

# TRIBUNE

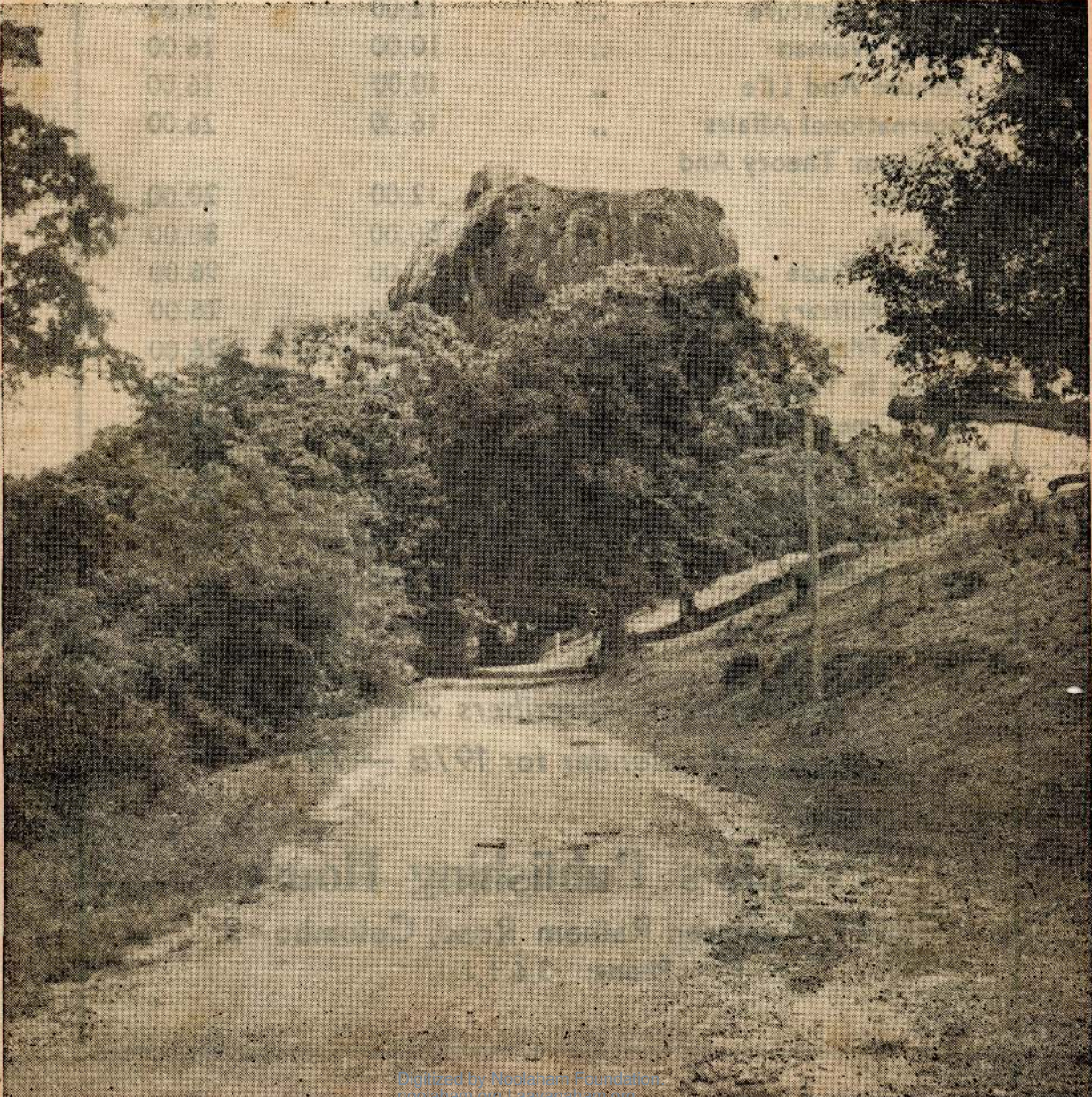


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# Letter From The Editor

WE LIVE in exciting times with great expectations. Many believe that we are on the threshold of a new era: that the inauguration of the Presidential system of executive power together with an open door policy of foreign investment and private enterprise will act as a catalyst to lever the prevailing stagnant system into a vibrant, dynamic and fast developing economy; that the competition from efficient private enterprise undertakings will shake the lethargic, inefficient, corrupt and wasteful public sector undertakings into more viable and profitable units than now; and that the country would evolve into becoming a disciplined society where law and order will be maintained without Emergency Rule or the excessive use of the Security Services. There are others—still a minority at the moment—who see in the Presidential system the beginnings of a rightwing dictatorship (some of these persons do not mind, and, in fact, welcome a leftwing dictatorship); who stress that the invitation to foreign investors and private enterprise to develop the economy is really a sell-out of the country and its resources to foreign multinational exploiters: who are worried that the heavy tilt to the West would end the non-aligned position-of-strength which gained Sri Lanka the reputation of being a truly independent sovereign country with a foreign policy that was not under the shadow or umbrella of any big power or military bloc: and who are convinced that private enterprise and foreign investment will undermine and destroy the basics of the egalitarian society that has been built up in this country over the last two decades and more. The voice of opposition and dissent is at the moment drowned in the euphoria that has been built up by official and semi-official media based on the speeches and statements of Mr. J. R. Jayawardene and other Ministers. Government spokesmen claim that the Free Trade Zone and the Mahaweli Project will provide a major jumping off the ground for further development. There is also no doubt that the IMF and the Western consortium are determined to do everything possible to make a model showpiece of Sri Lanka for the benefit of the non-aligned and developing Third World: that western capital and technology are capable of helping a country, ravaged by inept policies of populist pseudo-socialist mixed economy experimentation, to recover and become a vibrant and dynamic economy capable of rapid growth: and that is why, even though the UNP government has so far shown naive amateurishness in utilising western aid, the IMF is willing to underwrite the Sri Lanka gamble to the tune of Rs. 5,000 million. Earlier the IMF had undertaken to provide stand-by credit up to Rs. 2,000 million. Witteveen, the head of the IMF, who was here last week, has, according to reports, increased the standby limit up to Rs. 5,000 million. It would be recalled the government has had to utilise for wheat, milk foods, fertilizer and other subsidies such a large amount of money that only Rs. 400 million was left for development. With the new IMF assistance, Sri Lanka will have about Rs. 3,000 to 3,500 million to play about with for development. There is no doubt that no other country in the developing world has received so much aid from IMF and the Western consortium as Sri Lanka has been promised now. There are a large number of other countries which have done many double somersaults to openly proclaim allegiance and even subservience to West, but have not been favoured as Sri Lanka has been so far as IMF standby credits, consortium aid or bilateral loans are concerned. Sri Lanka is no doubt a special case. Though a small country, it is today the chairman of the non-aligned movement. It had boasted in the recent past of its socialist affiliations and its adherence to public sector undertakings. What could there be better for capitalism and multinational economy than to show that a country, which whilst not disavowing non-alignment in principle and even paying lipservice to socialism, could be uplifted by western technology and private enterprise into becoming a rich and prosperous country? Sri Lanka is a small enough country for the West to gamble with an experiment that might cost Rs. 5,000 to Rs. 10,000 million. This is a small microscopic sum of money for the affluent industrialised countries. Such are the perspectives which loom large on the horizon as the new Presidential system comes into existence. The IMF has given a big hand to the UNP government with the promise of a standby credit of Rs. 5000 million. The Dharmista era thus dawns in the most auspicious circumstances under international finance capital but the question that haunts everyone is whether the government will be able to mobilise and induce the manpower of the country to respond by working 8 hours a day for at least 300 days every year (and not 200 as now).

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EDITOR'S NOTEBOOK

A New Era

Colombo, February 1,

There is only theme-song in the air in Sri Lanka at the moment: the inauguration of the Presidential system and the swearing-in of Mr. J. R. Jayawardene as the first elected President of the country on Saturday, February 4. The Second Amendment to the Constitution, adopted by the NSA with the requisite two-thirds majority last November, has only created the post of President vesting him with all executive power and the power to appoint a Prime Minister and a Cabinet of Ministers from among the members of the NSA. Only the framework of the new system has so far emerged, and there has been much speculation about the manner in which the new system will work and will be worked. It might be well to recall that Sri Lanka has not, since adult franchise was granted in 1931 by the Donoughmore Constitution, functioned under a Cabinet system, on a total separation of powers, as under the Westminster parliamentary system. The Committee System of executive power under the Donoughmore Constitution has continued with minor variations and changes (in nomenclature) right from the days of the Soulbury Constitution and the 1972 Republican Constitution.

There have been major complaints and dissatisfaction about the manner in which executive power was exercised in this country. Some lauded the Westminster system and wanted changes in accordance with the British model. Others who were intellectually Marxist-oriented wanted a dictatorship of the proletariat — either by a single party or a coalition of like-minded parties—sugar-coated with democratic parliamentary trappings. Mr. J. R. Jayawardene, alone, had campaigned for a Presidential system adapted for Sri Lanka from a "mix" of the American, French and West German models. The political genius of J. R. Jayawardene was displayed by the way he successfully secured a mandate in 1977 to introduce the Presidential system on a pattern envisaged by him.

Many had hoped that the Select Committee of NSA appointed to make recommendations on the Reform of the Republican Constitution would be able to complete its work so as to have the necessary Amendments enacted before February 1, but this has not been possible. It was rightly considered prudent and statesmanlike not to rush the amendments. Changes are expected on a large number of matters—on Fundamental Rights (especially amendments affecting language and communal amity), on Proportional Representation, on the Public and Judicial services etc., etc.—and it is only when these are completed that it will be possible to get a fuller picture of the new Constitutional set-up.

Already, the Local Government Amendment Bill, which is now on the Statute Book, provides an insight of what is to come. Even before he assumes the post of President, Mr. J. R. Jayawardene, moved, as his last legislative act in the NSA, three Bills to enable him to function efficiently as President even before the rest of the Constitutional changes come into being. They are: the Public Security (Amendment) Bill, Parliamentary (Power & Privileges) Bill and

the Special Presidential Commissions of Inquiry Bill. The Constitutional Court has held that these three Bills were consistent with the provisions of the Constitution. At the time of writing, the first Bill had been adopted by the NSA without any opposition: the TULF and CWC openly supported the Bill, whilst the SLFP voted for the Bill without any of its MPs speaking on the Bill. The new Act vests the old powers of Emergency Rule in the President but such an Emergency cannot continue for more than 90 days without the approval of the NSA. This is intended to prevent the abuse of Emergency Rule, as in the days of the last Government, when the Emergency was continued without the Opposition being given any opportunity to debate it in the NSA for several years.

This Act must be welcomed as a major step forward to ensure that no government will abuse the powers vested in it under the Public Security Act or attempt to carry on Emergency Rule without recourse to Parliament. Nobody can quarrel with the Special Presidential Commissions of Inquiry Act because it eliminates all the "excesses" of the CIC Act which

COVER

ROCK OF AGES

ON THE COVER we have a picture of Sigiriya Rock from an unusual angle. It was taken many years ago before the recent excavations had revealed the vast complex the Sigiriya fortress and township was in its heyday. Sigiriya has now been made a symbol of Sinhala civilisation, culture and prowess. Enthusiastic writers, who are inclined to view ancient history in terms of modern concepts, have called Sigiriya the mightiest "political" capital of the past whilst they say that Anuradhapura was the "commercial" capital. It is not our purpose to quarrel with such romantic but misleading over-simplification. We only want to point out, as we have often done, that it is time to dwell less and less on the "glories" of the past and concentrate more and more on the urgent tasks before us today. And, it is well to remember that neither Anuradhapura nor Sigiriya could have been built if people had "worked" as they do now. We have now attained the pyramidal apex of the lotus-eating days that has befallen this country since the advent of European invaders: our working year is today less than 200 days annually. Most of us work less than 4 hours a day for the 8 hours wages we draw. Unless we reverse this trend, our economy will continue to stagnate and no real growth or progress can be registered. It will not be easy to discard the pattern of holidays we have now, but there is no doubt that this country cannot either afford the five day week or the numerous other religious holidays on which nobody does any work. Nor can we afford to pay two and three times the national wage for necessary work (grudgingly done) on holidays. This is the most urgent task before the nation today. A voluntary renunciation of the major part of the 165 odd holidays a year is the greatest contribution a patriot can make towards growth and progress. Such a voluntary renunciation is better than changes effected with the threat of the Big Stick—which would become inevitable under either Right or Left strongarm governments.

## Parliamentary Privileges

was intended to cover misdeeds and wrongdoing not fully covered by the ordinary laws of the land. This Bill ensures fundamental rights and the rule of law whilst giving Special Presidential Commissions the powers to investigate offences of a special nature in the modern context.

But, the Parliamentary (Powers and Privileges) Bill is another kettle of fish. Whilst Mr. J. R. Jayawardene has argued that this Bill was only an elaboration of the provision in the Constitution which made the NSA "sovereign" in all matters, there is no doubt that the spelling out of the powers and privileges in the manner set out in the Bill will only tend to curb criticism and interpretative analysis on matters of political urgency in the newspapers but also provide immunity to Ministers and MPs who need to be criticised. Often the truth can be brought out openly by a kite-flying story in the press on a half-truth to provoke the government to set out all the facts. Under the new Bill, a corrupt Minister can easily take refuge under the provisions of the Bill to prevent any reference to the matters in question. The assurances given that the Press will not be curbed and press criticism will be allowed are only empty promises in the face of the provisions of the Bill. The least that can be said of the Bill is that it is unnecessary at this stage and empowers a majority in Parliament (theoretically for the moment) to act in a tyrannical and undemocratic manner and also to suppress the freedom of the press.

MANY HAD also thought that with the assumption of power by Mr. J. R. Jayawardene as President, he would make changes in the Cabinet. There is no doubt that several Ministers have not discharged their functions in the manner expected. Some have made a mess of their portfolios. In some cases, the departments under them have become worse than in the worst days of the last regime. There are good reasons to believe that Mr. J. R. Jayawardene had contemplated some major changes in the Cabinet. But, on January 27 in a special press com-

munique he had stated: "I do not propose to make any changes in the personnel of the Cabinet of Ministers or in the functions allotted to Ministers now. I intend to do so after careful consideration and consultation with all those who may be concerned in the near future. The existing Ministers in the present Cabinet with the same functions will take their oaths soon after 4th February, 1978." The only change will be that Mr. Premadasa will be sworn in as Prime Minister.

Any changes in the Cabinet at this stage will naturally cause heart burning and disappointment in certain quarters. And it must be accepted that such changes, at this juncture, when a new system of presidential power is being introduced, will infuse unnecessary controversy, rancour and dissension in the top echelons of the ruling party. Mr. J. R. Jayawardene has been wise in avoiding this. But, in the same communique he has said such changes will be effected in the "near future". He had also added that changes would be done "in consultation" with those

concerned. This will probably be done in the Dharmista way. A Minister may be confronted with his record, with the criticisms levelled against him in the NSA and in the Press. This confrontation may persuade most Ministers that it would be wise on their part to change over or retire.

THE ONLY UNPLEASANT development to the present euphoria was the attempt to shoot Mr. M. Canagaratnam, the second MP for Potutuvil, on the evening of January 27. It will be recalled that Mr. Canagaratnam was elected on the TULF ticket. He crossed over to the UNP during the Budget Debate and he was expelled from the TULF. Whilst no one should encourage or condone defections from parties on whose tickets MPs were elected, it must be conceded that even an MP has the right to change his mind or his affiliations. It is a moot point if the MP who changes party mid-stream should resign and offer himself for re-election on his new party ticket.

Whatever the controversy on this matter there cannot

### ALARMING

#### MEAT-HUNTERS AND THE POLICE

In the *Tribune* of January 21, 1978 (Vol. 22 No. 31), we published a concrete story of an entry made in the Manikulam Police station on 15.1.78 of a buffalo being shot and how the marauders were caught red-handed with the goods. We had stopped the story at the point where eight persons were taken into custody and taken to the police station with the "guilty" gun. As we had anticipated, the owner of the buffalo was later persuaded to accept a compensation of Rs. 600/- for the animal—he was told he was getting an over-price of Rs. 200—and every body had gone home happy. The gun was restored to the owner. This is the same story everywhere. Cattle thieves and meat-hunters are everywhere free to hunt for meat by killing animals belonging to cattle-owners. Most owners of cattle, who have been victimised, prefer to collect the compensation from the meat-hunters without making trips to the police station. Stories have reached us of terrible marauding in the Melsiripura area where meat-hunters openly raid even National Livestock Development Board estates. Watchers are afraid to use fire-arms because the police usually charge the watchers with attempted murder for shooting thieves below the knees even inside the estates. Meat-hunters seem to enjoy the sympathy of the police.

It is necessary for government to lay down certain firm guide-lines on this matter. The police should not "compound" cases of cattle shooting. If the owner of cattle changes his mind and is persuaded to withdraw his charge, he should do so before a Magistrate. The gun involved should be confiscated, and restored only on the orders of a Magistrate who may see a good reason for doing so. At the moment, the Police seem to think that their only function in these cases is to collect compensation for the owners (and probably for themselves for their troubles). Very soon there will be no livestock left in the country. Very soon we must increase the import of milk powder. And we will also have no alternative but to import meat. An alarming prospect indeed!

be any dispute that political terrorism cannot be tolerated and should not be tolerated. At the time of the political murder of Mr. T. Duraiyappah *Tribune* had condemned the act in no uncertain terms. This paper had been consistently and persistently critical of the politics and conduct of Mr. Duraiyappah, but whatever one's criticisms of or dislike for his policies, terrorism and assassination were not the answer. The attempts to shoot Mr. Thiagarajah, former MP for Vaddukoddai, at De Fonseka Place in Colombo and Mr. Arulampalam, former MP for Nallur, in Jaffna, were equally despicable acts. The authorities rightly believe that a secret political organisation is behind the assassination move. It is admittedly an extremist militant terrorist group. It is the same group that killed Duraiyappah and staged the attempts on the lives of other Tamil politicians who were inclined to support the government in power.

It is one thing to believe in Eelam, but it is a totally different matter to resort to political terrorism and assassination to intimidate Tamils who do not believe in Eelam. But the latest act of political terrorism has other overtones of a very serious nature. The war against Tamil politicians has now been carried into the heartland of what Eelamites regard as Sinhala territory. The total failure of the attempts against Mr. Thiagarajah had not raised the indignation that the attempt on Mr. Canagaratnam's life (which is still in the balance) has done.

If the Tamil terrorists are permitted to operate against Tamil (and even against others politicians) in Sinhalese areas, it will lead to a communal holocaust such as the country has not known. The ordinary Sinhalese will not be roused if Tamil politicians are attacked in their "traditional areas", but if the terrorists start operating in what is regarded as Sinhala areas, all hell will be left loose. The Tamils must realise that they

should bring the weight of Tamil public opinion to end this terrorism and to educate the youth that terrorism and political murder will only lead to nihilistic communal suicide. The Tamil public must also co-operate with the authorities to end this menace.

The TULF, like the SLFP, is not participating in the ceremonies connected with the swearing-in of Mr. J. R. Jayawardene as the President, on February 4, but the TULF, unlike the SLFP, will join in felicitating him on February 3. This half-way house "co-operation" by the TULF seems to satisfy them that they are not "surrendering" before getting their pound of flesh, but this shows that the TULF is still plagued by immature political childishness.

#### QUIDNUNCS

## More About The Railways

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

\*PITY THE TENDER BOARD MEMBERS. There is a deadline frenzy, according to *Quidnuncs*, in the Transport Ministry. The frenzy is now reaching fever pitch. There seems to be an insane hurry to place orders for buses, wagons,

locomotives and spares. *Quidnuncs* say that the town is buzzing with talk about attempts to browbeat officials who are members of the Tender Board to toe the VIP line and sign on the dotted line to accept certain tenders and place orders. Drinks on a trip to Polonnaruwa failed to win the consent of one official to accede to a decision which involved a radical departure from specifications. Another official, *Quidnuncs* say, signed under threats of exposing this earlier LSSP connections. Another also agreed because he wanted to bask in the favour of the powers that be. *Quidnuncs* say that a deal was struck for 300 waggons over lunch and drinks at a five-star hotel, and they wonder whether the order was covered by proper tender procedures. *Quidnuncs* also say an effort is being made to place an order for 16 locomotives before the expiry of a deadline in February. *Quidnuncs* are emphatic that unless the President calls a halt to such hasty action great loss and damage will be done. He should, they say, refer all tenders to an independent Committee for evaluation. It is known that more than one senior engineer (some retired), who cannot be browbeaten, will give his services free and gratis.

\*JOY RIDE A *Quidnunc* has written to the Editor thus: "In Vol. 22, No. 31—January 21, of the *Tribune* you have printed the trip done by the Hon. Minister in the de-luxe car with his family entourage etc, when he ticked off the CTB boss for using 06 cars for 06 men to attend a gala. Now let me tell you of the trip he did over two months ago in the Eastern Province. A Special train with a Kitchen car (a full carriage) couple of Saloons (each saloon too has a kitchen), berth carriages, announced as a 'Goods Special' was run from Colombo to Trincomalee, to Batticaloa and then to Anuradhapura—because the train could not return to Colombo due to a bridge wash-away at Nagollagama. This train was not a goods special as such. There were few goods wagons to call it a goods special as a cover. In this train were the family of the Minister and his close relatives, friends and VIPs. The train was brought to Anuradhapura as it could not go back to Colombo.

"Earlier Ministers did not go on inspection in this jolly fashion. The

best way to inspect is by the inspection motor trolley. Of course he will need a saloon. He could have worked a saloon from Colombo attached to some train or used a saloon in the District. At Maho, on the day when the track was washed away between Maho and Nagollagama, he should have got off and gone to site by a trolley to see what was happening for there was a major track damage. Instead he went to A'pura to get cars to return to Colombo. He is said to have gone in the SP's car. Some VIPs had to get cars down from Colombo. So how can he know the travails of the ordinary train commuter? Your investigators will be able to get more details from the control offices at Colombo and Anuradhapura. Colombo will have all the parti-

culars" Other *Quidnuncs* say that the particulars set out are correct. If all these *Quidnuncs* are wrong and have sought to publicise false, malicious, misleading or tendentious reports, then it is for the Transport Ministry to set out the true facts, and *Tribune* will be glad to publish them.

**\*APPOINTMENTS WITHOUT PRECEDENT.** *Quidnuncs* are horrified that in recent times many hundreds have been appointed to various positions in the CGR—from posts of clerks upwards and downwards—without applications being called for or any proper interview and selections by a Board. This, according to *Quidnuncs*, is something that has never happened before in the CGR. There has no doubt, been monkeying in selections and appointments in the

past, but at all times the required governmental regulations and procedures were observed *pro forma*. Applications were called for by gazette notifications, setting out minimum requirements. Applications were scrutinised and scheduled, and Interview Boards evaluated the worth of the applicants *viva voce*. Interview Boards have, no doubt, at time, been packed and selections manipulated to meet the wishes of political VIPs. But now, say the *Quidnuncs*, even these basic formalities have been dispensed with. Appointments have been made by the hundreds—of persons from certain selected electorates—at the whim and fancy of VIPs. Persons who have no qualifications have been appointed. Already there is an outcry in the CGR. Unions have begun to grumble that precedents never before known have crept into the Railways. This is an issue for a strike on the CGR say the *Quidnuncs*.

### SADAT AND ISRAEL

In the *Tribune* of January 14, a columnist writing on *International Affairs* had criticised President Sadat for "surrendering" to American and other pressures to accommodate Israeli intransigencies about the Palestinians and the Jewish settlements in the Sinai. It was suggested that Sadat had weakened in regard to the faultless stand (from the Arab and Egyptian point of view) he had taken in his speech to the Knesset in Jerusalem on November 20, 1977. It was argued that he did not seem anxious to resist the evasions of President Carter about the Palestinian question and also the downright Israeli rejection of the basic minima essential for peace in the Middle East. Sadat's patience in persisting in the peace talks in spite of American vacillation and Israeli double-dealing led the columnist to think that Sadat was prepared for peace (*Pax Americana*) at any price. Events have shown that columnist's understanding of the situation was wrong. Sadat withdrew his Foreign Minister from the ministerial talks in Jerusalem (which had taken place only after the US had arm-twisted Israel) when Begin had reacted arrogantly and provocatively to Egypt's re-iteration of the original basis on which the peace talks had begun. This action by Sadat had made Carter to re-state his calculated evasions anew to tilt a little towards Egypt and to apply the screw afresh on Begin. Sadat thereupon acceded to Israeli's requests for a resumption of the military talks in Cairo, but the Foreign Ministers' talks were deadlocked. In the meantime, Sadat has started out on a mission to the US and Europe to persuade the Western Powers to bring pressure on Israel to accept the minima necessary for peace. There is a method in what appears to be Sadat's madness to bring about peace with honour in the Middle East.

He took a risky road to peace by going to Jerusalem to open direct bi-lateral talks, but what is even more encouraging is that he is taking greater risks by standing firm by the principles and the basic minima he had enunciated. Israel had started the talks on the basis of these principles, but set out to double-cross Egypt when Israel thought that Sadat was far too involved to withdraw from the negotiations. Israeli calculations were no doubt that between Carter's evasions and Begin's aggressive repudiations, Sadat would be further compromised among the Rejectionist Arab countries and that a weakened Egypt could be brow-beaten down to accept Israeli terms for a *Pax Israelia*. But Sadat has neatly turned the tables on Begin. Even Iraq seems to have appreciated the position and apart from withdrawing from the Rejection Front, Iraq seems to be developing closer ties with Egypt. Next week, *Tribune* will review the latest developments in the Middle East.

—Editor

### POP MUSIC MUST GO

Sir,

It is said music is a moral law. It gives a soul to the universe, wings to the mind, flight to the imagination, a charm to sadness, gaiety and life to everything. It is the essence of order, and ead to all that is good, just and beautiful, passionate, and eternal force. Also it is an art of combining a concord of sweet sounds with a view to give beauty of form and expression to emotion.

Contrary to this, pop music only goes to fulfill the immature, ignorant and third-grade desires among our pop music fans. For once, does it really have the power of soothing the oppressed heart and of infusing courage and cheerfulness into it. Surely it does not possess that power. Or has it any ennobling and educative value to form part of the education of our younger generation? Surely it has only a destructive value. So then surely it can be summed up that the one who has a ear for pop music and who finds great delight in it, is capable of any crime. Knowing how it awakens one's sensual and animal instincts and the rebby pollutes the environment, will one still feel like contributing to the future interest of pop music in this country.

N. Sri Kantha

Aiwiw Town, Hendala.  
14-1-78

## BUDGET — 10

## TAX PROPOSALS—1

## Direct Taxes

On November 15, 1977, after the tea interval the Minister of Finance and Planning, Mr. Ronnie de Mel had continued his Budget Speech in the NSA—the longest on record. This week we publish the first part of his Tax Proposals relating to Direct Taxes.

MR. SPEAKER, the Budget has so far tried to evolve a balanced package of benefits to the entire population and sacrifices by those who are relatively better off. I now wish to present my proposals relating to taxation. These proposals are basically aimed at simplifying the tax system. Though they might entail higher taxes on the affluent members of our society, they are consistent with maintaining incentives for investment and development.

My proposals are:—

(1) **Taxation of Individuals.** The UNP Government is not a capitalist government. We shall not favour the capitalist class in the manner in which the Sirimavo Bandaranaike Government did. Nor would we create an ultra-rich capitalist class in the manner that the Sirimavo Bandaranaike Government did. Our government is one that would work for the benefit of the common man. The previous government, in order to safeguard the new capitalist class which aided and abetted it, reduced personal income tax to 50%. In the interests of the common man I am increasing the rate of personal income taxation to 70%. Our aim is to maximise taxes on the incomes of capitalist classes that can bear the burden and use such funds to give relief to the common man. I fervently hope that the capitalist class that amassed wealth during the regime of the Sirimavo Bandaranaike Government through unscrupulous means will cease to exist in the near future.

Mr. Speaker, during the so-called "socialist" regime of Mrs. Sirimavo Bandaranaike there was a tremendous disparity in wages and salaries

in the country. The Directors and Executives of the firms and companies which supported that government enjoyed salaries amounting to ten, fifteen and twenty thousand rupees per month. In addition they had a variety of other luxurious privileges such as foreign trips, entertainment allowances etc. However, the peasants, labourers, and the ordinary people suffered. Therefore, we intend to place a ceiling to the higher salaries and other types of remuneration in this country. We expect to limit the maximum monthly salary even in the private sector to Rs. 3500/- and also to restrict the entertainment allowances and other special allowances. Our government will take immediate steps to appoint a Commission to revise the existing company law and regulations with a view to eliminating various forms of corruption and malpractices of the capitalist class and capitalist companies. We wish to limit all the privileges that the directors and executives of business firms now enjoy at the expense of the small shareholder and ordinary worker.

Mr. Speaker, we shall also be taking the necessary measures to reduce the disparity in property ownership in this country. The labourers and workers will become eligible to participate in profits and management of the big commercial and industrial firms of this country. We intend to change the rigid labour regulations practised in certain big private sector commercial and industrial firms of this country. We intend to change the rigid labour regulations practised in certain big private sector commercial industrial organisations. Under the full protection provided by the previous Government and its Prime Minister certain industrial organisations and commercial firms have completely violated the labour laws and regulations. Our Government wants to provide full protection to the working class against such various owners and directors. We hope to present legislation in order to make the workers who are employed by such firms as casual employees, permanent after six months service. Under the United National Government we aim to grant trade union rights to all workers in the industrial and trading firms.

(2) **Expenditure Tax.** I propose abolishing the Expenditure Tax. This tax is unworkable and im-

practical in an economy like that of Sri Lanka. The SLFP Government which introduced the tax for the second time in 1976, was like the Bourbons of old who learnt nothing and forget nothing. Taxpayers are required to fill up a complicated set of forms and keep detailed records of the expenditure they wish to get relief on. The revenue potential is very small. The estate is less than Rs. 2 million and even this Rs. 2 million is unlikely to be collected. Since I am raising the marginal maximum rate of personal taxation to 70 per cent, there is no rationale whatsoever, for the tax to continue. This will be repealed.

(3) **Capital Allowances.** The present law provides for a complicated system of capital allowances which includes once-and-for-all lump sum allowance for depreciation and development rebates on plant, machinery, fixture and buildings. There are different rate bands for lump sum depreciation ranging from 33.1/3 to 80 per cent. Since there are two rate bands of 20 per cent and 40 per cent in respect of development rebate granted, the cumulative effect of the deductions granted could range from 33 1/3 percent to 120 percent of cost. There is also provision to carry forward any unabsorbed lump sum depreciation enhanced by 4 percent each year. In the event of sale, the profit on sale which becomes taxable, is calculated taking into account the unexpired discount.

My intention is to simplify the tax structure. I propose, therefore, to abolish the present capital allowance and development rebates and to allow instead, with effect from the Year of Assessment 1978/79, lump sum depreciation allowances amounting to the full cost of plant, machinery and fixtures used in a business, and 50 percent of the cost of construction of agricultural and industrial buildings which now qualify for lump sum depreciation allowance. Apart from simplicity in operation, the grant of these enhanced lump sum depreciation allowances serves as a major incentive for capital investment. This is beneficial not only for new businesses but for the expansion and modernising of existing industrial and agricultural units. When an asset in respect of which the full cost has been allowed is sold, the full sale proceeds will be treated as trade pro-



fits. In the case of plant, machinery and fixtures purchased before April 1, 1957, I propose allowing the entire balance written-down value to be written-off in the Year of Assessment 1978/79.

(4) **Abolition of Ad hoc Tax Rebates introduced in 1976.** I also propose abolishing as from the Year of Assessment 1978/79, the entire set of tax rebates introduced in 1976 under sections 73B, 73C, 73D, 73E, 73F and 73G of the Inland Revenue Act since these rebates have had no impact whatsoever on development. These provisions have only had the effect of further complicating the tax statute.

(5) **Incentives to the Agricultural Sector.** I propose to give incentives to the private sector to engage in food production, horticulture and animal husbandry. I will be granting to companies formed for the purpose of carrying on any of these undertakings, exemption of tax from their profits for a period of 5 years. We hope to give a new impetus for non-traditional agricultural enterprises like the cultivation of cinnamon, citronella, pepper, nutmeg, cloves, and cardamom.

(6) **Incentives to Small and Medium Scale Industries.** It is the special intention of this Government to give every encouragement to small and medium-sized industries. It is also desirable that these industries should not be concentrated in and around Colombo but established in other areas as well to stimulate regional development. These new small medium-scale industrial ventures will be eligible for exemption of tax from their profits for a period of five years.

(7) **Tax Concessions to the Fishing Sector.** With the enlargement of our economic zone to 200 miles, there is an urgent need to exploit the resources of the sea. I propose to offer certain concessions for off-shore and deep-sea fishing. New companies formed for the purpose of carrying on the undertaking of off-shore and deep-sea-fishing, will be eligible to have their profits exempted from tax for a period of five years. Undertakings investing in fishing vessels, fishing gear and equipment for off-shore and deep-sea fishing, will benefit from the lump sum depreciation allowance of 100 percent which I have proposed earlier.

All subsidies granted by the Ministry of Fisheries to any undertaking or individual in respect of fishing vessels, fishing gear and equipment for off-shore and deep-sea fishing, will be exempt from income tax.

(8) **Incentives for Housing.** In order to enlist the vigorous participation of the private sector in housing development, I propose to give to house builders approved by the Commissioner for National Housing, exemption from Income Tax of full profits arising on the sale of any house, the construction of which was commenced and completed after the 22nd of July 1977, if the floor area of the house does not exceed 500 square feet, and 50 percent exemption from Income Tax if the floor area of the house exceeds 500 square feet and does not exceed 2,000 square feet. I also propose to allow as a deduction of a lump sum depreciation allowance amounting to the full cost of building of house put up by an employer for use of his employees other than the executive staff. I am offering this incentive as there is an urgent need to improve the housing conditions of the urban worker as well as the plantation worker. I expect the private sector to make full use of these incentives and give practical demonstration of their commitment to the development of this country, to the generation of employment and to ameliorating the living conditions of their work force.

(9) **Wealth Tax:** I propose to provide that as from the Year of Assessment 1978/79 the total of Wealth Tax and Income Tax that a tax-payer is called upon to pay will not exceed 80 percent of his income from all sources including Exempt income.

(10) **Estate Duty and Gift Tax:** In order to simplify the operation of Estate Duty and Gift Tax, I propose introducing a single rate schedule for both Estate Duty and Gift Tax. This would operate over the life-time of the tax-payer. Tax would be payable on the aggregate of the gifts made, computed on a cumulative basis with the tax due on the previous gifts being set-off as a credit. The Estate will be treated as the last gift and will be taxed on the same cumulative basis. The application of a simple rate schedule for Gift Tax and Estate Duty will favour distribution of property during the life-time of a per-

son. This is in keeping with our policy of diffused ownership of property.

(11) **Capital Gains on Gifts and on Death.** I propose to abolish the tax on Capital Gains that is levied on gifts and on death. The donor in the case of a gift, or the executor or administrator of a deceased person's estate, is called upon to pay tax on notional capital gains. The gains are calculated on the difference between the value of the property as on the date of gift or death and the value as in 1958 or if the property was purchased after 1958, the purchase price. This is a case of multiple taxation and is harsh in its incidence. As Gift Tax and Estate Duty are taxes on capital, the enhanced value of the asset is taken into account in levying these taxes. In future only the realised capital gains will be subject to income tax.

(12) **Estimated Assessments** I propose to give every encouragement to the Inland Revenue Department to pursue relentlessly tax evasion and to bring tax offenders to book. It is very essential for the successful working of any tax system that everyone pays the correct taxes expected of him. I would however, like the interests of the taxpayer also to be safeguarded where he has complied with the law and made a return of his income. As the law now stands, the Assessor has the power, where he does not accept the return made by the tax-payer, to estimate the income of the taxpayer and issue an assessment on him accordingly. I propose to make provisions by which, where an Assessor does not accept a return made by a tax-payer, he will conduct an inquiry and issue an order giving the reason for the rejection of the return and for estimating the taxpayer's income. This will reduce the tendency of any Assessor to make arbitrary or heavy assessments out of proportion to the facts of the case. I propose to make similar provision in the Business Turnover Tax law as well.

(13) **Time Limit for making Assessments:** At present, the Assessor has the power to make an additional assessment on a taxpayer within 6 years of the end of an Year of Assessment. Especially with the scheme of self-assessment now operating, I consider that a tax-payer should not be kept in abeyance for a period of 6 years as to whether his returns have been accepted or not. I pro-

pose to reduce this period to 3 years in a phased manner. Time bar for making additional assessments does not operate in cases where the omission has been made due to fraud or wilful evasion.

**(14) Double Taxation Relief Agreements:** In terms of the new foreign investment policy this Government has adopted, and the envisaged Free Trade Zone, I intend paying special importance to the negotiation of Double Taxation Relief Agreements so that the tax concession we intend granting in Sri Lanka, would be preserved for the benefit of investors. The basic problem in relation to this is that any reduction in the tax burden in the country of source usually accrues to the benefit of the foreign Exchequer, as the full tax is charged in any case in the country of residence. In order to preserve the benefits of the reduced rates of tax and exemptions granted, Sri Lanka usually insists on a corresponding tax-sparing clause in her Agreements, i.e. a special provision is included in the Agreement, whereby the tax that would be chargeable in the 'source' country if no exemption or reduction were granted, be treated as tax for purpose of tax credit in the country of residence. In the recently concluded Double Tax Relief Agreements, Sri Lanka's new policy has

been to focus attention particularly on dividends, royalties and interest representing, as they do, the major forms of foreign investment, viz equity capital, technological know-how and loan capital. Through the tax treaty medium, reduced rates of tax have been offered for dividends, royalties and interest from new investment, the benefit of which will actually accrue to the foreign investor.

**(15) Compulsory Savings.** The Compulsory Savings Levy was in operation from 1971 to the Year of Assessment 1974/75. It was proposed by my predecessor in the 1976 Budget to permit depositors to withdraw their Compulsory Savings payments in instalments over a period of eight years. In terms of the proposal, Compulsory Savings payments during the first year of operations i.e. in 1971, have already been refunded to taxpayers. The second instalment of repayment falls due next year and I intend refunding the payments made for the year 1972/73.

**(16) Tax Commission.** Mr. Speaker, during the last few years, our tax base has altered considerably. With the contraction of imports, Business Turnover Tax has become an important source of revenue. This tax which was introduced in 1963 and yielded an income of Rs. 16 million in the financial year 1963/64, now yields

Rs. 700 million. Income Tax which was earlier merely a means of collecting Government revenue, has over the years become an instrument for achieving certain social and economic objectives. Rebates, Reliefs, Allowances and Holidays abound in our Tax System and has necessarily made it complicated. I think the time has come for a comprehensive review of the present tax laws and their incidence. There is a real need to simplify our tax structure. The last study of our tax system was made by the Ranasinha Commission which submitted a very valuable report in 1967. I propose to appoint a Tax Commission composed of persons from abroad and from Sri Lanka to make a full review of all tax laws and tariffs and submit their report early.

Mr. Speaker, my tax proposals relating to Direct Taxes would overall bring in an additional revenue of Rs. 15 million in non-corporate taxes. In addition, the Inland Revenue Department hopes to collect Rs. 150 million as taxes on the 1977 profits of the State Plantations Corporation and Janawasama. These surplus funds are now kept as deposits with the Treasury and will be repaid to them when these institutions are finally assessed and taxed in 1978.

(To be Continued)

SRI LANKA CHRONICLE

Jan. 18 — Jan. 23

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; DW—Dawasa; CM—Chinthamani; WK—Weekend; RR—Rivirasa; EN—Eelanadu; IDPR—Information Department Press Release DK—Dinakara:

**WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 18:** While there were 790 registered gem exporters at the end of November last year there are now only about half this number; this according to gem trade circles is due to large scale organised smuggling of uncut gems resulting in the non availability to those in the legitimate export trade. Allegations against the Sri Lanka Tea Corporation of delayed payments and failure to meet payments due are now being investigated. The CEATO Project—one of the DDC concerns that functioned under the Ministry of Planning—has been completely neglected with no

scheduled program or systematic functions assigned to any department under it. The National Paper Corporation is left with a stock of 9 million exercise books in its hands while there is an artificial shortage in the market. Mr. T. D. S. A. Dissanayake has been appointed Ambassador to Indonesia in succession to Mr. M. P. de Z. Siriwardene—CDN. Nearly 10,000 pounds of Lakspray are pilfered each month from the Milk Board's powdered milk factory at Welisara. Over a hundred patients escape from the mental hospital, Angoda every week; this is due to the vastness of the place and the lack of proper supervision and security arrangements. Price control officers carried out a series of raids in Colombo yesterday and seized a large number of exercise books which were being sold on the pavement at blackmarket prices—CDM. The PM has cried halt to all tamahas on February 4—the day he assumes office as the first executive President of the Republic of Sri Lanka; he has directed that the ceremonies should be on a simple note with no ostentation. The revalidation of rice ration books commences today. The Janatha Estates Development Board proposes to open tea kiosks in every town and provide a cup of milk tea at 25 cents and plain tea at 15 cents. The first stage of the Free Trade Zone will be able to absorb 25,000 unemployed persons and of this number 16,000 will be women according to plans drawn up by the Ministry of Plan Implementation—SU. Interpol has contacted Sri Lanka Police

authorities for information on 30 Sri Lankan young men who are said to have been in the thick of international drug trafficking—CO. The government has decided that if any department or Corporation exceeded their budgets, then the extra money spent will be levied from the head of the place—DM. 84 CWE outlets that have been running at a loss are to be closed down soon—ATH.

**THURSDAY, JANUARY 19:** Tourist arrivals in Sri Lanka reached an all-time record of 153,665 last year; this is an almost 30% increase over the previous high of 1976, when 118,971 tourist arrivals were recorded. The government yesterday decided to reinstate immediately all members of the Land Army which was disbanded by the previous government. The GMOA and the AMS have jointly made representations to the PM to intervene in the selection of candidates for Commonwealth scholarships this year. Stern action is to be taken against teachers missing during school hours; disciplinary action will also be taken against teachers found drunk in school. The cost of Living Committee which met yesterday decided to bring down the price of chillies and imported cement with immediate effect. The government has decided to appoint 100 more cultural officers to work under the Department of Cultural Affairs—CDN. Lack of interest by authorities to a warning that a water crisis would occur in 1973-74 and failure to take suitable action has resulted in residents in Colombo and several outstation areas not being given a proper supply of pipe-borne water; this has been revealed by an investigation by a team of Local government officials on the poor water supply. Thirtly thousand persons have been found employment by the Janatha Estates Development Board during the last six months since the new government took office according to the Chairman—CDM. The third amendment to the constitution will not be introduced in the NSA before February 4—the day Sri Lanka comes under a Presidential form of government. The Minister of Trade has taken steps to appoint a five member inspectorate to each of the CWE retail outlets on the recommendations of the MP of the area. The TULF has decided to oppose the Greater Colombo Economic Commission Bill—SU. HE Mr. Jason Vertes who has been appointed by the Hungarian government as Ambassador to Sri Lanka with residence at New Delhi presented his Letter of Credence to the President today—IDPR No. 8/78. HE Mr. J. S. Odanga who was appointed by the Government of Kenya as Ambassador to Sri Lanka with residence at New Delhi presented his credentials to the President today—IDPR No. 9/78. The government has decided to appoint Management Agencies for the management of certain government sector factories with the object of increasing efficiency of these factories; this is not a move, as some people have tried to make it out, to hand over government owned factories to private firms—IDPR No. 39. About 400 buses which were condemned have been reconditioned by the technical staff of the CTB during the last four months and they are now in operation—IDPR No. 43. The first Adult Education Centre will be opened at Narangoda in the Dedigama electorate next month—IDPR No. 41. 5600 complaints have been received by the one man committee investigating the damage caused during the disturbances after the 1977 election; this is more than twice the number of complaints received in the 1970 disturbances—DM. The Estate Development Board loses nearly 30 million Rs. annually on the sale of 'People's Tea' packets due mainly to the

high cost of production. The Colombo and Trincomalee harbours are to be expanded to 10 times their present capacity because at least 100 more ships are expected daily after the opening of the FTZ—DW.

**FRIDAY, JANUARY 20:** The PM yesterday announced in the NSA that he was deleting every single section in the Greater Colombo Economic Commission Bill that the constitutional Court had objected to. The PM yesterday approved a scheme for giving jobs to 168,000 unemployed persons from March 1: each MP will nominate 1,000 unemployed persons from his electorate under this scheme. With the open-door policy of the government and the liberalisation of opportunities it has been decided to hold the London University Advanced Level Examination in Sri Lanka in June 1978. The new GCE 'A' level syllabus compiled by the department of Education has 50 subjects; the HNCSE exam has been scrapped. Only a minimal amount of exchange has been released for the liberalised import scheme for the import of luxury items; of the Letters of Credit opened for Rs. 700 million, Rs. 200 million is for machine parts and Rs. 150 million for raw materials for industry—CDN. The private sector was the most ingenious sector in this country as they had found very novel methods of avoiding the payment of taxes said the Finance Minister in the NSA yesterday. The TULF which has adopted a 'wait and see' policy on the proposed new constitution for Sri Lanka is at present working on a new constitution of its own—CDM. The PM speaking at the PATA Workshop yesterday said that he was devoted to tourism not because of the wealth it brought but because people of the world were able to travel and come closer to the brotherhood of man. After a surprise check on the 'Yal Devi' yesterday the Minister of Transport ordered that those responsible for the maintenance of the canteen on the train be interdicted. The Film Finance Corporation for the first time, has purchased five Sri Lanka films—SU. The Colombo Baggage office and Preventive Office have reported a number of cases of smuggling into and out of the country last month; the value of the goods involved was Rs. 1.4 million approximately—IDPR No. 42. A fortnightly Sinhala newsmagazine *Desathiya* reporting the important national and international events of the preceding two weeks will be launched by the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting on February 4—IDPR No. 47. Sri Lankan workers employed in the FTZ will be paid according to a special wage structure, the Leader of the House said in the NSA yesterday—CO. Private traders have decided to reduce the price of onions to Rs. 4 a lb. The Minister of Irrigation etc has decided to settle 225,000 people under the Mahaweli Development Scheme—DW. The Minister of Trade has decided to amend the Trade Laws—DM. The Minister of Health has said that people who donate money to hospitals will be entitled to tax concessions—LD. A group of government MP's are querying why Mr. Nissanka Wijeratne went to India to participate in the World Islamic Conference; they point out that it was an unnecessary trip and the PM has also shown his disapproval—DK.

**SATURDAY, JANUARY 21:** Employees in corporations and private sector establishments will soon be mobilised in the management and administration of their institutions said the PM when he addressed trade union representatives and staff officers of the National Textile Corporation recently. Around 300,000 babies will receive three pounds of milk powder per month

at 50 cents per lb till they are three years old; this will be issued on infant ration cards and distributed through co-operative outlets; it is a gift from the EEC and the government of Netherlands. The Greater Colombo Economic Commission Bill—FTZ Law—was yesterday passed by the NSA by a 2/3 majority. The government has decided to reinstate with immediate effect 11,000 public sector employees victimised and driven out of employment by the previous government for political reasons. Labour Tribunals will be reconstituted soon said the Justice Minister in the NSA—CDN. The PM said in the NSA yesterday that the FTZ would be 180 square miles in extent. The aid given to those who were affected by the communal disturbances last year cost the government nearly 25 million. 'Operation River Bank' to wipe out all the illicit distilleries along the Kelani River bank in Peliyagoda area began yesterday—CDM. All members of the Government Parliamentary Group will have to take a special oath to uphold and abide by the proposed code of conduct for them; it is to be introduced from next month. Sri Lanka is one of the 23 beggars in the world; our economic growth is the lowest and we are classified as the least developed country was how the Finance Minister summed up the country's economy yesterday—SU.

**SUNDAY, JANUARY 22:** The government announced yesterday that the new scheme of employment through Job Banks comes into force from March 1 this year; the scheme which was endorsed by the Government Parliamentary Group yesterday will be carried out by the Ministry of Plan Implementation under the PM. Simplicity will be the keynote at the celebrations to be held in connection with the assumption of office by the PM as President of Sri Lanka. A 15 member committee of Government party MPs was appointed by the Government Parliamentary Group to go into the problem of the cost of living at yesterday's Government Parliamentary Group meeting. A high-powered 12 member team from the World Bank will arrive in Sri Lanka in mid-February to draw up a strategy for the implementation of the Mahaweli Diversion Scheme in six years. A Rs. 2000 million loan will be given to Sri Lanka by the IMF this year following the talks held in Washington by the Minister of Finance. One of the first agreements for joint industrial ventures with Sri Lanka's FTZ was signed in Colombo last week; comparatively small, the new venture with a capital structure of 8 million will produce buttons and jewellery from mother-of-pearl—SO. Air Ceylon, the national carrier for 30 years and one of the oldest airlines in Asia, will be grounded permanently at the end of March; the government will replace it with two broad-based public-cum private sector enterprises; they will be named Sri Lanka Airways Ltd and Sri Lanka International Airways Ltd. The Presidential Commission appointed to inquire and report on the incidents which took place in August-September last year will hold its first sittings in Jaffna on February 8. Women in Sri Lanka are now putting off getting married by an average of five years; a recent survey by the Census Department revealed that the average marriage age for men was 28 and that the women was 23. Bureaucrats came under fire at yesterday's meeting of the Government Parliamentary Group; several members complained that the bureaucracy was rearing its ugly head—ST. The government is to open up a series of State Retail shops; they will make rice available to consumers at reasonable price; this scheme will be operative from 30 of this month. The Action Committee

of the TULF decided last morning to expel the CWC from the TULF. The Commission to probe the activities of the State Pharmaceuticals Corporation will commence its first public sittings on February 1—WK. The TULF has decided that they will not participate in any of the functions connected with the assumption of office of the new President and that they will oppose the three pronged language system of the government—EN. The Minister of Plantation Industries is involved in the work of reinstating all the estate workers who were removed during the tenure of office of the last government with compensation—VK.

**MONDAY, JANUARY 23:** Bumper paddy harvests in the Eastern Province have compelled the Food Department to store large stocks of paddy in the open, exposed to elements. A communique issued by the Ministry of Defence an incident took place in Galle as a result of the private feud between a member of the Sinhala community and a member of the Muslim community tension had developed and some damage had been done to a shop in Galle; the government sent a special team to investigate the matter and assures that the situation is back to normal. The Ministry of Cultural Affairs has decided to establish a Sambuddha Sasana Mandalaya for the promotion, development and expansion of Buddhism. The government has decided to include Urdu among the foreign languages approved for teaching at University level—CDN. Following shocking discoveries in some eating houses in the city, the Colombo Municipality has decided to wage war on eating houses that do not conform to the minimum standard of cleanliness laid down in the Council's by-laws. The TULF's action committee which met over the weekend has agreed not to indulge in any activity that would savour of hostility of resentment during the celebrations on February 4 in connection with the swearing in of the new President. Following a tip off a party of police officers of the Jaffna Crimes Detective Bureau unearthed a large quantity of chemicals used in the manufacture and other explosives that were concealed in a public library at Atchvely—CDM. Worker participation in management should be on an advisory capacity; participation in decision making would be most inappropriate in the private sector director level, according to a Committee which made a detailed study of company law reform—SU. The CID has discovered that nearly 3000 Ceylonese have gone abroad on false pretences & there is a likelihood that they will all be recalled soon. The leader of the TULF has denied newspaper reports that the TULF had expelled the CWC from the TULF; he wished to point out that there was no discussion regarding the CWC at the TULF meeting and that the leader of the TULF is still Mr. S. Thondaman—DP. The LSSP, CP and the People's Democratic Party will not participate in the functions on February 4, said one of the leaders of the Left Dr. N. M. Perera—VK. 200,000 people have been found to possess unlawful rice ration books; they have been registering their names under more than one co-operative—DW. In Kandy there is no rice available for the price promised by the government; the price ranges from Rs. 3.80 to Rs. 4.20 a measure—ATH. Chairmen of Corporations have been forbidden to attend parties given by businessmen—DM.

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## MAHAWELI IN FIVE YEARS—I

## Can It Be Done ?

by R. Kahawita

Development of Water and Land Resources of Mahaweli and its adjoining basins may be the largest river development undertaking in this region of the world. Nearest to it may be Demodara Valley in India and Murrumbidgee Valley in Australia, and may be larger than Mekong Valley development in Indo-China, started before the communists took control of the region.

From the point of financial outlay to complete the project through to its final development details, cost of Mahaweli is easily the highest in this part of the world. The cost is high because of the land reclamation and settlement of new farming families at State expense and the subsidies to be paid to them till they begin to earn a living from their new possessions.

This aspect is not covered in any of the settlement schemes anywhere else in the world. This method has been adopted to improve the condition of the peasants in the shortest possible time and to cut out import of food. It is planned development from resources utilization to a farming family in a better economic set up compared to what he was before he was settled on his farm.

Due to the complexity of engineering, socio-economic and financial requirements, where the whole economic life of a people gets involved, the undertaking has to be phased over a period of time; the dominant controlling factors being the financial, material, and manpower resources a country can channel into a project without arresting the development processes in other areas of economic activity. Apart from co-ordinating and phasing the development activities to maintain the homogeneity of the concept, the development programmes must also take into consideration their impact on the rest of the economy of the country, as well as to make up for the time lag between the availability of resources and the utilization of such resources for Productive gains. That is to say, there is no use for hydro-power if industrial development is far behind power generated or

developments of farming units are ahead of trained farming families to take over the farms and work them. For these reasons projects of the magnitude of Mahaweli, of necessity, must be phased and taken up for development in stages or steps. Accordingly, it was decided to spread the development process over a period of 20 years, and subsequently extended to thirty years after further analysis of the various factors that influence decision making.

The Mahaweli development programme was divided into three phases and each phase to have several steps or stages. On this division of the programme of work, Phase one, step one was taken up for construction in the period 1969 to 1979. Already this work schedule is behind time. It may be 1981 before it will be completed. If the other phases are adjusted to be in time with the lost time in implementing phase I, Phase two to be taken up in 1930 and completed in 1989 and Phase three can be followed up for completion in 1999—years 2000. A.D. The estimated cost of Phase I in 1969 was Rs. 1550 millions.

**Correction:** In my article on "Mahaweli Water" published in the Tribune of 17th December 1977 I raised the question whether Phase I Step I could be completed in five years as directed by the Hon. Prime Minister? Now I am enlightened on what the Hon. Prime Minister meant. He meant completion of the "entire Works" in five years instead of thirty years. How the Hon. Prime Minister came to be advised that a thirty year programme could be telescoped into five years I have no information, nor am I aware how it could be done. I will explain why in the subsequent paragraphs.

In the above referred article I covered only Phase I Step I. I stand corrected now. The Prime Minister's directive covers Phases I, II and III. What these phases include, I will list shortly. Before doing so, I will explain what is included in Phase I and its three steps or stages, where technical studies are fairly well advanced to forecast expenditure and to programme requirements of equipment, materials, and man power on some of the engineering works—but not all.

**In Phase one Step one,** was included (i) Polgolla diversion and its complementary works to take the water to Sudu Ganga (ii) the 2000 cusec pressure tunnel, hydropower station of 35.84 M. W of installed capacity. (iii) Moragahakanda Multi-purpose Reservoir and power unit of 40 MW installed capacity. (iv) Polgolla—Kala Oya transbasin canal (subsequently amended to Bowatenne Bifurcation structure to divert water to Polgolla Kala Oya canal through a tunnel terminating in a Hydro-power unit of 3.7 MW installed capacity). (v) Irrigation system to the area between Minneriya scheme and Kandulla—Kantalai schemes (vi) Irrigation system below Elahera scheme (vii) Area below Parakrama Samudera Schemes and lower region of Mahaweli plane below Minneriya (viii) Left Bank Irrigation system of Kala Oya in the middle

The nett irrigable area—(iv to viii)—to be commanded is 115,000 acres already under cultivation and 100,001 acres of new lands making a total of 216,000 Acs. Total cost Rs. 570 millions at 1969 costing—excluding Moragahakanda.

**Phase I Step II** included (i) Victoria Falls dam and Power unit (ii) Right Bank canal from Minipe anicut (iii) Irrigation system to the central region of Mahaweli Basin (iv) Extension of the Left Bank channel of Minipe anicut beyond Heen Ganga. These systems (ii) to (iv) will bring under command 14,000 Acres, of old fields and 73,000 Acs. of New fields—a total of 87,000 Acs. Estimated cost Rs. 670 millions.

**Phase I Step III** for reasons, explained in the previous article, Moragahakanda multi-purpose scheme was taken out of Step I and given a low priority to be step III of phase I. Estimated cost Rs. 295 millions.

In summary the Phase I, when completed will provide Irrigation water to 345,200 Acs. with 90 to 95% success and on the power side there will be 200 MW of installed capacity. Out of the 345,200 Acs. of irrigated land there will be 201,000 Acs. of new lands to be developed and settled, thus increasing the National cultivated acreage under irrigation by 201,000 Acs. It must be remembered that for every acre irrigated 2/3rd acres of high land will have to be developed—134,000 acres. In all 5,000 acres of new lands will

come into development in Phase I. To bring the above items of works to the estimating, work programming, and construction levels a host of detailed studies, investigations, analysis of designs and engineering data, and even experimental model studies should be available today. I am not in a position to say that they are available. The engineers who are working on them should be able to throw some light at least as to how far they have progressed to complete the works in the next five years. My fear is, that even if all the facts and figures were to be available, completing the works in five years is impractical. Converting 201,000 plus 134,000 Acs. of virgin jungle to productive fields, housing etc. in five years is impossible. All the accomplishments in the field of engineering and construction works are of no value to the country if the lands brought under command and the ancillary works are not ready to be productive by the time irrigation water reaches them. Production is the criterion of development.

The other two Phases of development have not taken final shape yet. Many of the items of works included in Phases II and III are still mental pictures—pictures painted about 20 years ago. They have to be translated into workable projects. To do this surveys, investigations, preliminary studies, cost analysis etc. are yet to be done. What has to be done before the projects are off the drawing Boards our Engineers, planners and economists are aware of, and they also may know how long it will take to bring them off the plan table to work out construction programmes and development schedules; or even to bring them to the present status of Phase I Step I, even in this Phase some items have been taken up for construction without many a detail being worked out. These are yet to be executed before taking them over for maintenance. Maintenance of completed schemes is as important as construction. There should be maintenance schedules, financial provision, and a full time organization to maintain completed works. This will also be a draw on technical man power.

We seemed to be under the delusion that the FAO—FAO/UNDP studies are complete and that several works are ready for construction. It is not so, even in the

case of Phase I some projects, included there in are still in a preliminary stage of design particularly the irrigation systems to distribute water to the fields. This is where one has to be cautious, engineers and politicians alike, to accept that the "whole works" can be completed in five years. To me, politically it is inadvisable to press on a five year target.

What the FAP/UNDP has completed is a general plan of studies and investigations of the overall resources of Mahaweli ganga, its main tributaries, and its adjacent water sheds. The studies were mainly directed to assess the multipurpose potential of these rivers with emphasis on irrigation and hydro-power development to fit into a planned Agricultural and Industrial development programme. Both these utilities are nationally vital to meet the ever increasing demand for employment and to raise the socio-economic standards of our people. But how much urgent this may be, there are no short cuts to reach the targets.

The studies and surveys so far undertaken have covered in a preliminary way 9900 square miles of territory of an Island total of 24,000 sq. miles i.e. 41% of our land mass. This includes 4000 sq. miles of Mahaweli water shed. These studies indicated that the main development activities should be centered in the Mahaweli basin proper, as the river has a drop of 8000 ft. from its source to the sea, taking 7.2 million acre feet of water to the sea annually. And a river with these characteristics should be developed for, what is popularly called, multipurpose uses. Viz. Irrigation, hydro-power, water supply, inland, fisheries, recreation, forest resources, soil conservation and navigation. For us, in our present socio-economic status, the most important aspects of development are irrigation, hydro-power and forest resources. When it was decided that these three aspects should be given priority, 49 sites were considered suitable to achieve these objectives, and were taken up for investigations and studies. These studies resulted in a classification of utilities that would boost up the national economy.

The head works or primary sources, earmarked for development numbers:—

- 22 Multipurpose projects
- 19 Hydro-power projects
- 2 Irrigation storage and regulation schemes with uncertain power production—seasonal power production.
- 3 Straight forward storage reservoirs for irrigation
- 3 Water diversion schemes

The above are the projects included in the so called **Master Plan of Development spread over a period of thirty years.**

The listed primary sources of water and their ancillary works for multiple use of the resources, were cast into three phases and steps so that the development in one phase is complementary to the works that would follow in the next phase. Priorities were given according to the urgency to meet the socio-economic and Political exigencies of the country.

The works that were placed in Phase I have been described in an earlier paragraph. The Phase II includes Randenigala below Victoria Falls Dam, trans-basin diversion structures to take Mahaweli water to Maduru Oya and to develop a Channel system there in.

**Notice Under Section 7 of the Land Acquisition Act (chapter 460) as amended by the Land Acquisition (Amendment) Act, No. 28 of 1964.**

Reference No. 11/7/64/1

The Government intends to acquire the land described in the Schedule below for a public purpose. For particulars please see part III of the Gazette of the Republic of Sri Lanka No. 303 of 03.02.1978.

**SCHEDULE**

District: Anuradhapura  
A.G.A.'s Division: Palagala  
G.A.'s Division: 57A.

Name of Land:  
Palugahaakkaraua, Ketha-  
muniyagama wela,  
Udubodayagama Mukalana  
Plan No: a/a/76/2  
Lot No. 27, 28, 29

**W. M. Jayathilaka**  
Acquiring Officer and  
District Land Officer  
Anuradhapura District

The Kachcheri,  
Anuradhapura.  
6/1/1978

## Apartheid

Phase III covers Welankadu Barrage across Mahaweli and several hydraulic structures across the tributaries of Mahaweli Randenigala Project.

(To Be Concluded)

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AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL

## Report On Political Imprisonment In South Africa

Amnesty International is a worldwide human rights movement which works impartially for the release of prisoners of conscience: men and women detained anywhere for their beliefs, colour, ethnic origin, religion or language, provided they have neither used nor advocated violence. Amnesty International opposes torture and capital punishment in all cases without reservation and advocates fair and prompt trials for all political prisoners. Amnesty International is independent of all governments, political factions, ideologies, economic interests and religious creeds. It is financed by its membership and by subscriptions from all parts of the world. Amnesty International has consultative status with the United Nations (ECOSOC), UNESCO and the Council of Europe, has co-operative relations with the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights of the Organization of American States, and has observer status with the Organization of African Unity (Bureau for the Placement and Education of African Refugees)

Amnesty International published on January 18, 1978 a major report on political imprisonment in South Africa. The launch of the 108 page report coincides with the start of a worldwide campaign by AI's national sections for the release of prisoners of conscience, the repeal of discriminatory and repressive legislation and the end to torture in South Africa.

The report documents a legal system under which detention with-

out trial, political imprisonment and "banning"—restriction on an individual's freedom of movement, expression and association—have become commonplace. It also examines the notorious Terrorism Act and other security laws which are used to suppress all forms of black opposition and thus maintain white political control and social and economic privilege. Within this legal structure, the introduction to the report maintains, it is inevitable that individuals will be imprisoned for reasons of conscience.

In addition the report states that the use of torture by security police during the interrogation of political detainees is routine and receives tacit government approval. AI commented today: "Many consistent and substantial allegations of torture have been made by political detainees in recent years. However, the South African government has refused repeatedly to institute a thorough and independent inquiry into such allegations or to repeal laws like the Terrorism Act which provide for indefinite incommunicado detention. Such laws, in our opinion, invite—even incite—security police torture of political detainees. Steve Biko and several of the detainees who have died in security police custody during 1977 were held under this Act."

The report also characterizes as "vindictive and uncompromising" the conditions under which convicted political prisoners are held. At least 38 political prisoners, including the African nationalist leader Nelson Mandela, are imprisoned for life.

The Amnesty International report makes no recommendations to the South African government. It states that "Certainly, material improvements are desperately required in many areas to protect prisoners from physical ill-treatment but Amnesty International

*Political Imprisonment in South Africa: An Amnesty International Report.*

108 pages, price £ 1.00. Published in English by Amnesty International Publications, 10 Southampton Street, London WC2E 7HF, England, the report is available from AI's national sections.

believes that no reforms in the present structure will be sufficiently far-reaching to remove the causes of political imprisonment unless the whole system of apartheid is dismantled. It is to be hoped that this report will help generate international pressure to achieve this end."

FROM THE THIRD REPORT TO THE CLUB OF ROME

## The Third World

—from deference to defiance—

If the period since the Second World War was an era of growth in the industrialised world, it was an age of political liberation in the Third World. In little more than one decade, some one third of the world's then population was freed from foreign suzerainty. But the poor nations found that with fewer resources, less know-how, and limited opportunities to utilize that which they had, they were in fact less free than the rich countries. They discovered that political liberation does not necessarily bring economic liberation and that the two are inseparable: that without political independence it is impossible to achieve economic independence; and without economic power, a nation's political independence is incomplete and insecure.

This economic dependence is rooted in the main institutions of the international system created largely by the industrialised countries to deal essentially with their own problems at a time in which the voices of the world's poor were unheard in international fora.

The poor nations have been forced to question the basic premises of an international system which leads to ever widening disparities between the richest and poorest nations and to persistent denial of equality of opportunity. They contend that the 'free' markets is in fact not 'free' but works to the advantage of the industrialised nations, who have used it to construct a protective wall around their affluence and life-styles. And even if it were 'free', it would

still work to the advantage of the industrialised nations because of their enormous political and economic strength.

As at the national level, the market mechanism tends to mock poverty, or simply ignores it, since the poor hardly have the purchasing power to influence market decisions. This is even more true at the international level, since there is no world government and none of the established mechanisms which exist within countries which create pressures for the redistribution of income and opportunity.

Inevitably, and rightly, the Third World is demanding change in an international system which, it contends, systematically discriminates against its interests and is characterised by institutional distortions which, according to some estimates, cost the poor nations in the order of \$ 50- \$ 100 billion\* a year. It is insisting on fundamental structural change; not remedial tinkering at international institutions but a new world order which will redress past patterns of hopeless dependency and provide real opportunities to more equitably share in global growth.

Meeting in Dakar in 1975 the poor nations declared that to achieve their 'full and complete economic emancipation', it was necessary 'to recover and control their natural resources and wealth, and the means of economic development.' They agreed that there was 'an urgent need for the developing countries to change their traditional approach to negotiations with the developed countries, hitherto consisting of the presentation of a list of requests to the developed countries and an appeal to their political goodwill which in reality was seldom forthcoming.

It must be made clear that the Third World is not demanding massive redistribution of the past income and wealth of the rich nations. It is not seeking charity from the prosperous nor equality of income. It is asking for equality of opportunity and insisting on the right to share in future growth. The basic objectives of the emerging 'trade union' of poor nations is to negotiate a 'new deal' with the rich nations on the basis of reasonable demands through the instrument of collective bargaining and participation. In attempting to secure greater equality

of opportunity, they are simply insisting on the right to sit as equals around the bargaining tables of the world.

\*The word billion when used in this report represents one thousand million, being equivalent to 'milliard' used in Continental Europe. Trillion refers to one million million. All dollars are US dollars.

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FOR THE PLANTATION WORKERS

## An Appeal To The Minister Of Finance

by A. Aziz

General Secretary,  
Ceylon Democratic Congress

Permit me to thank you for having restored sixty-five per cent in respect of FEECs to the Repatriates who are going to India under the Indo-Ceylon Agreement of 1964. You will appreciate that still there is a difference of 11 per cent against the Repatriates because the devaluation was more than the FEECs. I hope you and the Government would be good enough to provide a full relief to the Repatriates, so that the devaluation does not adversely affect them in respect of their hard earned earnings.

It is necessary for me to draw your attention to a very important matter affecting the wages of the Plantation workers on account of the enhancement of the export duty on tea. You would be aware that the estate worker is being paid a Price-Wage-Supplement by which for an increase of -/24 cents on a lb. of tea, the worker is paid an additional -/10 cents per day. An export duty of 15.50 per kilogram works out to Rs. 7/- per lb. The old export duty was -/40 cents per lb. Therefore the present enhancement of duty per lb. will work out to Rs. 6.60 per lb.

It would be correct to assume that in the absence of an enhancement of export duty, the price of tea at the Auctions would be higher by Rs. 6/60 a lb. On the basis of an increase of -/10 cents in the wage for every increase of -/24 cents in the price of tea, the Plantation worker would be entitled to an increase of Rs. 2/75 in his daily wage over and above his present

wage. He is deprived of this because of the increase in the export duty. I wish to make it clear that in pointing this out, I am not attempting to canvass against the enhancement of export duty. My purpose is to state that increase in export duty to Rs. 15.50 per kilogram is costing each estate worker Rs. 2/75 per day in his wage.

Elaborating this point a little further, there is one relevant factor which must be borne in mind. The average production of Made tea per worker is 4 lb. per day. This production refers to each worker and not to each plucker. Thus each worker from every day of his labour is contributing to the State Rs. 28/- per day. Despite this, what has been promised to the estate worker through Price-Wage-Supplement, I presume inadvertently, is being denied to him as a result of increase in the export duty.

The contribution of Rs. 28/- per day by each worker in addition to the duty the State collects through the Ad-valorem Tax on tea. Besides, this the huge profits that are now accruing through the nationalised Tea and Rubber Industries is still a further contribution by the estate worker to the revenue of the country.

Therefore please be good enough to examine this matter and see that the long suffering Plantation worker does not lose his increase of wage which would have been due to him through Price-Wage-Supplement if the enhancement of export duty had not taken place.

You would appreciate that this loss of income of Rs. 2/75 per day would also adversely affect the worker's Provident Fund, Gratuity, Profit Bonus and Holiday Wages to a very substantial extent. I shall be grateful if you would do the needful in this regard.



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NEXT WEEK

① MORE ABOUT SADAT,  
EGYPT & ISRAEL

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POINT OF VIEW

# The L.S.S.P. And Strikes

by Roy Muthaya

After the lapse of many years Dr. N. M. Perera and his comrades Colvin, Leslie, Vivienne and Company have turned their attention to strikes and hartals. This time Dr. N. M. Perera has promised a hartal which would annihilate the Capitalist Class once and for all. Before 1964 such threats were taken seriously by the people. The comrades even commanded the respect of the nation for their principled stand on many controversial issues. But the recent history of the LSSP has been so shameful that we can only admire their courage for having the guts to come before the nation threatening a hartal against—of all things—the budget!

It is a strange thing that our Comrades talk of strikes only when not in power. UP to 1964 the LSSP played a glorious role in organising the working class movement as a force to be reckoned with. But in 1964, enticed by three portfolios the LSSP changed its stand on almost all the major issues it stood for over the years. In 1975 when the LSSP ministers were sacked from the Cabinet, Dr. N. M. Perera charged Mrs. Bandaranaike with having destroyed left unity. Mrs. Bandaranaike replied to this with telling effect. She said that she did not destroy left unity in 1975, but in 1964, when she dangled three portfolios before the LSSP they came running into the Cabinet, leaving the United Left Front, of which the LSSP was a major partner, in shambles. The whole nation knows the fate of the 21 demands which the comrades fathered whilst in the opposition but quickly jettisoned while in power.

The metamorphosis which our comrades undergo when in power is amazing. Somersaulting has been made into a fine art by them. When they were important members in the Cabinet all strikes were viewed as anti-social anti-national acts. It is in this spirit that Dr. N. M. Perera proceeded to break the famous bank strike. That strike lasted 3 1/2 months. During that long period of time when thousands of bank employees were on the streets Dr. N. M. Perera

wouldn't grant even the barest of concessions. He recruited hundreds of blacklegs to do the work of the strikers. While in the Opposition blacklegs were anathema to the learned Doctor and his comrades. But whilst in power they became the most assiduous recruiters of blacklegs. Eventually the Bank Employees were allowed to return on the Employers' Terms. Over a hundred employees were sacked from the People's Bank while in the State Mortgage Bank of which Dr. N. M. Perera's brother was the Chairman all employees were sacked!

Strike is the ultimate weapon of trade unions. In breaking the Bank Strike Dr. N. M. Perera dealt a blow to the Trade Union movement of this country, which no other Minister of Finance has done before or since. In sealing the Dawasa Group of papers they threw hundreds of workers on the streets. Did the comrades even pause to consider the fate of these workers and their families? Today, pulled down rudely from the pedestals of power the comrades have begun shedding tears for the working class of this country.

Dr. N. M. Perera's great concern arises today from the withdrawal of subsidies to those earning over three hundred rupees a

month. Didn't Dr. N. M. Perera himself tamper with the subsidies in a big way? The much vaunted two measures of rice was whittled down to 1/2 a measure. Sugar rose from -72 cts to Rs. 7.50 a lb. Kerosene from -86 cts a gallon to over Rs 4/-. Petrol shot up from Rs. 2.50 a gallon to Rs. 12.50. What about the rationing of bread—11b per day for a family of five? Transport costs rose sky high increasing in their wake the cost of vegetables, meat, fish, fruits etc. Yet no tears were shed for the poor workers. All those changes were made surreptitiously VIA the Gazette' (and at the behest of the IMF!)

All right-thinking persons realise that subsidies have been the bane of this Nation since independence. Finance Ministers bemoan over this fact in every budget speech. Yet the same gentlemen shout loudest when subsidies are tampered with, when they are in the opposition. In this instance the Comrades are not even in the Opposition. They were booted out of the National State Assembly, lock, stock and barrel.

Whilst in power the hypocritical role of the LSSP was not merely confined to the unprecedented increase of prices. Almost on all major issues they displayed a Volte-face for which there is no

## GROSS NATIONAL PRODUCT AND POPULATION, 1973

(Percentages)

	GNP	POPULATION
North America	30.0	6.1
Europe (excluding USSR)	31.8	13.2
USSR	10.7	6.5
Asia (including Middle East and excluding Japan)	10.2	52.7
Japan	8.3	2.8
Central and South America <sup>1</sup>	5.2	7.9
Africa	2.4	10.2
Oceania	1.5	0.6
Total	100.0	100.0
Development Market Economies <sup>2</sup>	65.7	17.9
Centrally Planned economies <sup>3</sup>	20.2	32.0
Developing Countries	14.2	50.1
Total	100.0	100.0

<sup>1</sup> includes Mexico.

<sup>2</sup> Australia, Austria, Belgium, Canada, Denmark, Finland, France, Fed. Republic of Germany, Iceland, Ireland, Italy, Japan, Luxembourg, Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Portugal, Puerto Rico, South Africa, Sweden, Switzerland, United Kingdom, United States.

<sup>3</sup> Albania, Bulgaria, People's Rep. of China, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Dem. Rep. of Germany, Hungary, Dem. Rep. of Korea, Poland, Romania, USSR, Deml Rep. of Vietnam.

Note: In 1973, world GNP was \$ 4.8 trillion; population was 3.8 billion. Source: Based on World Bank Atlas 1975 Population, per Capita Product, and Growth rates (Washington DC World Bank Group, 1975).

parallel in the political history of our country.

Dr. Colvin R. de Silva once told the late Mr. Bandaranaike 'The people of this country will not consider you worthy of the rope with which they will hang you.' From that stand they became the most obsequious worshippers of the 'Bandaranaike Policies'. They never missed an opportunity on September 26th to trek to Horagolla, solemnly carrying wreaths! Then when they were flung out of the Cabinet Dr. Colvin R. de Silva asked, 'What are these Bandaranaike Policies?' The bedrock of the Bandaranaike Policies was to defeat the UNP. That's All!

Over the years the LSSP has professed great concern over the plight of the plantation workers. They had their own Trade Union in the plantation sector and they stood for nothing less than Citizenship for every plantation worker of Indian Origin. From this they changed to complete justification of the country's stringent citizenship laws. This was when the comrades were in the Cabinet. When a request for a monthly wage for plantation workers was made and the then Prime Minister Mrs. Bandaranaike had no serious objections to granting this, it was the then Finance Minister Dr. N. M. Perera who argued that nowhere in the world are agricultural workers paid monthly wages and thus deprived the plantation workers of a monthly wage. He helped to perpetuate an antiquated and exploitative system. Yet, out of power one of the first meetings Dr. Colvin R. de Silva addressed was a meeting of plantation workers, where he stated that the LSSP was always a friend of the Tamil labour of Indian origin in the plantations!

The LSSP's stand on language is too well known to need any elaborate comments. From parity of status for Sinhala and Tamil they accepted the Sinhala Only policies of the SLFP. They viciously attacked the late Mr. Dudley Senanayake for the few concessions he was prepared to grant the Tamil speaking people. Language should not play any part in Marxist thinking. Yet these comrades when it suited them shouted themselves hoarse, 'Dudlige Badey Masala Vadey!' Today the Prime Minister Mr. J. R. Jayawardene has conceded that the minorities do suffer from certain

disabilities which he is prepared to redress. And the Prime Minister is prepared to write these safeguards into the new Constitution. What did Dr. Colvin R. de Silva do in his Constitution? He removed the few safeguards that were there in the Old Constitution. This is how the LSSP treated the minorities when in power.

For over thirty years the LSSP preached that a revolution was around the corner. In 1953 they almost believed that the revolution had arrived. Yet in 1971 when the Nation experienced the Insurgency, the nearest to a marxist type revolution the comrades found themselves on the wrong side of the fence. Terrified that they will lose their positions of power, they proceeded to pass the infamous CJC Act. It required a capitalist like Mr. J. R. Jayawardene to remove this obnoxious blot from the statute books.

Let the comrades examine their conscience and ask themselves what their attitude to strikes and hartals was when they were in power and use the same yardstick in the present context too.

Kandy.  
12.1.78



## THE CARAVAN FAMILY—2

### Going South

by Ina Trimmer

Mummie had been doing quite a spot of shopping. Daddy wanted bathing costumes for each one because they would bathe wherever they could, in the sea, and in the river, in waterfalls and wells. There was also so much to buy for the caravan, kitchen utensils, and cups and saucers, plates, cutlery, linen all had to be new to suit the caravan.

Then came the holidays, Ranjit went running upstairs to his room shouting, "Hols! Hols!" Hurray for Yala! Hurray for our caravan! He threw his suitcase of books under the bed and nearly got choked gobbling up his tea while he sang Happy Birthday to You though there was no birthday at all. Mummie came running in and she added to the noise screaming "Shoo! Shoo! What's all this? Nila and Varuni clapped. The

commotion was so great that Daddy appeared. He came to see what was happening to his family. He also joined in by shouting "Stop it! Stop this noise! What is it all about?" Then everyone laughed, they were all so happy.

At last all was ready. Everything had been packed into the Caravan days ahead. The kitchen was stocked with all kinds of food though they were to buy on the way various items as they were needed. Clothes and linen were in the little cupboards. There was even a small fridge with ice-cream in it, ready made. Ranjit put several books into his locker. Nila took her Walkie-Talkie doll to show her Ceylon, and Varuni had packed carefully her under water swimming set.

One morning just before the Sinhalese New Year they woke very early. Even the crows hadn't begun to crow. Varuni, Ranjit will never forget the thrill of being called at 4 in the morning to go and discover Ceylon.

Soon they were ready to start—Daddy, Mummie, Varuni, Ranjit and Nila. Simon the Chauffeur, Maggie the Ayah who would do the cooking, and Robbie, Mummie's little terrier that everyone loved.

"Now Mummie", said Daddy as they stood round the caravan, "you must give the caravan a name".

"Mummie blew it a kiss and said —I name you Jason, because we are going in search of the Golden Fleece".

"What's Jason, and what's the Golden Fleece" asked Ranjit al ways athirst for knowledge.

"Jason was an ancient Greek young man who went in search of treasure. It's a long story and I'll relate it another day", said Mummie. "We too are going in search of treasure, the treasures of Ceylon, and Jason will take us. Jason will lead us."

Then the great moment came to get in. Varuni, Ranjit carrying Robbie Mummie's little cairn terrier, Nila with her doll, Ayah climbed into the living room. Mummie and Daddy sat in front with Simon the driver. Simon tooted the horn and they drove out of the gate in fine style. No one spoke a word. They were too excited. Past the Race Course to the Galle Road and then turning south, on they went, Jason purring along towards

## Caravan Family-2

Galle, towards Hambantota, and all the lovely places where he would take them.

In a few minutes they were in Mount Lavinia.

"Why was this place given this name?", asked Mummie. "Who was Lavinia? Did an English girl live here long ago?"

"Many reasons are given for this unusual name," replied Daddy. "Some say that Lavinia was the wife of one of the Governors of Ceylon and he called this suburb of Colombo after her. It was his favourite seaside resort and where the Hotel now stands was his house to which he used to retire when he was free. Others say that Lavinia is a perverted or changed form of Lihiniya which as you know means Seagull. In the old days this may have been the haunt of seagulls, and Mount, of course, is the little hill overlooking the sea on the landslide of the railway lines."

Jason the Caravan, speeded on past Moratuwa and Panadura and over the two bridges to enter Kalutara. Several miles further on two more bridges in quick succession, had to be crossed.

"Here we are at Bentota," said Daddy, "Ranjit could you tell me why Bentota is so called?"

Ranjit didn't know.

"Because in the old days as now people have to cross these two rivers. *Thota* means landing place and *Ben* is a shortened form of *Bena* which means two. Hence Bentota or *Benathota*. Not long ago it was only a little fishing village, but now it is a flourishing tourist centre with modern hotels and every facility for visitors to the Island to have a good time, sea-bathing and sun-bathing in luxurious surroundings."

"Are we going to one of the hotels?" asked Varuni.

"No! we shall avoid all hotels and rest houses. I want you children to live the simple life", said Daddy. "We are fully equipped for this. Not only can we sleep in Jason our Caravan, but we have a tent as well where we can fix up camp beds if necessary."

They speeded along the road, towards Galle, the sea ever on their right, a soft wind blowing and the murmur of the waves in their ears.

The children hadn't even begun to get thirsty, when Jason app-

roached Hikkaduwa. It was quite early, no more than nine O'clock.

"Now we must look out for a good camping ground", said Daddy "I know of a nice spot by the sea, where there is safe bathing. Ah! There it is! Stop Simon. Let me go and have another look." He came back quite happy. "Ideal! Just the place!", he told Mummie, "we can drive right up because the ground is hard and the *Wattakeiya* bushes hide it from the road. Carefully Simon. Follow me. I'll walk ahead to show you the way. Stop!" said Daddy.

Jason came to rest where it was flat and grassy, by the sea. Before you could say 'Knife' the children were out of the car.

"Where's our bathing costumes?" shouted Ranjit. There were no waves, not big ones anyway because the reef ran far out and they came washing over the coral into pools large and small, deep and shallow where the water was so clear that the children could even count their toes as they stood in the silvery sand beneath.

Daddy said, "worth coming all the way from Colombo for this", and Mummie murmured, "Ideal", as she ducked in swam like a lovely fish in her red bathing costume. Varuni was a bit disappointed that there were no big waves, but Nilu was happy, and when Varuni said, "Come, I'll teach you to swim", she thought this was heaven on earth. As for Ranjit, he swam in all the pools and bathed Robbie and had a

whole of a time. Even Ayah was tempted to get into the water.

They didn't leave the sea for over an hour, but at last they sat down to drink Kurumbas which Simon had got plucked close by. Soon it was lunch time and didn't everyone tuck in. There was no cooking because everything had been cooked and brought for the day.

They sat in the little dining room where Ayah had laid the table. What appetites they all had!

"Now we are all going to rest for a little while", said Dad.

"No, No! shouted the children. "we want to paddle. There are prawns to catch in the pools," said Ranjit. But Mummie reminded him that he had not yet tried his bunk. So off he went, and so did Varuni and Nilu to their little cabin to try the bunks for the first time.

By 2 O'clock they were on the road again.

"We must call at Thotagamuwa Vihara. The children must see where Sri Rahula, one of our greatest poets wrote *Salalihini Sandesaya*. You will soon be studying it Ranjit. The Southern Province was an important seat of learning in those days, and may famous men were born and lived their lives here", said Daddy proudly. "Other nations have their writers like Shakespeare which we all study in school, and now we must pay our great men the same respect."

Soon they were in Galle.

### THE NEED FOR A NEW INTERNATIONAL ORDER AND THE MAIN PROBLEM AREAS

Many new nations, having won political independence, find themselves still bound by economic dependency. For a long time it was thought that the solution to this problem was aid and assistance. It is increasingly clear however, that a new international economic order is essential if the relations between rich and poor nations are to be transformed into a mutually beneficial partnership. Otherwise, the existing gap between these groups of nations will increasingly represent a potential threat to international peace and security.

Moreover, the dependence of the developing world upon the developed is changing—indeed in certain cases has been reversed. Many developed nations are also finding themselves in serious economic difficulties. The international system of economic and trade relations which was devised 30 years ago is now manifestly inadequate for the needs of the world community as a whole. The charge against that order in the past was that it worked well for the affluent and against the poor. It cannot now even be said that it works well for the affluent. This is an additional incentive for evolving a new economic order.

Kurt Waldheim, 1975.

"We must stay here two days", said Daddy. "I was born here and we cannot pass through Galle without going to my old home and visiting your Aunt, my eldest sister. Besides, there's so much to see and to hear. This ancient town is more than worth exploring. Some say it is the old port where King Solomon's ships used to call hundreds of centuries ago for ivory and spices. King Solomon lived long long ago in Israel, the land of the Jews. He was, and still is, known as a very famous man, famous for his wisdom.

The name Galle may mean Rock (*Galla*) or *Galer*, the place where cattle were tethered.

Later, centuries later, the Dutch came and settled here. Remains of their sojourn and their labours, and activities, their way of life are still in good preservation. Even the names of places and a street or two are still the same. "Leynbaan Street" in the Fort of Galle, still goes by its old name. We must see these tomorrow. Now we will go and pay our respects to Auntle."

They climbed up the steep road that led to the old *Walauwa* where Daddy was born and where his eldest sister now lived. She received them joyfully and gave presents to the children; to Varuni a gold chain, Nila a bracelet and Ranjit had a gold ring put on his finger. Then they had eats and drinks and promising to have lunch with Auntle the next day, Daddy hurried them away to their camping ground.

They took the road that leads further south, the Main Road, and drove through the shopping centre, and out again to an open stretch with the sea again on the right, past watering point, one of Galle's beauty spots.

"Why do they call this headland watering point?" asked Daddy. "Because in the old days when ships called at this port, water was supplied from wells at the very end of this rocky point. Though the sea is so close on every side, the water in those wells are pure and sweet without a trace of brackishness."

The road now left the sea. Two or three miles further on Daddy asked Simon to stop and showed him a narrow path on the right and told him to take Jason along this sandy track. Mummie and the children wondered where they

were going, but soon they knew. There lay the sea, right in front, a vast expanse of sea, blue and shining in the rays of the setting sun. Sea and sand, a wonderful beach that seemed to stretch endlessly, edged by coconut palms.

"O-O-O-O" cried the children. "What a spot!" gasped Mummie, "However did you discover this marvellous place?" "You forget I am Galle-born. I have come here for sea-bathing since I was a lad."

Jason came to rest under a group of coconut palms close to the shore. The children jumped out and ran to the sea, then ran back to change into bathing costumes. In a few minutes they were in the water and didn't they enjoy that sea-bath! The waves rolled up slowly and gently and spread themselves out on the silvery sand.

"Baby waves" shouted Nila splashing around.

"What a lovely calm sea! No great rollers to frighten us", said Mummie as she dived into a little wave.

"That's watering point on our right" said Daddy. "One side faces the harbour and the other this beach known as Kovil Vallie. It is a well known bathing place with us Galle folk. The village is called *Unuwatune*."

They sat on the beach later and after dinner too. The wind blew softly from the sea. It was cool and peaceful on Kovil Vallie. Mummie murmured "Where the waves come to die on the sleeping shore".

Before the night was old they were in their comfy bunks while the coconut plams whispered above them, and the waves sang a lullaby gentle and soft.

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## REPORT

### Village Health Service

(Pilot Project in Polonnaruwa)

by Dr. P. H. Amarasinghe, FRCOG

When the Mahaweli is diverted it will be the greatest adventure in economic development that the Nation had ever attempted. In the meantime little thought has been given to the Medical Care of the workers and farmers who

now live and soon will live in the great rice producing areas around Polonnaruwa and Minneriya.

After my retirement from Government Service a couple of months ago, the Minister of Health persuaded me to work at Polonnaruwa Hospital for a short time. I am glad I did because never before have I seen such a "diluted" Medical Service. The hospital is well equipped and would be an ideal "Base Hospital" for the Pilot Project which I wish to propose.

It was recently reported that the Minister of Health would soon send a large number of doctors to the "rural areas". That looks good in theory, but we are merely following the "inherited policies based on imported solutions." We must formulate new policies based on the concept of the present Government that "all citizens will be treated alike."

Dr. Frank Beckles, Chief, Primary Health Care Department, USA, stated at a Seminar on "Family Health Care in Developing Countries" in Kuala Lumpur (October 1975)—"So vast are the problems and so feeble appear to be the National responses to this aspect of health..that perhaps we can examine together as colleagues our dismal failure as professionals.. I would dare to assert..that had the medical profession been a profession of bankers or farmers, the world would have long ago been bankrupt or starved to death."

"Let us ask ourselves why after 25 years of the function of a WHO.. approximately 80% of the world's population exists outside the contact of formal systems of health care delivery."

"The answers are to be found in the nature of National Politics"

Like most developing countries, Sri Lanka has allocated about three quarters of its Medical Budget for the towns and appointed about three quarters of its Medical Personnel to these areas, while the whole Nation is fully aware that three quarters of the entire population live in the villages, without quick access to Specialist Medical Care.

Hardly ten per cent of patients who need any medical care need treatment in a "Specialist Unit". The remaining 90% can be treated by a doctor or ayurvedic practitioner in the Clinic or in the patient's own home. Even most

of these can be treated by a Nurse, or a trained "Health Helper". We simply cannot have "Barefoot Doctors" in Sri Lanka—only because everybody wears slippers! Even in China these people are neither "doctors" nor travel "Barefoot". They are merely rural folk with a minimum basic training to recognise the common diseases and to treat them with mild medicines. Sri Lanka urgently needs "Barefoot" Nurses, Midwives, Health educators, and Health Helpers recruited from each village and trained in a few months.

This is the basis for my proposal of a "Village Health Service" to take complete health care to the village itself. Sixteen "Village Health Service" Centres—(VHS centres)—could be deployed around Polonnaruwa Hospital, each Centre catering to the needs of the people in an area ten miles square. The 16 Centres will then cover 1,600 square miles—one fifteenth of the area of Sri Lanka.

Each VHS Centre will have a doctor, an ayurvedic practitioner, (if the ayurvedic authority and the Government agree)—both resident at the Centre which will be sited near the middle of its Service Area. The building should be designed to match the rest of the village and be built by local labour. The other health workers, selected from the villages around and trained for their particular jobs, will naturally live at home. An area of one hundred square miles seems an enormous territory for one doctor to cover, but with a jeep to transport personnel, equipment and drugs, his longest journey will be only five miles in any direction (as the crow flies, of course). He will make a fixed advance programme and distribute it to all villages, so his staff in them will know when he is due.

The complete health care of a village includes:—

Care of the pregnant mothers and their babies, care of other children with special attention during the first three years of life, when they are at their greatest risk, care of school children, care of all adults. It also means immunising campaigns according to WHO schedules. It means Malaria eradication, where the spraying will be "test-checked" by the doctor on the same day when he goes to collect the labourers in a nearby village.

Most of the medical aid will be given by the Health Helpers in each

village. In case of emergencies, a cycle can be given to the Grama Sevaka so he can send someone to the VHS Centre. The doctor can resuscitate the patient before transport to hospital. This gives the patient the best chance of survival. It means giving Family Planning Advice to recent mothers to have the next baby after three years. Couples who have all the children they desire can be offered free transport to hospital and back for the "stitch that can save a mother's life." A "stitch" can be done on the father, although no father carries the risk of death by childbirth;

These measures will minimise "avoidable deaths" in mothers because high parity increases the risk of death to both mothers and their children. It will help to "de-fuse" the "Population bomb", thus saving the country millions more than will be spent in projects like this in the long run. Even a child, undesired by its parents, will cost the State thousands of rupees in food, subsidies, health and education until the State or Private Sector provides employment.

The two main problems will be funds and doctors willing to work in villages. Here we can emulate the Russian idea of paying the "doctor in the village" a special allowance for working in remote areas. The vehicles, medical equipment, drugs and teaching aids require foreign aid.

Dr. Herat Gunaratne may be interested in approving this scheme as a "WHO approved Project" as it is a plan to provide total medical care at the village level. Then UNICEF might be prepared to fund it because the maximum value will develop on children. Family Planning Organisations abroad might help with equipment and drugs. All these organisations maybe requested to send representatives at the planning stage and subsequently to observe the progress of the project. We have enough specialists in Sri Lanka who know the local conditions and our culture.

This project (like the mighty Mahaweli Diversion Scheme) can only be a success, if each person involved will give (in the words of John Kennedy when he committed his nation to land a man on the moon)—"his personal pledge that his nation will move forward, with the full speed of freedom."

COMMENT

Minister Mohamed

Sir,

Your write-up regarding the inner secrets of the CTB should open the eyes of those of us who are interested in the preservation of the Government of J. R. Jayawardene. This government has been placed at the pinnacle of power in this country after seven years of emasculation and virtual family dictatorship. It is the responsibility of each one of us interested in democracy as I am sure you too are despite your left prones, to preserve this government which came in with a vast reservoir of goodwill. If you were not interested in free expression and in the preservation of democracy, your journal would never take a public stand on vital issues. Therefore, I am writing to you.

In the Weekend of last Sunday, Gamini Navaratne has given an excellent expose of the CTB. Minister Mohamed keeps kicking the ball into his own government's goal. Each time the commuter has to stand at a bus stand for hours on end, while the CTB official sails past in a luxury coach, the government of J. R. Jayawardene is affected. We do not want this to happen. Now, Sir, in your issue of 21.1.78, much more is exposed. You have given Mr. Mohamed a chance to correct the report of his up-country circuit with a compartment-load of relations including grand children. If he fails to do so, the Prime Minister will have to take notice of such misconduct on the part of a Cabinet Minister.

Surely the CGR does not provide a service for the Minister incharge to have holidays at it's expense. True, the compartment may go empty and may just as well carry a few more passengers, at least to make it more stable on the rails, but why can the Minister not go up in one of the ordinary compartments in which lesser mortals, in his opinion, travel in travail? By doing this kind of thing, not only does Mohamed go off the rails, but is clearly helping those who are lurking in the shadows to put the government of JR off the rails too.

Let us all hope that our Prime Minister will take note of the antics of Mohamed and

bring him into line or else exercise his right to replace him with some one who will be more alive to the feelings of the public. Losing Mohamed is far less damaging than losing the goodwill of the people. The MP for Chilaw Mr. Harindra Corea has declared in the NSA that every back bencher will back the Prime Minister. I am confident every sane person in this country, will back our PM against any fool who thinks that the government of J. R. Jayawardene can be toppled. Certainly not JR's government. Many people have been seeing stars after the budget was presented in the NSA; we are certain that even the Ministers will see stars when the first Executive President of the country assumes the mantle of office. It will not be a bad proposition for Mr. Mohamed to secure an ambassadorship and get away, rather than ruin this country.

In addition to running an intolerable bus service, the Hon. Minister seems to have built-in fears of his Chairman Erwin Jayasuriya. Or else why did he have to report this worthy Secretary to direct the Chairman to refrain from taking seven cars to transport seven officials to the same function in future? If he could have removed poor Wijesekera from the office of Chairman before we could say Jack Robinson, why did he not personally call up Jayasuriya and the seven others and give them a good drubbing, surcharging them for all the expenses incurred on this foolish journey to the Eastern Province? Was it to Kattankudi or to Eravur, Mr. Editor that this party went?

This is not all. What action has the Minister taken about the Chairman's expense account at the Lanka Oberoi and other hotels for 'entertainment'. What was the entertainment all these people had? Do they know that, taking a lesson from them, the bus crew of long distance buses also have their 'hotels' by the wayside, where they have their repast in the seclusion of a private room while we, including myself, rush to the closest boutique to eat whatever is dished out in dirty plates or unwashed plantain or lotus leaf? And that if the 'hotel' owner does not treat them free and lavishly, the next time, the bus crew find another 'hotel' elsewhere?

This is what the big wigs at the CTB teach the bus crew. Can we expect any other kind of behaviour when the Minister and his lackeys behave in this disgraceful fashion at the expense of the public? Was Erwin Jayasuriya probed by the Committee of the National State Assembly set up to probe high officials?

According to a news report, this Minister with a good Press Officer at hand, paid a surprise visit to the Fort Railway Station and inspected something or other. Mr. Mohamed would surely have heard of the famous Moslem ruler Haroun al Raschid who went around at night (why at night only the Emperor will know) finding out for himself the woes of his subjects at first hand? Would it not be a good thing for this Minister to go out alone, by himself, unannounced and find out for himself what is happening right under his nose? Minister Lalith Athulathudali was reported to have stood in a queue at the Jatika Pola and found out some facts for himself. If Minister Lalith can do this, why cannot Mr. Mohamed attempt to board a bus, just once, without a Press Officer or photographer at hand? Harold Wilson and other British Prime Ministers have been travelling to No. 10 by bus. Britain's King and Queen have shared the horror of bombs blasting London with the people of the land. Surely this Minister can at least once in a while commute by bus on the different routes, without announcement or fanfare or publicity and note for himself the travails of the bus traveller?

I am sorry I have written so much. But I honestly have done so, because the people do not want the government of J. R. Jayawardene damaged by inept, ineffective and utterly insensitive Ministers. Not that there is no other place where this type of inefficiency does not exist. Unfortunately for Mr. Mohamed he is in charge of very sensitive areas where the ordinary men and women are affected every day of their lives. They just will not tolerate such insensitivity to the hardships of the people, while these people in charge are eating, drinking

and enjoying at public expense and neglecting their prime responsibility? If it was archaeology or anthropology or even cultural affairs, the people will not very much mind such antics, but when the worker is regularly placed on half day's leave for getting to work after the prescribed time limit, and when one has to jump into a taxi to keep an appointment, then it is an altogether different kettle of fish.

Our respected Prime Minister's directive to those in charge of the celebrations in Kandy to stop all tamashas and fireworks on the day of his inauguration as President and to dedicate themselves to the service of the nation is an eye opener to all and sundry, including the CTB officials and their Minister. Obviously the Prime Minister had not been told of what was being planned for him, until the newspapers started talking. You have, Mr. Editor, handed him a bouquet? For this act of great humility, the nation to a man (and woman and child) should stand up and salute him. All the pomp and pagentry in the midst of sweat, tears and hunger, would have struck strange and discordant chords in many hearts. Foolish people probably felt that the PM's stature would have increased steadily as he passed each pandal. His stature is at the peak. He does not need any more. And he does not need anybody's help either to increase in stature. We want him, just as he is. We are happy to have him with us, as part of us, and pray he will be with us for a long time.

Never in the history of this country have so many people suffered so much at the hands of a single man and this is Minister Mohamed. The SLFP at it's worst provided a better service. The LSSP Minister Goonewardene and the LSSP Chairman Anil Moonesinghe raised the bus fares, but at least that Chairman was seen at bus halts, alone, finding things for himself. Mr. Mohamed let this be your opportunity! Get out of your office! Go to the bus stands and speak to the people, not disclosing that you are the Minister. Move around with the commuter, for just one week and then sit back in the plush comfort of your office and start thinking. Your heart will bleed for all the suffering you have inflicted on the poor bus traveller

and the long suffering CGR commuter. About a month back a lady was robbed of nearly Rs. 500/- in a compartment without lights. Will you, Mr. Minister, be prepared to work in your office, without a fan or an air conditioner?

If this letter, which I feel is somewhat harsh, can enliven you to action, I will be the first one to salute you and give you respect. If it is only your fate that is in the balance, I would not be wasting my time and the time of the Editor of Tribune writing these letters. But the country's government is being jeopardised by your Ministry.

ROOTS

Colombo.  
21.1.78

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BOOK REVIEW

"I'll Love You Forever, Today"

In the aftermath of the Enlightenment our knowledge of ourselves and the world around us underwent a phenomenal expansion. But when it came to investigating our personal relations we displayed a coy reluctance. Sigmund Freud took the first bold but misguided steps in the study of inter-sexual relations in the 1930s. It was only after the war however that scientific investigations were first introduced by Dr. Alfred Kinsey—a period during which we knew more about the nucleus of the atom than about our own thoughts and feelings towards others. Finally Master and Johnson, in the fifties, carried their investigations into the laboratory.

Adultery is a topic that has been avoided like the plague. Sociologist John Cuber's *Adultery: Reality versus stereotype* is the only significant work. Morton Hunt's book therefore becomes a landmark. Given the paucity of previous investigation one can hardly expect his work to be the last word on the subject, but at least he has made a determined effort to unravel a mystery of many generations.

His book is compiled from nearly a hundred tape recorded interviews, some running into fifteen hours. In addition, those who

have had extra martial affairs have made available diaries and correspondence. Interviews have been held with ex-mates, friends, ministers and doctors of the subjects. He also utilised the data from nearly four hundred questionnaire submitted by affair participants. Finally he draws on the counsel of nearly forty psychologists, sociologists and marriage counsellors, and many articles, 'confessions' and research papers.

"Love is being friends, she says, Going on and on, she says, True love never ends, she says, I don't believe a word, she says, I don't believe a word."\*

Kinsey blew the first hole in the fiction of marriage, "half of all the married males have intercourse with women other than their wives," he wrote. The monogamous ethic continued to be exploded. The American Psychological Association was told in 1967 that "many marital partners do not live completely monogamously. The myth is monogamy. The fact is frequently polygamy."

Running miles away from reality conventional society and its laws treat infidelity as a crime. Some states list adultery as a punishable offence. Hunt tells "us marital fidelity is like paying income tax; "may people cheat—some a little, some a lot; most who don't would like to but are afraid; neither the actual nor would-be cheaters admit the truth or defend their views and practically all of them teach their children the traditional code they neither believe in nor expect their children to grow up in."

Morton Hunt insists that polygamy and extramarital affairs form our historical tradition. He cites a Yale University study which identifies only 16 percent of primitive societies as having formal restrictions in favour of monogamy. The permissiveness of Greek, Roman, Teutonic and Celtic culture in the West was sub-merged by rigid Judeo-Christian morals, and adultery merely went underground. Even in the middle ages, *l'amour Courtois* or courtly love was, always love with somebody else's wife. A husband's infidelity if discovered was grounds for screaming, scratching and smashing of crockery, but not an embittered visit to a lawyer.

Marriage was and remained a practical functional arrangement having to do with property, children necessities and creature comforts. Emotional and romantic involvement was found outside in extra-marital affairs. The Reformation and the rise of Capitalism created a Jahnistic middle class too righteous and hardworking to spend their energies or money on illicit affairs.

"Love is now for me, I say, True love needn't come to stay, It can come and slip away, Believe me when I say, That love, is strictly for today."

"Our cultural heritage is thus schizoid" sums up Morton Hunt, since the ideal marriage which it offers as a model is really not suited to the emotional needs of all but a minority. "To love one person emotionally and sexually over a forty-year span and to keep love intense, revivifying and gratifying all the time," he sighs, "is for most people impossible."

Drawing on recent studies, Morton Hunt then makes the startling assertion that "some authorities have come to doubt that the majority of men and women are really happiest when monogamous and faithful. It may be that many of those who do remain faithful pay dearly in terms of frustration, resentment of their mate, desiccation of their emotions, and the limitations of their potential for rich and rewarding lives." Or as psycho-analyst Dr. Ernest van den Haag says: it is perfectly possible to be faithful out of neurotic motives.

"Love is many things, to many people, I just know what it means to me, Love is tie me down to many people, For me, if its right, its got to be free."

It would be a mistake however to assume that Morton Hunt justifies or promotes infidelity. No where in the book does he take up an ethical position on the issue. What he does, is to turn the spotlight, as never before, on people who have had affairs, letting them tell their story, the way they see it.

If there is any philosophical position behind the book, it is a philosophy that synthesises cynicism and integrity. We have men and women who are searching for meaningful inter-personal relations and have not found them within

the boundary of marriage as it exists in class society. There is little or no assurance that anything like fulfilment was found outside marriage either, since they apply the same criteria of selection as they did in the case of marriage.

What is apparent is a curious sense of integrity, of divided loyalties of an admission that promises cannot be made for tomorrow. No claims are made for respectability, no claims for righteousness. Within the bewildering tangle of personal relations they try to live by a code not formulated by this World which is one that refuses to admit their existence, but a code that they believe will protect others and provide some meaning for themselves.

*I can't look ahead to say,  
Tomorrow I'll still feel this way,  
Who knows what games we both  
might play,  
But this I'm gonna say:  
"I'll love you forever today,  
On and on today,  
Never ending today,  
I'll love you forever—today."*

\*Courtesy—Hill and Range songs Inc. Composed by Cliff Richard and J. Collier for the film *Two a Penny*.

Jayantha Somasundaram

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## REVIEW

### The Things Men Do

by Jayantha Somasundaram

Jaffna someone remarked, is petite bourgeois from coast to coast. The Tamils as a race and cultural group are either middle class or ascribing to middle class status.

J. R. Jayawardene was their darling. There was unanimity that Dudley could never make up his mind and Banda had no back bone. But JR was the man after their hearts. The strong man who wouldn't cow down to the Yakkos.

What the middle classes underestimated though, was the strength of the mass movement that brought J. R. Jayawardene to power. People expected the Prime Minister to fall back entirely on the state machine that his electoral victory gave him dominion over, and put the yakkos back in their places.

\* In the face of a couple of hoodlums he and the state machine had gone *ahimsa*. Hang it! They didn't want an *ahimsa* J. R. Jayawardene. They wanted their strong man.

Tamils are now responding in terms of their abilities and interests. At the apex is that Tamil comprador bourgeois element with international connections. They have property and sources of income abroad. Escape from an inferno would be easy and involve little loss for them.

The national element of the Tamil bourgeoisie does not have such an escape hatch. They cannot move either resources or themselves across borders with such ease. To them the possibility of transferring their wealth to the north is real, even though it involves tremendous loss.

To sum up; it will be a long time before the Tamil bourgeoisie will be ready to reinvest in Colombo as they have done in the past.

Skilled Tamil professionals both here and abroad, had looked forward to the return of the UNP, the expansion of the private sector and the emergence once more of 'discipline'. Many had timed themselves to return home after July seventy-seven. All such hopes have now been dashed. Those abroad are loath to come back, and those who are here, given half a chance, will migrate.

It was true that discipline was going to the dogs, especially after the Left wormed themselves into government, they say, but at least the Tamil specialist lived to tell the tale.

A large number of Tamils, perhaps the majority, belong to the class that serves as subordinate public servants or aspire to such status. It is true that for years such people have been gripping about language issues, jobs, promotions and standardisation. But within four weeks of the return of the strong man they were fighting for their lives.

They are not slow to point out that despite the discrimination that Mrs. Bandaranaike dished out to the Tamils, she kept the peace. They point to the way she handled minor clashes in Jaffna and the major communal clashes in Trincomalee and Puttalam.

No one is implying that the Tamils are going *en masse* to

Rosmead Place to ask the old lady to come back to Temple Trees. No. Given the temperature of communal passions one can safely conclude that if at all the Tamils make any political move it will be to the right—right into the arms of the TULF. This of course would be a temporary phase for non-peninsula Tamils.

In August, it was these Tamil public servants out in the provinces, who were at the receiving end of things. It is easy for the government radio to say that all's well, all's forgiven, do come back again!

The government's response to the plight of Tamil public servants is the 'deny, deny, deny' routine. Namely, if you pretend that nothing untoward has happened, the victim, finding no sympathy, will shut up, and come back wagging its tail.

A scene from Frank Tarloff's *A Guide For The Married Man* explains this technique. The wife walks in and catches George in bed with a girl.

"George! How could you!" She asks in horror. George and the girl get out of bed and dress with incredible speed.

"How could I what?" he asks. By now the girl completely dressed slips out of the room.

"Do it with that girl," the wife wails.

"what girl?" asks George taking his paper and pipe and settling down. The wife looks around—no girl, George starts reading his paper and puffing at his pipe. Finally in a small voice she asks "George, what will you have for dinner?"

Frank Tarloff swears it worked in the States. The Government and their media seem convinced it will work here. The things men do!

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## LETTERS

### Welcome Change

Sir,

Last Sunday (Jan. 8th) I received something akin to a shock, not because of the disclosure in the Weekend of the mess in the Post and Telecommunications department under Minister Shelton Jayasinghe (which everyone is well aware of) but because of the fact



that for the first time since the UNP returned to power this journal has had the courage to expose this appalling state of affairs, devoting an entire page—quite an unusual feature in a newspaper—to publish its investigator, Gamini Navaratna's report on the subject regardless of the inevitable displeasure, if not wrath, it is bound to incur from the powers that be. Indeed I find it difficult to comprehend this sudden, albeit welcome, change of attitude on the part of the avowedly pro-UNP Gunasena press, to which the nation apparently meant little hitherto.

The investigator poses the question, "Will they ever solve this Postal mess?" "Will this government (despite many a Minister's vaunted boast, as well as not infrequent threats to send bureaucrats home) ever solve the mess in any department or Corporation under any Ministry?" would have been more apposite. If a referendum were held on this score the result would be a foregone conclusion. What is the reason for this shocking state of affairs which undoubtedly stinks? As every one knows, it is the unwarranted interference in public affairs not only by politicians but also their unscrupulous camp followers that is responsible for it. Ministers turn a blind eye to these things for obvious reasons. The result is utter chaos everywhere, but the pity of it is that the public have to suffer for no fault of theirs. Here is a challenge which even Mr. J. R. Jayawardene dare not accept and act upon, for political reasons of course. There is one thing however, he could and must do in his government's interests before it is too late. It is this: He must warn his eloquacious Ministers to refrain from bamboozling the public by saying things which they have neither the remotest intention nor the capacity to translate into action. People are absolutely fed up with their tall talk transmitted daily "ad nauseum" through the stooge SLBC and a decadent, discredited press. I am aware that many persons switch off their transmitters in disgust when Raj and 'more cool blowing and jazz contemporary' Mahes come on the air. Their voices jar our nerves.

Thanks to *Tribune*, the public have before them a clear picture of the actual state of affairs in this country today. Stooge newspapers

cannot fool them, however much they try to. Evidently journalists who have a high sense of their responsibility, who have the courage of their convictions and are true to themselves are to be found only within the four walls of 43, Dawson Street, Colombo 2. *Tribune's* popularity among its regular readers is quite understandable. It is in no need of fulsome praise from anyone for functioning as a honest journal always should—without fear or favour, neither am I so foolish as to lavish it.

C. E. J. Alles

113, Anagarika  
Dharmapala Mawatha,  
Dehiwala.  
10.1.78

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### Steve Biko

Sir,

Our grateful thanks are due to *Tribune* and its "London friends" for giving us the opportunity of reading Steve Biko's article. His article shows that Biko had got a correct understanding of the problem and he approaches it with a high level of mind. It certainly helps to enhance the estimation of late Mr. Biko and his unfortunate bretheren fighting valiantly for a noble and just cause.

His ideas have much in common with Mahatma Gandhi's ideas of Swadeshi movement and other programmes of national reconstruction. Gandhi's aim was to get rid of the division and discord among the Indians and to discipline them to self-dependence and real freedom. Similarly Biko's ambition is to instil self-confidence and self-respect among his people and thereby raise them to freedom. Real freedom is not gifted by others. We have to earn it by our own disciplined efforts. To that, at first, we have to free our minds from the oppressing influences. Hence Biko rightly states, "If one is free at heart no man-made chains can bind one to servitude."

Vorster's regime has killed his body but the spirit in him will penetrate far and wide and inspire many more, in and out of South Africa, to continue the onward march towards a better and noble human society. Biko's death would not have been in vain if each of us

turn the search-light inwards and purify his or her heart as much as possible.

In the end I want to appeal to your goodself to search and select such weighty articles appearing in foreign journals and present to us, poor readers from this little "island."

S. Mahalingam

7, Pirapankulam Road,  
Jaffna.  
10.1.78

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### Mother Tongue Privileges

Sir,

A Burgher under this caption has argued that English should serve as a *lingua franca* to bring all the component races of our country into closer understanding.

The idea of English serving as a link language is a hoary myth of our colonial heritage. In every town those who speak English, in actual fact, isolate themselves from the rest of the people in the city. Hardly any service organisation any of our towns have a mixture of peoples speaking the three languages of this country. Those who speak in English remain a distinct group, culturally and otherwise, from the rest of the citizens. It could be argued that rather than serving as a unifying force, in actual fact those who speak in English remain isolated from the non-English speaking peoples.

At official levels this group may meet with the Sinhala or Tamil speaking folks—but socially the English speaking group keeps a splendid isolation from the others who are somewhat despised because of their ignorance of English. Indeed, Tamil speaking folks and Sinhalese speaking folks meet socially far more readily with each other. The English speaking group remain a thing apart.

Bryan de Kretser

Prithipura Infant Home,  
Hendala-Wattala.  
24.12.77

+ +

# Confidentially

## 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 or 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 Corpora-

tion decided on what the "customer preference" was? That at no time since two-wheeled tractors came into general use in Sri Lanka, they were freely available? That 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 pur-

chase 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 even be under control again?

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