case of the 1000 tractors under the Yen credit, Kubota was given an order for a further 700 two-wheeled tractors and Yanmar was given an order for 300 two wheeled tractors? That if the "customer preference" was so strongly in favour of Kubota, it is difficult to understand why Yanmar was given an order for

300 two wheeled tractors? That this was probably a sop to keep things quiet? That what all this boils down to is that the Tractor Corporation has now ordered 2,000 two wheeled tractors (1700 Kubotas and 300 Yanmars) without conforming to tender procedures or calling for competitive quotations? That the only tender called for was for 650 tractors in which Yanmar beat Kubota by Rs. 518/- a tractor? That the order in respect of this tender was arbitrarily increased to 1000? That the order for the entire 1000 was given to Kubota although the lowest tenderer was Yanmar? That the Mahaweli Development Board's request to be on the Tender Board was not complied with although the Tractor Corporation had agreed to do so? That the myth of "customer preference" was used to justify the irregularities involved in the purchase of these tractors? That it would be interesting to find out if the Board of Directors of the Tractor Corporation were kept informed of what was done in this connection? That there is a widespread belief that the Board was not aware of this purchase? That the first meeting of the Corporation's Board was on November 14, 1977 at which only four members were present? That the award for the purchase of the 2,000 two-wheeled tractors was decided on by a group of officials, allegedly with the concurrence of the Chairman of the Corporation, without reference to anyone else? That the purchase of the 2,000 two-wheeled tractors to the value of Rs. 12 million was done, it is alleged, under the authority of the Chairman of the Tractor Corporation without the approval of the Board? That there are whispers that the Chairman of the Tractor Corporation was in Japan for a month visiting the tenderers, while the tender was on? That all this may be malicious talk without an iota

of truth, but it is necessary to record the talk of the town—at least to get a denial? That it would be also interesting to know whether the Chairman obtained cabinet sanction for placing orders to the value of Rs. 12 million? That under the Regulations, Chairmen of Corporations have no powers to make purchases or award tenders over Rs. 50,000/- without going before the Board of Directors for approval? That this was stated on more than one occasion by Mr. R. Premadasa in the last NSA when he was in the Opposition while speaking on the votes of the Tractor Corporation? That unless the government does something to stop the rot immediately, the Opposition will have a field day soon? That it is significant that although this matter of the tractor purchases is being talked of in the highest governmental circles neither the *Times* or *Lake House* has taken up the matter? That to the credit of the *Daily Mirror*, it must be said, that it indicated in an indirect snippet that all was not well with tractor purchases? That what is happening will compel all thinking people to wonder whether the corruption and deterioration of values that has proliferated since the fifties can ever be brought under control again?

**From the QUIDNUNCS  
column Tribune April 1, 1978.  
Vol. 22 No. 41.**

## Tractor Tenders

Our *Quidnuncs* were able to pick up bits of gossip, that throws more light on our *Confidentially* story of February 4, *Tractors, Tenders, Human Nature*. This was a piece on how the Tractor Corporation placed orders for Kubota and Yanmar two-wheeled tractors on what were alleged to be "tenders". One *quidnunc* has sent in a report

stating that "since the revealing article in the *Tribune* nothing has happened. The Ministry inquiry is on, the Auditor General is asking questions but Tractors and Tenders remain exactly where they were. Bar the shouting the tender has been awarded and everybody is sitting pretty. The *quidnunc* goes on to say: "In the *Tribune* article references were made to the Chairman of the Tractor Corporation and his lengthy stay in Japan". Our *quidnunc* has asked a number of questions in this connection: was the Chairman during his stay in Japan a guest of the Firm or Firms that were awarded the tender? Did not one firm get about 15% of the order while the other firm about 85%? Where did the Chairman stay in Japan? When he stayed in Hotels, asks the *quidnuncs*, who paid for the luxury suits? The *quidnunc* goes on to ask: Could this not be verified from the Corporation itself? Did he, as required under the Exchange Control Act, tender the bills in respect of his expenses? If not, why not? Further, should he not name the Hotels in which he stayed? Will it not then be possible to find out who footed the bills? Is it also not strange that all these years the difference in the offers of both these Firms were only a few rupees, whereas on the last tender the difference was nearly Rs. 500/- on each machine? Did not the higher-price tenderer get 85% of the order and the lower 15% and that by this preference for the higher priced tractors did the country not lose nearly a million rupees in foreign exchange? Wasn't a fraction of this enough to pay hotel bills?

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## FOR THE RECORD

# Criminal Procedure (Special Provisions) Law, No. 15 Of 1978

*Certified on May 23, 1978*

**A LAW TO PROHIBIT OR RESTRICT THE RELEASE ON BAIL BY CERTAIN COURTS OF PERSONS WHO SURRENDER OR ARE PRODUCED IN CONNECTION WITH THE COMMISSION OF CERTAIN OFFENCES, TO PROHIBIT THE IMPOSITION OF SUSPENDED SENTENCES OF IMPRISONMENT ON, AND THE CONDITIONAL RELEASE OF, PERSONS CONVICTED OR GUILTY OF SUCH OFFENCES AND TO PROVIDE FOR THE IMPOSITION OF A MINIMUM PUNISHMENT FOR SUCH OFFENCES.**

BE it enacted by the National State Assembly of the Republic of Sri Lanka as follows:—

## SHORT TITLE

1. This Law may be cited as the Criminal Procedure (Special Provisions) Law, No. 15 of 1978.

*Provisions in any written law relating to grant of bail not to apply to persons who surrender or are produced in connection with the commission of certain offences.*

2. Notwithstanding anything to the contrary in any other written law—

(a) Every court before which any person surrenders himself or is produced on arrest on an allegation that he has committed or has been concerned in committing, or is suspected to have committed or to have been concerned in committing, an offence set out

in the First Schedule hereto shall keep such person on remand until the conclusion of the trial:

(b) every court before which any person surrenders himself is produced on arrest on an allegation that he has committed or has been concerned in committing or is suspected to have committed or to have been concerned in committing, an offence set out in the Second Schedule hereto shall keep such person on remand until the conclusion of the trial except in exceptional circumstances where the court before which he surrenders himself or is produced may after recording its reasons therefore release him on bail;

(c) every person convicted by any offence set out in the First or Second Schedule hereto, shall notwithstanding that he has lodged a petition of appeal against his conviction or the sentence imposed on him, be kept on remand until the determination of the appeal;

Provided, however, that the Supreme Court may in exceptional circumstances release on bail any person referred to in paragraph (a), (b) or (c).

*Provisions of the Administration of Justice Law No. 44 of 1973, relating to certain punishment not to apply to persons convicted or guilty of certain offences:*

3. Notwithstanding anything in the Administration of Justice law, No. 44 of 1973—

(a) the provisions of section 239 of that law shall not apply in the case of any person who is convicted;

(b) the provisions of section 250 of that Law shall not apply in the case of any person who pleads or is found guilty, by or before any court of any offences set out in the First or Second Schedule hereto.

*Imposition of minimum punishment:*

4. Notwithstanding anything in

any other written law—

(a) every court which convicts a person of an offence set out in the first or second Schedule hereto which is punishable with imprisonment, shall, notwithstanding its ordinary powers of punishment, impose on such person, in addition to any other punishment which it may lawfully impose for the offence, a sentence of imprisonment for a period of not less than one third of the maximum period of punishment for which he may be sentenced for such offence; and

(b) the Supreme Court in appeal or in revision shall not, unless it sets aside the conviction of any person for an offence set out in the First or Second Schedule hereto, set aside the sentence of imprisonment imposed on such person for such offence or substitute therefore a sentence of imprisonment for a period which is less than one third of the maximum period of imprisonment for which he may be sentenced for such offence.

*Priority to be given to the hearing of trials of offences set out in the Schedules and appeals from conviction.*

5. Every court shall give priority to the trial of any person charged with or indicted of any offence set out in the First or Second Schedule hereto and to the hearing of any appeal from the conviction of any such offence and sentence imposed on such conviction.

*Attorney-General to be made party to any application made to the Supreme Court.*

6. The Attorney-General shall be made a party to any application made to the Supreme Court by any person for the exercise by such Court of its powers under the provisions of this Law.

*Application of this Law to certain offences committed prior to the date of commencement of this Law.*

7. The provisions of this law shall also apply to the following offences set out in the First Schedule hereto, committed prior to the date of commencement of this law: Section 296 of the Penal Code.

Section 383 of the Penal Code.  
Section 384 of the Penal Code,  
Sections 2, 3, 4, 5 and 6 of the  
Of fensive Weapons Act No. 18  
of 1966.

Duration of this law,

8. The provisions of this Law shall be in operation for a period of one year from the date of its commencement.

#### FIRST SCHEDULE

##### Enactments and Section; Applicable

1. Section 114 of the Penal Code.
2. Section 115 of the Penal Code.
3. Section 116 of the Penal Code.
4. Section 117 of the Penal Code.
5. Section 119 of the Penal Code
6. Section 19. of the Penal Code.
7. Section 296 of the Penal Code.
8. Section 380 of the Penal Code.
9. Section 383 of the Penal Code.
10. Section 384 of the Penal Code.
11. Section 385 of the Penal Code.
12. Sections 101 to 113B (inclusive) of the Penal Code.
13. Section 2 of the Offensive Weapons Act. No. 18 of 1966.
14. Section 3 of the Offensive Weapons Act. No. 13 of 1966.
15. Section 4 of the Offensive Weapons Act No. 18 of 1966.
16. Section 5 of the Offensive Weapons Act No. 18 of 1966.
17. Section 6 of the Offensive Weapons Act No. 18 of 1966.
18. Section 22 of the Firearms Ordinance.

##### Nature of offence:

Waging war against the State or attempting to or abetting the waging of war.  
Conspiracy to wage war against the State.  
Collecting arms, &c. with the intention of waging war.  
Concealing of the existence of a design to wage war.  
Assaulting the Head of State or Member of Parliament, with intent to compel or restrain the exercise of any lawful power.  
Giving or fabricating false evidence with intent to procure conviction of a capital offence.  
Murder.  
Robbery committed on the highway between sunset and sunrise.  
Robbery with attempt to cause death or grievous hurt.  
Attempting to commit robbery armed with deadly weapon.  
Belonging to any wandering gang of thieves.  
Abetting, conspiring &c., to commit any offence set out in this Schedule.  
Importation, manufacturing, possessing, selling, exposing for sale, supplying, acquiring etc., of offensive weapons.  
Damage, destruction, &c. to property by the use of offensive-weapons.  
Causing injury or attempting to cause death or injury with offensive weapons.  
Attempt to commit offences under the Offensive Weapons Act, No. 18 of 1966.  
Abetment of offences under the Offensive Weapons Act, No. 18 of 1966.  
Possession of unlicensed firearms.

#### SECOND SCHEDULE

1. Section 120  
Exciting or attempting to excite disaffection to the Governments otherwise than by lawful means, or to promote hostility between different classes.
2. Section 300  
Attempt to murder.
3. Section 371  
Theft after preparation made for causing death or hurt in order to commit theft.
4. Section 373  
Extortion.
5. Section 380  
Robbery other than robbery committed on the highway between sunset and sunrise.
6. Section 381  
Attempt to commit robbery.
7. Section 382  
Voluntarily causing hurt in committing robbery.
8. Section 395  
Habitually dealing in stolen property.
9. Section 418  
Mischief by fire or explosive substance with intent to cause damage to the amount of one hundred rupees or upwards.
10. Section 419  
Mischief by fire or explosive substance with intent to destroy a house which is ordinarily used as a place of worship, or as a human dwelling, or as a place for the custody of property.

## Penal Code Sections applicable

## Nature of offence.

- |                                       |   |
|---------------------------------------|---|
| 11. Section 420                       | Mischief with intent to destroy or make unsafe a decked vessel or vessel of a burden of ten tons or upwards.  |
| 12. Section 426                       | Mischief committed after preparation made for causing death or hurt.  |
| 13. Section 440                       | Lurking house-trespass or housebreaking in order to commit an offence punishable with imprisonment.   |
| 14. Section 441                       | Lurking house-trespass or housebreaking after preparation made for causing hurt to any person.  |
| 15. Section 442                       | Lurking house-trespass or housebreaking by night.   |
| 16. Section 443                       | Lurking house-trespass or housebreaking by night in order to commit an offence.   |
| 17. Section 444                       | Lurking house trespass or housebreaking by night after preparation made for causing hurt to any person.   |
| 18. Section 445                       | Grievous hurt caused while committing house trespass or house breaking.   |
| 19. Section 446                       | Persons jointly concerned in lurking house trespass or house breaking by night causing death or grievous hurt by one of their number                    |
| 20. Section 490                       | Attempting to commit any offence aforesaid which is punishable with imprisonment where no express provision is made for the punishment of such attempt. |
| 21. Sections 101 to 113B (inclusive). | Abetting, conspiring, &c., to commit any offence set out in this Schedule.  |

NEXT WEEK:— PROSCRIBING OF LIBERATION TIGERS OF TAMIL EELAM AND OTHER SIMILAR ORGANISATIONS, NO. 16, OF 1978.

## INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

by Ariel

### ● China ● Afghanistan ● Iran

CHINA is very much in the news these days. In the United Nations special sessions on Disarmament she had blasted away at the two super powers, the USA and the USSR, and alleged that they were responsible for the arms race and that they would end fighting each other in a major global war. Next, she had launched an even more blistering attack on the Soviet Union alone alleging that she had used the cover of Disarmament to increase her conventional and nuclear arms. China has also for sometime been attacking Cuba for her role in Africa and also the

Soviet Union and Cuba together for their "interventionist" politics on that continent.

China's attacks had no doubt given the USA, NATO and some of the Western Powers encouragement to attack Russia and Cuba for the assistance they have given certain countries and groups in Africa. And, more recently some Western Powers—France and Belgium—had rushed troops to save Kolowezi and Shaba from Zairean rebels who had crossed over from Angola to recapture the provinces of Shaba and Katanga from which they had been expelled when Lumumba had been killed and Mobutu had come to power.

President Carter had thought it necessary to declare that the Zairean rebels had been trained and armed by Cubans in Angola. This has been denied. France, after withdrawing her paratroopers from

Kolowezi, thought it necessary to join with the USA to convene NATO powers to discuss the question of Russian-Cuban activities in Africa. Without naming names, a communique was issued that interventionist tactics in Africa would endanger detente. Britain in spite of her joining with China to have cold war blasts at Russia, did not want any strong or tough line against Russia or Cuba in Africa. British Premier Callaghan had declared that the important thing was to be certain that the Western analysis of the problems in Africa was right.

The Soviet Union, as was to be expected, accused NATO of plotting to crush black African independence movements. The *Pravda* further alleged that NATO (led by men by Brzezinski) were not merely planning action in Africa but all over the world against pro-



socialist and progressive forces.

This exchange of toughline compliments between NATO and Warsaw Pact powers has begun to step up even since Brezezinski took over as the National Security adviser in Washington. There are also suggestions that some in the top US hierarchy expect China to compromise on Taiwan if the USA, NATO and West took a really tough line and action against the USSR.

But even more interesting than China's sallies in the West, is her current quarrel with Vietnam. In Sri Lanka too, the Chinese official news agency, *Hsinhua* thought it necessary to issue a lengthy statement against Vietnam and "the barbarous actions" of Hanoi against innocent Chinese residents in Vietnam for countless decades. The Vietnamese Information Service duly replied. Both statements were published in Lake House papers.

It is not necessary and is not possible to enter into the controversy, but there is no doubt that China is determined to take a tough line against Vietnam because Hanoi refuses not only to join Peking in the campaign against Moscow, but it also tends to lean on Moscow in the political and ideological war in the Communist world. China threw its weight behind Kampuchea to provoke a situation in which Vietnam was compelled to abandon its "neutralist" position in the ideological war between the two communist-giants. If Peking hoped that Hanoi would abandon Moscow in order to have peace with Kampuchea, she was wrong.

Hanoi did not hesitate to make her position clear and this led China to take appropriate action to further pressurise Hanoi. This was done through the Overseas Chinese in Vietnam. This was something *Tribune* had anticipated some

weeks ago when it examined the position of the Overseas Chinese in Southeast Asia *vis a vis* the People's Republic China. Hanoi naturally took steps to contain the activities of these Chinese residents—and the present confrontation is the inevitable consequence.

If China hopes to have a lever for escalating her dispute with Vietnam by rushing to the rescue of the Overseas Chinese from Vietnam, Peking must know that many countries in Southeast Asia, with large overseas Chinese populations, are looking on with sympathy on the efforts of Vietnam to resolve this problem.

It is not clear why China has stepped up her confrontationist attitudes even with her nearest neighbour Vietnam. She has enough on her hands battling with the USSR in spite of help and support from NATO, the USA and the West not to pick a quarrel with a tough neighbour who defeated the USA in the battle field. Some China-watchers seem to believe that Peking has resorted to sharp confrontationist policies against certain countries under cover of ideological conflicts because it is a necessary manipulative manoeuvre to maintain the "unity" of the new leadership that has succeeded Mao and the Gang of Four.

Hongkong commentators say that Chinese leaders use the fact that the National People's Congress session was held, to convince the free world that the new leadership is stable, that it is capable of overcoming economic and political difficulties and that it is determined to continue the policy of expanding ties with the USA. But it is known that the leadership has a precarious balance. This was reached at the session by personal nominations at the ruling top and this shows that acute rivalry exists between supporters of Hua Kua-

feng and "technocrats" of Teng Hsiao-ping continues.

The rising influence of pragmatic figures in China's leadership does not necessarily mean the automatic growth of Teng's influence. Almost half of old cadres rehabilitated lately, who had been previously against the "leftist" deviations of the Shanghai group, were at the same time resolutely against the methods and rates of development of national economy proposed by Teng Hsiao-ping seeing in them more adventurism than sober account of realities and possibilities of backward China. By all appearances these collisions will emerge with greater force in the near future since the figures of annual industrial growth of ten

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**Notice under section 7 of the Land Acquisition Act (Chapter 460) as Amended by the Land Acquisition (Amendment) Act, No. 28 of 1964**

Ref. No. EA/306

It is intended to acquire the lands described in the schedule given below. For further particulars please see the Gazette of the Republic of Sri Lanka No. 320 (Part iii) dated 02/06/1978.

**Schedule**

Situation of the Lands:— In the village of Kumana, in the A.G.A's Division of Lahugala, in Amparai District.

Name of land: Kumanawatta and Kumanawela,

Plan & Lots No.:— P.P. AM/134  
Lots No; 1 to 27 F.F.S.P. 105,  
Suppl No. 2, lots no. 36 to 54  
Extent:— 73 acres 1 rood 03 perches

Sgd: **M. H. Piyadasa**  
District Land Officer & Acquiring  
Officer, of Amparai District.  
16th May 1978  
Kachcheri,  
Amparai.

---

percent and agricultural output of five per cent come from the old song of "Tiny Teng". An analysis of Peking's assets clearly shows that the coming years will introduce essential changes in the date of the promised "great miracle".

It has been found that traditional Chinese goods have limited opportunities in the world markets and according to the Chinese themselves, this export trade cannot ensure, the required flow of hard currency. Further, experts say that oil has no chance of becoming a constant major foreign currency earner as along with the development of modern industries the oil consumption in China will soar. In the near future China will have to stop its oil exports and by the year of 2000—possible to start importing it.

Furthermore, at present, with remittances from overseas Chinese, China has currency reserves of 2,000-4,000 million dollars which can only cover an insignificant share of its requirements in agriculture, industry and defense. What many do not realise is that in less than eighteen months China spent on purchases of food grain, sugar and soya beans, 1,800 million dollars which comes to almost one third of all Chinese imports.

Finally, the "cultural revolution" had created a shortage of experts, technicians, specialists and technocrats. The lack of personnel is felt in present China at all stages of economic construction. The problem cannot be solved by mere printing of millions of copies of Chairman Hua's report.

These are some of the questions to which China-watchers want answers. The articles which members of the Sri Lanka delegation have so far written do not help to answer these questions.

Apart from the Vietnam-China confrontation, the other sensitive

spot in Asia centres around Afghanistan. At the end of May, the Indian Foreign Minister Vajpayee went to Teheran mainly because of the fact that India was aware of the deep concern in both Iran and Pakistan at the wider repercussions of the emergence of an avowedly leftist regime in Afghanistan.

G. K. Reddy writing to the *Hindu* from Delhi on May 27, set out Iran's fears in a succinct despatch.

The Shah of Iran is reported to be relying on India's co-operation in urging restraint on the revolutionary regime in Afghanistan in its advocacy of the Pakhtoon and Baluchi demands for auto-

## A Personal Note From The Author Of "Acid Bomb Resolution", A Hitherto Unpublished Novel About 1971 That Will Be Serialised In The *Tribune* From Next Week.

From the time I first jointly edited a five page literary sheet as a student at St. Peter's College, I have wanted to become a writer of some sort. I, however, turned seriously to the task only after a short story of mine was published in *The Illustrated Weekly of India* way back in 1953. There followed several short stories and articles in the local newspapers and journals.

After several false starts at novel writing I had a first novel "A QUIET PLACE" published in 1969, after a five year wait since it was first written. In the same year I attended a conference of the Association for Commonwealth literature at the University of Queensland, and read a paper entitled "The Ceylon Writer in English and British Literary Standards" which was published later as one of fifteen Conference papers.

A second novel "Call of the Kirala" was published in 1971. In January of that year, I attended a second Conference of the Association for Commonwealth literature in Kingston, Jamaica where I met several West Indian novelists including N. S. Naipaul, George Lamming and the poet Edward Brathwaite.

In 1974 I attended a third Conference of the Association for Commonwealth Literature and read a paper on the theme "The Third World Writer and Sri Lanka", in Kampala, Uganda where I had the privilege of meeting several African writers and scholars among them Chinua Achebe.

The first collection of short stories entitled "THE AWAKENING OF DOCTOR KIRTHI" was published in 1976.

The "ACID BOMB RESOLUTION" completed nearly a year back makes its first appearance in the *Tribune*.

I have had critical articles published in the *Journal of Commonwealth Literature* and 'Savacou' the *Journal of the Caribbean Artists' Movement*.

Presently I am writing an auto-biographical novel that goes back to my childhood in pre-independence times.

I work at the S.L.B.C. where earlier I was engaged, for nearly five years writing and producing dramas and features at the rate of three productions a month, besides, for awhile, being in charge of the Overseas Service.

James Goonewardena

20th May 1978.

nomous existence. As he perceives the changing geopolitical situation in the region, the revival of the earlier Afghan plea for self-determination for these turbulent tribal peoples will have a deeply unsettling effect along the 500-mile border with Pakistan which extends to Iran.

"The External Affairs Minister, Mr. Vajpayee, met the Shah soon after his arrival in Teheran today for talks on the latest developments in Afghanistan and their wider implications. It is the most delicate trip of Mr. Vajpayee's tenure as India's Foreign Minister and he has gone fully prepared to discuss the complexities of this highly intricate situation quite candidly with the Shah and his advisers, and try to allay some of their misgivings about Afghan intentions or suspected Soviet machinations. In reiterating its policy of non-involvement in Pak Afghan disputes, he will certainly avail himself of the opportunity to impress on the Shah that India does not share the Iranian view that the acceptance of the Pakhtoon and Baluchi demand for greater autonomy would inevitably lead to the eventual dismemberment of Pakistan.

"It is quite obvious that India and Iran view the aftermath of the recent coup and the emergence of an avowedly leftist regime in Afghanistan from entirely different angles. While it does not subscribe to the theory that the coup was staged at the behest or with the consent of the Soviet Union, India conceded that it has logically led to a further increase of the considerable Soviet influence there. The Shah and his advisers look upon the sudden leftward lurch in Afghanistan as part of Moscow's grand strategy to engulf and isolate Iran from its wide-ranging contacts with the West, especially with the United States.

"Though they differ sharply in their respective assessments of the Afghan situation, India and Iran have nevertheless a common interest in ensuring that the Pak-Afghan differences over the Pakhtoon and Baluchi demands for autonomy do not generate any new tensions in the region. It is no use urging restraint on the leftist regime in Afghanistan, if there is no matching constraints on the Iranian and Pakistani over-reaction to the recent developments there. The Indian advice to the Shah will be not to take too alarmist a view or jump to any hasty conclusions by proceeding on the assumption that Moscow had already fired the first shot in a bold gamble to subvert the present rightist regimes in Iran and Pakistan.

"There was unfortunately an element of unreality in the policies of Iran and Pakistan to the Daoud regime which they thought had quietly given up supporting the Pakhtoon and Baluchi demands for self-determination and was waiting for an opportune moment to recognise the Durand Line. The Shah offered to finance the ambitious two billion dollar railway project linking Herat and Kandahar with Kabul, besides a grant of \$500 millions in long-term loans for budgetary support. The military rulers of Pakistan were wooing the Daoud regime with promises of increased trade and easier access to its ports. The Iranian and Pakistani policy-makers, working in close concert with the West, imagined that they could progressively wean away Afghanistan from its traditional dependence on the Soviet Union with increased offers of economic aid and political co-operation.

"The total Soviet assistance to Kabul in the last 25 years amounted to only \$1.5 billion and Iran hoped to overtake Moscow as the main economic prop of Afghanistan. But

the Shah did not take into account the fact that it was not so much the quantum as the diversity of Soviet aid and its extension to the entire spectrum of Afghan life, ranging from Agriculture, education, public health and communications to defence and even administration, that contributed to its vast and varied influence. The pro-Western proclivities of some of the key men of the Daoud regime were mistaken for conscious attempt on their part to move away from the Soviet Union, develop closer links with Iran and Pakistan by slowly abandoning the support for the Pakhtoon and Baluchi movements and accepting the Durand Line.

"In his excessive pre-occupation with the Soviet threat, which is largely a reflection of his growing concern at the political ferment in Iran, the Shah tends to see himself as the main target of the Soviet encirclement of West Asia, with one prong of the thrust extending through Ethiopia and South Yemen to the shaky Gulf Sheikdoms, another from Syria and Iraq threatening his western flank and the third one making a deep dent across Afghanistan and the volatile tribal belt to secure an outlet to the warm waters of the Indian Ocean. It will call for a lot of tact and imagination on the part of Mr. Vajpayee to keep up a credible distinction, during his talks with the Shah and his advisers, between fact and fiction, fancy and reality, in assessing the true nature of the new crisis of confidence developing in the area for whatever reason.

"The real task at these talks is to ensure that the different perceptions of the nature of the Soviet ambitions in the region do not mar the close bilateral relations that have developed in recent years between India and Iran. The Shah had at one time entertained some strong suspicions about In-

SRI LANKA CHRONICLE

May 22-May 29

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; DM—Dinamina; LD—Lankadipa; VK—Virakesari; ATH—Aththa; SM—Silumina; SLD—Sri Lankadipa; JD—Janadina; DP—Dinapathi; SU—Sun; CR—Chintamani; WK—Weekend; RM—Riviresa; EN—Eelanadu; IDPR—Information Dept. Press Release; DK—Dinakara; DW—Dawasa.

**MONDAY, MAY 22:** The 38 youths who are wanted by the police will surrender at the police station through the MP for Chavakachcheri—VK. (No other papers were published because of the Wesak holidays).

**TUESDAY, MAY 23:** Sri Lanka has been blacklisted by a number of international shipping lines for non payment of freight on consignments ordered by the previous government. The Minister of Industries has decided to establish 500 medium scale factories throughout the island on the basis of at least 3 factories to an electorate—CDN. The Ministry of Higher Education has drawn up a blueprint to develop technical and vocational education to meet the manpower requirements of the Massive Mahaveli Development Project with financial assistance from the UNDP—CDM. The Non Aligned movement yesterday urged a halt to the development and production of all weapons of mass destruction. Cuban leader Fidel Castro welcomed teachers from Sri Lanka to educate Cubans in English; his invitation came in a two hour meeting he held with Foreign

dia's attitudes towards Pakistan, but he subsequently satisfied himself that this country had nothing to gain by working for its further disintegration. He knows very well that India has not been encouraging or supporting the Pakhtoon and Baluchi movements, but he cannot expect this country to oppose them in total disregard of all democratic principles. And if the new leftist regime in Afghanistan is reviving the demand for their self-determination, the present rulers of Pakistan have to blame themselves for their obduracy and total disregard of the sentiments of these people who have been victims of brutal oppression."

An AFP-INA despatch from Teheran dated May 27 summed up the situation after Vajpayees, talks with the Shah.

"The External Affairs Minister Mr. A. B. Vajpayee, said here today that India and Iran would like to help Afghanistan, in 'strengthening and in guarding its independence'. Addressing a news conference after meeting the Shah, Mr. Vajpayee said India and Iran have expressed the hope that the last month's coup in Afghanistan would not interfere with regional co-operation and hinder regional stability. He said that in a broad agreement over Afghanistan, "both sides agreed that commercial relations should grow and there should be no interference from the outside in the internal affairs of other countries."

"Mr. Vajpayee said the subject of Indian Ocean security also came up during his meeting with the Shah. He said his government opposed "big power rivalries" in the area and believed neither super powers should have bases in the strategic body of water through which much of the world's oil passes. He said bilateral relations were also discussed, including the

feasibility of Iranian financing for an aluminium project, a paper pulp industry and the second phase of the Rajasthan canal irrigation project. Mr. Vajpayee also said regional countries should help the new Kabul Government to preserve its independence.

"He turned down an Iranian request for India backing of a possible Iranian-Pakistani alliance in case Afghanistan became a threat. Mr. Vajpayee said that India considered the changes in Afghanistan to be a domestic affair of that country. India's relations with Afghanistan are friendly, he added.

He said the Afghans were a proud people jealous of their independence, which they had been able to conserve in the past. He noted that the new Government in Kabul was a full participant in the recent Havana meeting of the Co-ordination Bureau of the non-aligned countries. But, Mr. Vajpayee said, he considered, that the idea of an Asian common market, launched recently by Teheran, would not be achieved either "tomorrow or the day after tomorrow".

The most significant aspect of the Vajpayee-Shah talks is that India refused to back an Iranian-Pakistani alliance to check and curb Afghanistan.

Will the Shah endeavour to find other backers?

#### SNIPPETS

A gentleman is a man who can disagree without being disagreeable.

A diplomat is a man who remembers a lady's birthday but forgets her age.

A bachelor is one who enjoys the chase but not the game.

The greatest man is he who does not lose his child's heart.

Minister Hameed at Revolution Palace this afternoon. The city of Colombo was one sea of heads last night when millions of sightseers converged on every principal highway; the police had to bring in re-inforcements—*SU*. Sri Lanka is making huge profits by exporting high quality copra and importing low quality copra for domestic use; Sri Lanka earns a net profit of Rs. 5600 from each ton of copra. According to the Chairman of the CTB if 1500 buses are put into service immediately all travelling problems can be solved. The West German Freedom from Hunger Movement will give 60 million Rupees to the movement in Sri Lanka to build paddy warehouses—*DW*. The Ministry of Fisheries is getting ready to import fresh fish to alleviate the present shortage in the island—*ATH*. Israel will pull its forces out of Southern Lebanon by June 18, the Cabinet announced yesterday—*CDN*. Pakistan's deposed PM Zulfikar Ali Bhutto who is under a sentence of death for ordering a political assassination has been on hunger strike in his condemned cell in protest against conditions in the Rawal Pindi jail to which he was transferred last Wednesday for the start of his appeal against the death sentence. Cuba had not trained the rebel forces fighting in Zaire's Shaba Province, had not given them equipment and had no part in their actions a Cuban government announcement said. French police and Israeli security agents foiled an attack on passengers of an Israeli air liner at Orly airport shooting dead three gunmen who opened fire with machine guns in the departure lounge—*CDM*. Cheering crowds of over 30,000 yesterday welcomed ex-President Ahmed Abdulla who has lived in exile for the past three years back to the Comoros islands after last week's coup d'etat that overthrew Ali Saïh—*SU*.

**WEDNESDAY, MAY 24:** An ambitious plan to give the majority rural population in Sri Lanka the benefits of social security hitherto enjoyed only by the urbanised class is to be launched shortly by the government. The IGP is to due to go on leave prior to retirement and his deputy for the Northern-Range Mr. Ana Seneviratne is expected to be appointed to succeed him. 25 terrorist suspects have so far surrendered to the police. Sri Lanka will ask the USA to send their food aid to this country under the PL 480 program as outright grants and not on a long term repayment basis. Under a massive re-organisation scheme of the co-operative sector the government has decided to replace the CWE by the MARKFED as the sole importer of all food and consumer items which would be distributed through the 7462 distribution depots of the Co-op Dept. The government has advised the Bank of Ceylon to liberalise credit facilities for the import of essential commodities such as foodstuffs and essential consumer items under the new liberalised scheme of imports—*CDN*. The Minister of Industries has assured foreign investors that the government will crack down on terrorism of any kind with an iron hand. The Colombo Plan Bureau in Colombo announced yesterday that aid provided under the Colombo Plan had exceeded US \$50 billion by the end of 1976 and disbursement for 1975 and 1976 totalled US \$ 5.6 billion. A large consignment of opium valued at Rs. 150,000 was recovered from the sea by customs officials at the Colombo Harbour yesterday evening—*SU*. Students who had qualified to enter the University but who did not gain admission will be soon given teaching appointments—*DM*. The Paddy Marketing Board has bought 2.4 million bushels of paddy from the Polonnaruwa district—*LD*. At least 150 people

have died in the severe heat wave that has gripped the Plains of India since the past two weeks according to reports received in New Delhi. The security of African nations and the possibility of setting up a Pan-American force to police the continent were the dominant themes at the fifth Franco-African summit which opened in Paris yesterday. British Queen Elizabeth started a five day state visit to West Germany with security kept to a minimum at the monarch's personal request. Belgian para troopers pulled out of Kolweza in a massive air lift yesterday leaving French foreign legionnaires to battle rebels of the town where scores of Europeans were massacred—*CDN*.

**THURSDAY, MAY 25:** The Minister of Finance and Planning has instructed all Secretaries of Ministries and Heads of Departments to exercise stringent controls in the matter of expenditure during the current financial year. Thirty three of the thirty eight terrorist suspects have so far surrendered to the police; twenty three of them surrendered in Jaffna on Tuesday while eight others surrendered later. Britain, one of the main tea drinking countries of the world, is drinking less tea now and this may have an adverse effect on the economy of Sri Lanka as a substantial exporter of tea to Britain. The President of the International Fund for Agricultural Development signed a loan agreement with Sri Lanka's Finance Minister for 12 million dollars for the Krindi Oya Projects. The Kachcheries in the NCP will be streamlined to meet the requirements of the District Administration System which will come into operation with the appointment of District Ministers—*CDN*. Sixteen of the 36 students who were suspended from the Vidyalanakara Campus for acts of indiscipline have been allowed to

résumé attending lectures following written apologies tendered by them to the university authorities. The government has decided upon a series of incentives to induce Sri Lankans abroad to remit their foreign exchange savings to Sri Lanka. There is no unity in the prices of drugs after the 40% reduction; private sector traders claim that this is because the SPC has not up dated the price list—CDM. Private sector consultants and consortiums will shortly step in to help the government in the designing of its several projects. Commencing June 1, only two persons will be permitted free into the BIA to see off passengers; five others will be permitted on the payment of Rs. 5 each—SU. A special team of Irrigation experts from the UNO will be invited to Sri Lanka to draw up plans to stop floods in the country. The Minister of Food and Co-operatives has decided to give permission to co-op societies to open factories, farms and other industries. 400 rural electricity schemes will be launched this year—DM. Mr. Colvin R. de Silva has decided not to accept the honorary degree which was to be conferred on him by the University of Sri Lanka because of the present state of the university—ATH. US Vice President, Walter Mondale, the first of over 70 world leaders scheduled to address the General Assembly debate on disarmament is expected survey proposals for world wide arms curbs when he opens the debate today. Princess Margaret ended her 18 year marriage to photographer Lord Snowdon, with a divorce action which lasted less than two seconds. Orly airport in Paris was the scene of a gun battle between French police and terrorists a few days ago in the boarding area of an EL Al flight: according to informed sources four people were killed and six wounded—SU.

Troops of the French foreign legion fanned out into the bush west of Massacre town of Kolwezi pursuing rebels believed to have abducted 60 white hostages. A highly armed column of rebel forces which attacked Southern Zaire crossed in to Zambia heading for Angola and took hostages as they fled—CDM. About 3000 to 4000 refugees were crossing from Burma into neighbouring Bangladesh daily said the UNICEF. The British government yesterday announced plans to give workers a legally backed role in the running of private and state owned companies—CDN.

**FRIDAY, MAY 26:** A positive step in the progress of Sri Lanka's FTZ has been taken with the approval of fifteen major investments

in the Katunayake industrial promotion area by the Greater Colombo Economic Commission. The Ceylon Chamber of Commerce has been told by the government to assist in a massive construction program using all available private sector resources. The President will launch a massive tree planting campaign on July 22—the first anniversary of the present government's assumption of office—which will involve nearly ten thousand schools, local and central government institutions, the corporations and estates. Mr. T. B. Werapitiya, Deputy Minister of Defence and MP for Pata Dumbara has been appointed a minister. Three terrorist suspects were arrested by the Trincomalee police on Tuesday

## The President Pledges

The President concluded:

I am the first elected Executive President, Head of the State, Head of the Government. It is an office of power and thus of responsibility. Since many others will succeed me I wish during my term of office to create precedents that are worthy of following.

*Firstly:* I will act always through the Cabinet and Parliament, preserving the Parliamentary system as it existed without diminution of any of their powers.

*Secondly:* I will not create a group known as the President's men and women who will influence him.

*Thirdly:* I will implement laws and decisions passed by Parliament impartially, without political, party or family bias.

*Fourthly,* I will not encourage nor countenance political victimisation.

*Fifthly:* I will treat every citizen of Sri Lanka alike and give him or her equal opportunities to progress. Sri Lanka will not be only a socialist democracy. It will be a meritocracy too.

*Sixthly:* I will offer to the minority, specially to the Tamil-speaking people who are citizens an equal place in every sphere of life. I have no racial nor religious bias for I attempt in my humble way to fashion my life in accordance with the Buddha's teaching.

*Seventhly:* In speech and action I will try to be non-violent for I abhor violence.

*Eighthly:* I will try to live according to the code of conduct we have adopted for Ministers and Members of Parliament I will endeavour to encourage the other members of our Party in Parliament too to follow it.

*Ninthly:* I will preserve Democratic Freedoms.

*Tenthly:* In every act of mine I will consider how it benefits the humblest and the poorest and endeavour to help them first.

—From the President's Convocation Address, May 31, 1978.

when armed combing operations were carried out by them in the thick jungle off Trincomalee. The Ministry of Social Services is now assessing the damage caused by the recent floods in order to rehabilitate the flood victims—CDN. Vamadevan who was wanted in connection with the attempted murder of Mr. Canagaratnam, MP for Pottuvil will be produced before the Chief Magistrate Colombo today. Retail sales of textiles will go metric from October 1 this year according to the metrication program. The Principal Collector of Customs yesterday reduced the penalty of Rs. 25,338,794.46 cts imposed on Paragon Industries Ltd. to Rs. 650,000—CDM. The Bank of Ceylon is to step in to save Aii Ceylon from its foreign debts amounting to Rs. 50 million. The PM has decided to offer tax concessions to those who make donations to the Colombo Urban development Programme. Licenses granted to six Singapore trawlers have been cancelled by the Minister of Fisheries on the grounds that they violated the terms and conditions. 150 passenger coaches valued at Rs. 135 million are on order for the railway from Rumania—SU. Five terrorist suspects were arrested yesterday at Killinochchi. The eleven terrorist suspects arrested at Vavuniya were remanded and refused bail—EN. Commencing Sunday May 29th consumers all over the country will be entitled to draw either paddy or rice on the ration book according to their choice—IDPR No. 56. The government has taken steps to import more dry fish to counter the present shortage of fish. Another Ceramics factory is to be opened at Kelaniya at a cost of Rs. 70 million—DW. The private sector and government trading units will be permitted to import fertiliser; only the fertiliser Corporation was permitted to do so before—DM, Mr.

Walter Mondale, addressing the special session of the UN General Assembly debate on disarmament said that there had been an unprecedented communist military build up in Europe and the Western allies would have to increase their defence budgets. Soviet news agency Tass today accused French and Belgian forces in Zaire of staging massacres there in order to blame them on rebels in the Southern Shaba Province—CDN. Eritrean rebels yesterday said fierce fighting was going on west of Asmara, capital of Ethiopia's war-torn Northern Province—CDM. A separate peace agreement between Egypt and Israel is out of the question at present, Israel foreign Minister Moshe Dyan said in Parliament yesterday—SU.

**SATURDAY, MAY 27:** "It is the view of President J. R. Jayawardene of Sri Lanka that World Disarmament Authority should pay the role of controlling and regulating the production and distribution of necessary armaments," the Sri Lanka Foreign Minister told the current UN special session in New York yesterday. Job opportunities for Sri Lankans in the oil rich gulf states is expected to be explored by Foreign Minister Hameed during his forthcoming visit to these countries. The PM will shortly introduce legislation to combat air and river pollution resulting from the vast expansion industries and agriculture in the country. A proposal of the Education Reforms Committee to make religion a compulsory subject at the GCE 'O' level exam has been accepted by the Minister of Education. The UNICEF and the government of Sri Lanka yesterday signed the extension agreement for UNICEF's Program of special assistance to mothers and children in Sri Lanka. Unauthorised and unscrupulous persons are apparently printing and publishing job bank

forms similar to the ones Printed and Published by the government and issued to MP's. Undergraduates will not be allowed to hold propaganda meetings and rallies during lecture hours at campuses; but with prior permission they can hold meetings after 4 p.m; they will also not be allowed to affix controversial posters in the campus premises—CDN. The Chief Magistrate Colombo yesterday remanded indefinitely, Vamadevan, suspect in the Canagaratnam murder case. Urgent action has been taken on the initiative of the Secretary of the Ministry of Education to remedy the acute shortage of teaching staff at the Faculty of Engineering at the Peradeniya Campus of the University; in the Dept of Civil Engineering alone 25 vacancies exist out of a total of 32 posts. The GDR has offered a loan of 10 million US dollars to Sri Lanka for the import of capital goods. The Secretary to the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting has been appointed the Competent Authority under provisions of the 'Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam and other similar organisations Law'—CDM. The monopoly enjoyed by the Insurance Corporation of Sri Lanka in the field of Insurance is to end. All campuses will in future have a uniform calendar year and hold annual examinations at the same time said the Secretary to the Ministry of Higher Education—SU. Under the new law, Tamil will be given the status of a national language and administrative affairs will be conducted in Tamil in Tamil speaking areas—VK. Economic experts of the Central Bank have pointed out that Sri Lanka is facing a shortage of trained workers and technicians; over 65,000 of them are now working in the Middle East and other countries. The Fisheries Corporation has decided to lease trawlers owned by the corporation to the private sector and purchase

fish from them—LD. A new corporation which will handle the export of goods from Sri Lanka will be set up shortly; this corporation will give all the assistance to businessmen and manufacturers to export their goods—DW. The Labour Department is thinking of increasing the rate of interest of the employers provident fund of the govt and private sector from 7% to 18% —DM. Pakistan's National Alliance today agreed in principle to join a National Government proposed by army ruler Zia-Ul-Haq insisting that the government would not include army officers and would have the power to call elections which he is likely to find unacceptable. President Valery Giscard D'Estaing has pressed African leaders to set up a Pan-African security force after telling them France did not want to be considered the 'gendarmes of Africa'—CDN. President Carter told the Soviet Union yesterday its human rights record and military involvement in Africa could harm negotiations for a new SALT Agreement or jeopardise US Senate ratification of any accord reached—CDM. The former Chief Minister of the South Indian state of Tamil Nadu, Mr. M. Karunanidhi has been charged with attempting to murder ex-PM Indira Gandhi during her visit to Madras last October. Indian PM Desai's plan to impose total prohibition on liquor in the country within four years suffered a setback yesterday when a High Court in Uttar Pradesh quashed a government order banning drinking in seven districts in the state. France yesterday called for an European Disarmament Conference and said invitations to 34 nations to join in the preparations would go out today. White Rhodesian PM Ian Smith said he would retire from politics before one-man one-vote elections leading to majority rule was established in his country—SU.

**SUNDAY, MAY 28:** Several heads in Air Ceylon connected with its activities during the period under investigation by a Presidential Commission are expected to roll as a result of the findings of the Commission which will be handed over to the President tomorrow. The government in a bid to beat the butchers has decided to permit the import of beefs mutton and poultry. A three member Parliamentary Advisory Committee will be appointed shortly to hear representations from persons who may be detained in terms of the law proscribing the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam and other similar organisations. A new telephone directory will be Published by the Telecommunications Department before the end of next month after a lapse of nearly four

years—ST. While Sinhala will remain the official language of Sri Lanka, Sinhala and Tamil will enjoy the status of 'national languages' of the Republic under the constitutional changes now being licked into final shape by a Parliamentary Select Committee. The Sri Lanka Navy has received a large number of offers from ship builders world wide for five new patrol boats it intends buying. During the last few years some of Sri Lanka's valuable records, which should have been kept for historical and cultural reasons have been turned into pulp at the Valaichenai paper factory; many of these items were lost when the previous regime gave a blanket order to clear and destroy documents in the record rooms of law courts in the island. The Minister of Fish-

#### FOREIGN DEBT

THE TOTAL FOREIGN DEBT OF THE LESS DEVELOPED countries (LDCs) is estimated to be around 300 billion dollars. Since 1974, the non-oil LDCs have "chalked up a cumulative trade deficit of about 120 billion dollars." The real meaning of the debt and deficit is that the LDCs spent so much money to keep the West's wheels of industry going and to an extent to enrich the oil producing countries. Foreign debt has been a bone of contention at UNCTAD IV and at the so-called North-South dialogue, between the indebted developing nations and the aid giving Western countries. The Group of '77' has been urging cancellation of debts.

Sweden has cancelled debts owed to her. The Swedish minister for aid, Ola Ullsten "made out a strong case for cancellation of third world debt, saying that the long term interest of the industrialised (i.e. capitalist) countries themselves as well as an evident solidarity with the poor world called for a serious and early solution of the problems of the debts." According to him, if all the aid giving countries wrote off the debts, "the annual charge on their economies would correspond to 0.015 of their total GNP" (*The Economic Times*: May 2). Sweden seems to have farsighted vision for the undeserved security of the capitalist system. Not so the EEC. The European Economic Commission is advising the EEC members against any "Across the board" cancellation of debts. The US is unwilling too to cancel the debts. At best they are for rescheduling debts.

*In other words, barring an honourable exception like Sweden, the rest of the capitalist world wants to keep the developing countries under permanent debt bondage—a kind of bonded labour at the international level.*

—DABBLER in New Age



eries discovered when he summoned District Managers of the Fisheries Corporation that the reasons for the high price of fish were due to the better prices paid by mudalalis and the slow payments by the corporation; also the fact that the private sector was buying up most of the ice produced industrially—SO. The new Constitution will now be presented to the NSA only after the draft report of the Parliamentary Select Committee is adopted by the Assembly. Colombo will be the venue for the Fifth Far Eastern Conference of Operational Heads of Narcotic Agencies in the second week of November this year. The Coast Protection Law is to be presented in the NSA shortly; the proposed law seeks to prevent polluting of the coasts, sea erosion and indiscriminate use of the coastal areas. The Japan-Sri Lanka Television Service will operate from November in a way to reach the general Public at a low cost—WK. The leader of the Opposition has at a meeting with the President appealed on behalf of the youths who have been detained by the police as terrorist suspects; the President has told him that investigations were proceeding and after that if they were found to be innocent they would be released and he had assured Mr. Amirthalingam that none of them would be ill treated—EN. Sri Lanka takes second place in the world murder rate—VK. The Health Ministry in a bid to update the Ayurvedic system in Ceylon will shortly build equipped ayurvedic hospitals in each district; as a first step eight will be built at a cost of Rs. 52 million—SM. Antonia Guzman, the opposition candidate was yesterday confirmed as winner of the Dominican Republic's elections ending the 12 year rule of President Joachim Belaguer. President Kenneth Kaunda telling reporters he knew

nothing about the stream of Zaire rebels crossing the Northwest corner of Zambia ordered an investigation yesterday—ST. China has decided to send ships to Vietnam to bring home Chinese who who it said were being persecuted by the Hanoi government, the new China news agency said today. President Marcos today indicated that he is thinking of dropping his announced plan to hold the Philippines first provincial and municipal elections in more than six years of martial law—SO. The US Senate Armed Forces Committee supported the US military forces option to be armed with the controversial neutron bomb. King Hussein of Jordan married Elizabeth Halaby 26, an American Architect last Thursday—WK.

**MONDAY, MAY 29:** Remittances from Sri Lankans resident abroad have reached record levels; banking sources said these remittances had reached a monthly average of about 200 million Rupees. New security measures which are to be adopted from June 1, will it is hoped raise the airport to world standards. The Jathika Sevaka Sangamaya has decided to utilise its membership contributions to put up housing schemes in the country. Mr. Rohana Wijeweera, leader of the JVP said that his aim was to achieve socialism through peaceful means and that if any member of his party collected arms he would be sacked. The government has imposed a ten year ban on the felling of trees in the up country—CDN. The government will expedite the process of rehabilitating public employees who were victimised by the previous regime. The Minister of Trade has invited the press to expose irregularities and malpractices in the corporations or institutions under his ministry. The Food Department is expected to purchase 5000 tons of local rice by tender monthly

during the coming few months. The SW Monsoon has set in, according to the Department of Meteorology—CDM. Sri Lanka will shortly have its own legislation to regulate matters connected with the 200 mile economic zone; an FAO expert is already in the island to advise the government on the formulation of this legislation. Since drug abuse is supposed to be taking place among students attending leading schools in Colombo, Principals have been asked to summon Parent-Teacher Association meetings to discuss ways and means of meeting this danger—SU. On the request of the President, many private industries and enterprises are to give employment to 25,000 unemployed youths—DW. The Shipping Corporation has decided to lease more ships in view of the fact that Sri Lanka's imports have increased considerably—LD. A new police unit equipped with modern arms and vehicles is to be set up soon; it will be authorised to conduct investigations anywhere in the island and be ready to face any eventuality—DK. 500 youths will be recruited on a district basis for the Land Army which will be reconstituted from next week—LD. A number of Asian countries are interested in purchasing rice from Sri Lanka because of the shortfall of rice production in those countries—DM. Two terrorist suspects, Kasi Ananthan and P. Nadesanathan have surrendered to the Batticaloa Police—VK. PM John Vorster appealed to Britain and the US last night to drop sanctions against Rhodesia and recognise the interim government there. The US and France have agreed to cooperate in helping friendly African governments in the dual task of promoting security and development in the troubled continent—CDM.

# Confidentially

## Tribune, Tractors And The SLBC?

WAS IT NOT A SURPRISE to hear the name of *Tribune* over the airways of the SLBC even if it was only for a few brief moments? That Radio Ceylon—later the CBC and now the SLBC—has always fought shy of referring to *Tribune* in any way? That *Tribune* is said to rub people the wrong way? That it frequently stirs up hornet's nests in the political arena? That more than anything else it is said to be critical of the wrongs done by every government? That for these reasons and more, perhaps, the SLBC has avoided any reference to the *Tribune* (except in the days of S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike when *Tribune* was quoted frequently in Radio Ceylon commentaries)? That we were informed by an anonymous caller on Monday, May 29, that the Chairman of the Tractor Corporation would be interviewed that evening at 8.30 pm on Channel One in regard to some comments made in the *Tribune* about the Corporation? That we tuned in to find it was a ten-minute feature called *Newsreel*? That the interviewer asked Tractor Corporation Chairman Mahiman de Silva for his comments on some remarks made in the *Tribune* of April 1? That of the *Newsreel* we are only concerned with the heroic attempt by the Chairman, Tractor Corporation, to "answer" the queries raised in the *Tribune*? That the interviewer referred to a few sentences in the issue of April 1, 1978 and asked the Chairman to comment on them? That the way questions were formulated were only to help the Chairman to get a blanket statement off his chest to give the impression that

no other answers were required to dismiss the *Tribune* queries? That though the interviewer—who obviously wanted to give the Chairman an opportunity to knock *Tribune's* questions into a cocked hat—referred only to the *Tribune* of April 1 although the matter under probe was first referred to at length in this column on February 4, 1978 *Tribune* Vol. 22 No.41)? That on April 1, the matter was pursued further in the *QUIDNUNCS* column? That in the meantime, *Tribune* had hoped that a detailed statement would come from the Chairman on the queries raised in the two articles? That unlike other chairmen, this Chairman did not respond to our queries? That after nearly four months the Chairman has now sought to answer *Tribune* through a 3-minute interview on the *Newsreel*? That the SLBC should also give an opportunity to *Tribune* to present its case and spotlight the queries that have not been answered?

IS IT NOT AMUSING that all that the Chairman said in the 3 minutes was that in regard to the first order for 1000 two-wheeled tractors, the IDA which financed it, had insisted on Kubotas (as against the Yanmars) because of "customers' preference" for Kubotas? That with regard to the second order, 700 Kubotas were ordered because of "customer preference" and 300 Yanmars were also bought (he did not say why they were chosen)? That he said had gone to Japan on invitation in accordance with the laws, rules and regulations of Sri Lanka? That he was the guest of the Yanmar Company for one week (one week emphasised)? That this, he said, had nothing to do with the purchase of 300 Yanmars? That, all in all, the Chairman's explanations were no reply to the *Tribune* queries? That the interviewer also asked the Chairman what he had to say to the *Tribune* charge that the country lost a million rupees

by these orders? That the Chairman took cover behind the IDA and the magic term "customer preference"? That he did not refer to the prices of the two tractors? That it did not seem important to him that the main charge *Tribune* had made was that each Yanmar was Rs. 518 cheaper than a Kubota? That without referring to this price difference (on which *Tribune* had based the Rs. 1 million loss) the Chairman spoke in an airy-fairy manner about IDA insistence on customer preference? That if what the Chairman says is right and if the so-called "customer preference" was the sole determining factor, then there was no need to call for tenders to ascertain the cheapest tenderer? That if the IDA was concerned solely with "customer preference" why did they go through the farce of calling for tenders? That all that had to be done was to investigate "customer preference" and place the orders? That elsewhere in this issue we have published the queries we raised on February 4 and April 1? That we would still welcome a detailed statement from the Chairman for publication? That all that we are interested in is the unravelling of truth in the national interest? That in the meantime, the Chairman seems anxious to cover himself with glory by boasting (vide *Ceylon Daily News*, 31.5.78, and *Ceylon Observer*, 31.5.78) that in six months "his" Corporation had distributed more tractors and spare parts than the previous government had done in six years? That there is no doubt that the Tractor Corporation and the present Government have blindly ordered tractors and other goods on the loans certain countries have given? That the last government did not have such international credit facilities? That it is yet to be seen who will have the last laugh?

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by

James Goonewardene

From our next issue on Saturday, June 17, 1978, Vol. 22 No. 51 TRIBUNE will serialise a hitherto unpublished novel by the Sri Lankan writer who has two novels by his credit, A QUIET PLACE (1978) and THE CALL OF THE KIRALA (1971): also a large number of short stories collected in one volume in 1976 entitled as The Awakening of Dr. Kirthi.

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