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Letter From The Editor

THE CEYLON DAILY NEWS of February 27, 1978, under the heading PSC AND JSC TO BE REVIVED: GOVT. NOT SATISFIED WITH ARRANGEMENTS stated: "The Public Service Commission and the Judicial Service Commission which were abolished by the previous régime will be re-established soon, the *Daily News* understands. The Government is not satisfied with the present arrangement of the Public Service Advisory Board, the Public Service Disciplinary Board, the Judicial Service Advisory Board and the Judicial Service Disciplinary Board which replaced these two institutions. The Public Service Commission and the Judicial Service Commission will henceforth be responsible for appointments, transfers, dismissals and disciplinary control of State employees at the executive level and judicial appointees respectively. The appointments of heads of departments and other prescribed posts will, however, be made by the Cabinet of Ministers. The *Daily News* also understands that the Public Service Commission will comprise three members who will be appointed by the President. The Judicial Service Commission will also comprise three members. The Chief Justice will head the Commission." There is a growing body of public opinion in this country that it is not enough to revive the PSC and JSC in order to effect the necessary reforms in the Public Service: that mere restoration of the *status quo ante* the 1972 Republican Constitution will be tantamount to an over-simplistic gesture that cannot achieve the desired results. So much water has flowed under the bridges of the administration, not only after the changes of 1972 but also after the 'revolution' of 1956 that reforms of a significant qualitative nature have to be effected to fashion a Public Service that can cope with the problems and the challenges of the day. This country is now in dire need of a body of single-minded patriotic administrators—bureaucrats, technocrats and others with a variety of managerial and other skills—who can not only implement the policies and programmes of government efficiently, expeditiously and incorruptively but also provide a real administrative steel-frame for the new dynamic economically viable Sri Lanka that must be brought into existence if the people are to look forward for a better life. The most important single instrument for bringing about this new order is the Public Service—a public service that must be able to function with acceptance in the multi-party, multi-racial, multi-religious and multi-linguistic country Sri Lanka is. Towards initiating a discussion on the question of reforms in the Public Service, we have elsewhere in this issue published the first of a series of five articles by a Special Correspondent who is competent to write on this subject. He traces the historical background of the public service in the contemporary period in the island. The continuing logic that underlies his thesis is that the Public Service in the given socio-economic conditions that obtain in this country is **political neutrality**. This does not mean that a public servant should be bereft of political opinion or be deprived of his freedom to exercise the franchise or even participate in political life in a way that would not militate against his impartiality and efficiency as an administrator. What political neutrality means is that public servants should not become appendages of political parties or racial, religious or linguistic groups contending for political power. In a one-party country with ideological, racial, religious or linguistic homogeneity this problem does not arise, but in Sri Lanka the political neutrality of the public service is an imperative need for any progress and growth. But there is one compelling factor necessary to ensure political neutrality on the part of public servants, that is, the public servants themselves must be insulated against sectarian political, religious, racial or linguistic pressures from demagogic and other elements in society. This can be achieved only by properly institutionalising the organs of governmental and executive power to make it possible for public servants to maintain and sustain political neutrality. Our Special Correspondent has some very concrete suggestions in this connection, and we invite comments, criticisms and suggestions from our readers in order to generate a debate on the reform of the public service. This cannot be done overnight. We have to make and unmake laws and regulations governing the PSC and JSC. We have to cut, chop, add and multiply many regulations. We may have to create new bodies and organs of power. A politically neutral public service is only possible in a democratic set up with an independent judiciary. *Tribune* will deal with the JSC and an independent judiciary in a separate series of articles.

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EDITOR'S NOTEBOOK

● **Globe-Trotting
Ministers**● **Cabinet Reshuffle
And New Talent**

Colombo, March 6,

Common people not only in Colombo but all over the island have begun to ask why certain Ministers of this government are rushing round the world ever so often. It is no doubt true that the Information Department press releases keep the public informed as to ostensible reasons for the Ministers' trips, but people now take these as part of a routine exercise that has little or no meaning. Whilst Minister Hameed specialises in these departmental releases whilst he is sojourning in foreign countries, Ministers Ronnie de Mel and Lalith Athulathmudali keep the public informed about their trips and activities through regular (and now all-too-frequent) press conferences.

There is, traditionally, a universal under-current of hostility and antagonism in this country to ministers, parliamentarians and officials who make frequent trips abroad at state expense. In the pre-Bandaranaike era, the common quip was "Join the UNP and See The World". Then, the same quip was flung at the MEP and SLFP—but it was during the UF and SLFP rule from 1970-77 that regular and frequent journeys abroad by Ministers and bureaucrats had become a national scandal. One of the contributory causes of the rout of the SLFP and the UF parties in the July 1977 elections was the unconscionable number of foreign trips made by Ministers, Parliamentarians and favoured Bureaucrats (and the families and relations of all these three categories). The UNP's massive electoral victory was partly due to the way it had successfully exploited this under-current of public resentment to the globe-trotting proclivities of the UF and SLFP dignitaries.

And now the new Dharmista UNP seems to have fallen for this globe-trotting in a big way. Any excuse seems to be good enough for a

ministerial trip. Unless the President puts his foot down quickly enough, the tide will soon start running against the Dharmista UNP very strongly.

It is difficult to understand why Foreign Minister Hameed should have gone to New Zealand after the Sydney summit meeting. All that he was able to discuss was Sri Lanka tea and New Zealand milk powder. All the loud Hameedian protestations about persuading New Zealand to open FTZ factories to pack milk powder (had also set up other such factories in this island) and Hameedian stories about how Sri Lanka tea is mixed up with other teas for the NZ market will soon become part of a new Arabian Tales. What Hameed claims to have told New Zealand authorities and what he has got in return could have been achieved through normal trade channels or through junior diplomatic officials. Was it necessary for the Foreign Minister to spend state money to make this trip to New Zealand? These are questions that voters have already begun to ask, and unless the President and the UNP wake up, they will soon be in the same Fool's Paradise that other ruling parties have found themselves in the past.

Minister Hameed talks pontifically about the Asian Economic Community when ordinary people are worried

about more mundane and immediate questions. The law and order situation has begun to deteriorate so rapidly that ordinary people have begun to express concern, very openly, about the increasing lawlessness, especially the robberies taking place in almost every day in various parts of the country.

And in the midst of this gloom, Minister Ronnie de Mel has gone abroad to attend the UNCTAD meeting also to visit certain other countries, and Minister Lalith Athulathmudali has started on a new odyssey to UNCTAD and eight countries on what he calls an "image-building" journey. Minister de Mel spent a few days in Pakistan and then has gone on to Europe.

There is no doubt that the forthcoming UNCTAD meeting will discuss the very important question of the debt of third world countries. Tribune has been drawing attention to this for over two years now and the interest the government has (openly) begun to evince in it now is welcome.

MR. RONNIE DE MEL, before his departure on this trip had at a press conference stated: "The previous Government left us with a foreign debt of Rs. 15,000 million and the annual debt servicing alone is Rs. 2,500 million." The report went on to say: "Mr. Ronnie de Mel will leave for Pakistan on

COVER

CIVIL SERVANT BOLINGBROKE

ON THE COVER we have a picture of a memorial over the grave of a young Britisher, Bolingbroke, who was the Government Agent at Hambantota in the middle of the last century in the early days of British rule. He had died, at a very early age, after a hunting trip, and there are various stories how it had all happened. Bolingbroke was a scion of the aristocratic House of the Buckingham and in those days before the British had drawn up a regular scheme for recruitment for its Civil Service through open competitive examinations, civil servants—future colonial governors—were drawn from the younger sons of noble families. Some of them had turned out to be tops, but others were miserable failures. It was probably not very different even among those selected after competitive examinations. We have spotlighted the Bolingbroke memorial because in this issue we have initiated discussion on the reform of our Public Service. The Sri Lanka Administrative Service (SLAS) was begotten from the Ceylon Civil Service and the Ceylon Clerical Service created by the British as the administrative wings of colonial executive power. The first of a series of articles published in this issue traces the background of the SLAS. The rest of the series will deal with important and fundamental aspects of public administration. To the credit of the British, it must be said, that they created a viable administrative system for a colonial government. It is now up to the people of this country to fashion an administrative service for the democratic socialist republic of Sri Lanka.

Why Not Roving Ambassadors?

Tuesday as a special envoy of President Jayawardene at the invitation of the Pakistan Government. From Pakistan Mr. de Mel will fly to Geneva where he will attend an UNCTAD Ministerial meeting on debt problems of developing countries and the possibilities of a moratorium or re-scheduling of Sri Lanka's debts. He said developing countries would make a strong plea at the Geneva meeting for relief, by way of a moratorium or re-scheduling of debts. Mr. de Mel will also meet all Sri Lanka Ambassadors and heads of missions in Europe to brief them on preliminary work regarding the Sri Lanka Aid Group meeting to be held in Paris in the first week of May. We said the meeting would be vital for the UNP Government's development plans and he felt the prospects of enhanced aid were good. The European countries in the Aid Group are Britain, France, Federal Republic of Germany, Netherlands, Sweden and Norway. Mr. de Mel will be out of the island for about a month." The report concludes with this statement that he will be out of the island for "about a month", but his schedule shows a programme stretching to May in Paris for the Aid Club meeting. It is always possible for him to return at the end of March and go to Paris in May. Will he do this or will be shuttle from one European capital to another until May? But why all this?

MINISTER ATHULATHMUDALI, on Saturday March 4, before his departure for Europe held a press conference. The *Weekend* of March 5 reported: "Sri Lanka must get some relief in regard to the extremely acute position of her external debts or else she must be invited to enter into unilateral agreements where her debts would be written-off. Norway, Denmark and Sweden had done so. Would others too? This was the question in mind when Mr. Lalith Athulathmudali conferred with the Press at the Ministry of Trade, yesterday morning. Mr. Lalith Athulathmudali, Minister of Trade left the island last night to attend the UNCTAD Ministerial meeting in Geneva and also visit several European countries. His Trade mission will be especially to emphasise the acuteness of Sri Lanka's external debt problems to western economic and fiscal leaders. Developed countries look on the debt prob-

lem as a problem of transfer of resources. The developed countries are prepared to look at debt from two views, namely on general principles or case by case. The way to look at Sri Lanka's debt problem is in terms of our country's capacity to pay. The volume of debt for the whole Third World is \$ 30,000 million. During his stay out of home for three weeks, the Minister will also visit Brussels, Bonn, Leipzig, Lisbon, Istanbul, Tehran and Yugoslavia. There is no dispute that between the developed and developing countries, Sri Lanka is the most affected. In Sri Lanka the debt servicing lead is as high as 22 per cent of the total output, Mr. Athulathmudali said. There appears to be sufficient goodwill between the countries. If these meetings fail, we will be faced with an end-of-the-rope situation, Mr. Athulathmudali remarked. The Minister also indicated that in Geneva he would be meeting the Trade Commissioners (Sri Lanka Commercial Officers) serving in European countries, on the question of the Free Trade Zone and seeking investment for the FTZ. He said, 'we have been outside the world investment area for a long time and old habits will die hard unless we do something.' The Minister of Trade will be in Brussels on March 13 on invitation and will have discussions with Sir Roy Jenkins Head of the EEC. He will also have discussions with Mr. Chevsson and other high officials of the EEC whose work areas are directly relevant to the expansion of our trade in the EEC and European Investments in Sri Lanka. The Minister said that the EEC is the biggest trading partner for Sri Lanka. The EEC with nine countries is now in a neck-to-neck race with China who earlier was our country's biggest trading partner. The Minister has been invited to lecture on 'The EEC Asian partnership in World Economy' in Brussels.

"The EEC has a side step on the Caribbean and it appears that there has to be some working out of relationship between Asia and the EEC". Prior to his return to Sri Lanka, the Minister of Trade will be in Yugoslavia with what he called a "happy message" from the President of Sri Lanka to President Tito. He will also visit Lisbon, Portugal, to participate in the Inter-Parliamentary Union

annual meeting. The Chairman of the Sri Lanka Trading (General) Corporation, Mr. Rohan Hapugalla will be associated with the Minister in Brussels and Leipzig."

The evangelist will say "Glory Hallelujah!", but glory for whom? Only last October or November, three or four Ministers—not counting Hameed or Ronnie de Mel—toured the EEC countries. What did they get or bring which a junior bureaucrats could not have done?

Mr. Athulathmudali will lead the Sri Lanka delegation at UNCTAD and a case can probably be made out for a short trip for him to Geneva. It can, however, also be equally strongly argued that our diplomatic representative in Geneva, with or without ministerial rank for the occasion, can probably do the job equally well or even better. The fact that two Ministers and their entourages will represent Sri Lanka at the Geneva UNCTAD meeting has naturally evoked critical comments in political circles in Colombo even among those favourably disposed to the UNP.

Whilst it is one thing for a Minister to lead a team at the UNCTAD Conference at the opening plenary sessions, it is a pointless waste of time and money to have two Ministers wait-in-attendance at the Conference for an indeterminate period—whilst making calls on different European capitals.

Suspensions have also been aroused that this globe-trotting around West European countries may be due to the fact that the IMF package was not be working very well and also that the response to the FTZ has not been as enthusiastic as the Government had expected.

The FTZ is an autonomous authority, almost a government in itself, but various ministers of the UNP government are spending valuable foreign exchange in globe-trotting to sell the FTZ to investors abroad. The FTZ must be sold, but thinking sections of the public are worried that some ministers seem to be semi-permanently out of the country under cover of selling the FTZ.

These Ministers might as well give up their portfolios and be appointed permanent roving ambassadors with ministerial rank to wander from one country to another to create a new image of Sri Lanka and also to beg for

- (a) loans and assistance; and
(b) for cancellation or re-scheduling of debts.

When Mr. Raju Coomaraswamy was appointed as Special Adviser to the Cabinet on international finance, it was thought he would cover these conferences; and permit Ministers to attend to their work in the country. Raju is probably professionally better qualified and equipped to do this than any of our young Ministers who seem to be plagued with verbal diarrhoea that has little or no impact.

A sense of gloom and frustration has begun to overtake the country. Nothing seems to be moving. Nothing seems to have started. People who had thought that coming of the UNP would bring a new millenium were disappointed when nothing happened during the first six months. They were then told "wait for the presidential system and you will see miracles." The presidential system was inaugurated on February 4 and six weeks have gone by. And nothing has yet happened. The same old Ministers are jogging along whilst a few other are globe-trotting. A few ministers are doing good work, but many have already become anachronisms. There are ominous hints about an impending Cabinet re-shuffle but a Cabinet re-shuffle alone will not cure the *malaise*.

The UNP has a great deal of young parliamentary talent and the President must draw on them for executive power to get things done and retire the tired old horses to ornamental positions where they cannot do anybody any harm or hold up progress or economic growth through gross ineptitude.

The only bright spot in the picture is the way Prime Minister, Premadasa is getting things done. He has given a new look to the city of Colombo in a very short time. If only other Ministers emulate his example, a great deal will be achieved.

The President cannot do everything. And, can the Prime Minister do the rest? It is time new and young talent is brought forward and harnessed to work with stern injunctions that globe-trotting is taboo.

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

SRI LANKA AND VIETNAM

Welcome Guide-Lines On Foreign Policy

By Serendib

The most important event last week was the visit of the Prime Minister of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam SRV, Mr. Pham Van Dong to Sri Lanka. It was a successful visit; and though there was no massive "mass mobilisation" through governmental leverage (as on some occasions in the past), the Vietnamese Prime Minister has left a lasting impression not only on those who met him but also the general public at large. He arrived in Colombo on Thursday, March 2 and left the island on the fourth day, Sunday, March 5.

Mr. Pham Vang Dong has spent a number of days in India where about five agreements for economic co-operation were signed. Among other things, India loaned Vietnam 300,000 tonnes of Wheat in addition to the 100,000 already promised. The Indian daily press has carried more articles of an analytical and interpretative nature than the daily papers in Sri Lanka which have confined their efforts to straight reporting. A report in the *Hindu* of February 26, provides background material which will be of vital interest to readers here: "At the second round of talks today between the Prime Ministers of India and Vietnam, there was a broad similarity in the views expressed by the two sides on issues of regional stability and interdependence, which were of equal interest to them in their quest for peace and co-operation. The Prime Minister of Vietnam, Mr. Pham Vang Dong, said that his country did not subscribe to the western theory that South and South-East Asia were two separate geopolitical spheres, since they were integral parts of one and the same geographical region. The Hanoi Government's policy of seeking closer relations with all the neighbouring countries on the basis of sovereign equality and mutual benefit, he emphasised, envisaged a model relationship between India and Vietnam to serve as a shining example for all other nations in

South-East Asia which believed in peaceful co-existence. Indo-Vietnamese friendship, he added, had a pivotal role to play in transforming this vast region into an area of stability and peace. The Prime Minister, Mr. Morarji Desai, who welcomed this enlightened approach of Vietnam to problems of regional co-operation, put some searching questions to get a fuller elucidation of Hanoi's perception of peaceful co-existence based on what Mr. Pham Van Dong has been describing as genuine independence and non-alignment. The Indian delegation was greatly impressed by the clarity of thought, absence of dogma and robust realism displayed by the Vietnamese Premier in tempering his country's revolutionary socialism with political pragmatism to allay the fears of its neighbours in the South-East Asian region. The policy of Vietnam, he assured, was to look forward hopefully to new opportunities for co-operation, but simply look back with indignation at the tragic happenings of the past."

About the Vietnamese Prime Minister the *Hindu* despatch had this to say: "A patient listener and a persuasive conversationalist, Mr. Pham Van Dong defined his country's attitudes towards the Soviet Union, China and the United States with a simplicity of expression and remarkable moderation that cut across ideological complexities and conflicts of political interest. He deplored the rift between the Soviet Union and China, while stating that Vietnam had no desire at all to take sides in this dispute. As a socialist country, Vietnam was deeply interested in the preservation of communist unity and consolidation of what he called the forces of peace. He did not blame China, either directly or indirectly, for the border clashes between Cambodia and Vietnam, but made a passing remark without naming any country in particular that some powers might be interested in such conflicts if only to see that the peoples of the Indo-China peninsula remain divided with their main attentions diverted from socialist reconstruction. He hoped that sooner or later Cambodia would realise this danger, retrace its steps and seek a just settlement of the border dispute. Similarly, the Vietnamese Premier did not

insist, as he used to do on previous occasions, on a complete withdrawal of the American military presence from South-East Asia and the Pacific regions as a condition precedent to the normalisation of relations with the United States. But he continued to maintain that there could be no restoration of normalcy until the US accepted responsibility for payment of reparations for the death and destruction inflicted on Vietnam. He recalled that President Nixon had promised at one time over \$ three billions as compensation, but the subsequent US administrations had gone back on this assurance. The Vietnamese Government viewed its demand for reparations more as a matter of principle than one of mere compensation because it wanted to set a precedent for the future. He thought that the US also saw the point and would gradually veer round to the view that it could not escape its moral responsibility to make some suitable amends to Vietnam."

The Indian commentator also examined some of the wider implications of the policy postures of Vietnam: "it was quite evident from the keen interest that Mr. Pham Van Dong had displayed in improving relations with neighbouring South-East Asian nations that Vietnam had given up its earlier contention that some of these countries could not be deemed to be fully independent so long as they continued to rely on the American military presence in the region. The new emphasis was on carrying forward the policy of beneficial bilateralism to the next stage of dealing with ASEAN as a group so long as it had no direct military overtones to it. He no longer spoke of any revolutionary obligation to aid the peoples of these countries to shake off the yoke of neo-colonial dominance, but only in terms of co-operation with these countries on the basis of sovereign equality and mutual benefit in their economic development in conditions of peace within the framework of the non-aligned movement. He carried forward the same theme when he said at his press conference that not only the socialist countries but even many western nations, had offered assistance in Vietnam's reconstruction. A number of them, including some companies were prepared to invest in Vietnam and comply with the laws it had enacted

for relating the flow of foreign capital and its utilisation."

IN SRI LANKA, President J. R. Jayawardene set the ball of cordiality rolling by equating many similarities between the two countries. In a speech at the banquet on March 3, President Jayawardene said: "It gives me great pleasure to be the host to the Prime Minister of our friendly country Vietnam. This is not your first visit to this country. You came for the Non-Aligned Conference; but this is the first visit you are paying to our country as an honoured guest; and this is the first visit the Head of a Government is making to our country after the General Election of July 1977. We welcome your visit for several reasons. You are a leader of the non-aligned movement, and without asking for it I have become the leader of the Non-aligned Movement. You are the leader of a country with many similarities to our own. You are an ancient nation. You were under foreign rule for almost 160 years. We were under foreign rule for 400 years, not the whole nation but a large portion of our nation. The majority of your country follow the Buddhist religion; so do ours. You have a bit of 'French Polish'; we have been painted with the British variety. You had a bloody struggle for freedom; you won the admiration of the whole world. Till 1848 our struggle for freedom was also violent. The Portuguese who landed here in 1503 used force to suppress us. You will find a stone on the other side of this building with the date 1503 marked on it. That was marked by a Portuguese Commander. The Dutch also used force against us. They were followed by the British. But in 1815, with the consent of our people, we accepted the British Monarch as our ruler. After that in 1818 and 1848 there were two rebellions. In 1948 we regained our freedom by constitutional and non-violent means. We are therefore now two free countries.

"There is a similarity between your life and my own. Both of us were born in 1906. Your father was the Secretary to a King of the area and he and his King had to resign owing to their part in the Nationalist Movement. In 1918 my father moved a resolution and the National Congress was founded an organisation which led our move-

ment to Freedom. You took part in strikes and were sent to jail. I took part in strikes but I was not sent to jail. When my father was a Judge of the Supreme Court and he sat on the Bench, I used to take his car and help the strikers of which Mr. Premadasa was a leader under Mr. Goonesinghe. You became Minister of Finance; so did I. We know the difficulties of running the country when there is very little money.

"You took part in the Geneva Conference in 1954. While you were sitting in Geneva, I was sitting in the Prime Minister's Conference in Colombo. The Hon. Sir John Kotelawala was then Prime Minister and there was a UNP Government in 1954. The Colombo Conference he summoned consisted of Pakistan, India, Burma, Indonesia and Sri Lanka. I was a member of the delegation as Leader of the House. One of the matters we discussed was the war in Indochina, when you were having an armed struggle with the French. We unanimously recommended to the Geneva Conference that Vietnam should be made free; that the French should recognise the sovereignty of Vietnam and the government led by Ho Chi Minh; that the Big Powers should keep out of the conflict; that there should be a ceasefire and that there should be a conference with France and Laos, Cambodia, Cochin China Tonkin and Annam. Ton Kin Cochin China and Annam now are Vietnam.

That is why I asked you all these questions this morning. We telegraphed to the Geneva Conference that this was the view of the leaders of Asia and Mr. Anthony Eden, Foreign Secretary of the United Kingdom, in his biography has stated that the views of the Colombo powers were very useful in effecting cease-fire and in securing peace and an end to the French-Vietnamese war. Unfortunately however, other events occurred and another war began with the United States of America against Ho Chi Minh. I said there were similarities between my country and your country and yourself and myself. You were the Prime Minister of Ho Chi Minh's government. You were the Prime Minister in the free government of Vietnam. I became Prime Minister of the free government of Sri Lanka in 1977. Now of course, I am the President. That is another story."

After stating all this, Mr. Jayawardene set out in brief the election of the UNP and its efforts to create a just and free society. It is interesting to note that President Jayawardene had said that this country will henceforth bear the name and title the Democratic Socialist Republic of Sri Lanka (DSRSL)—that this change would be enshrined in the Third Amendment.

The joint communiqué issued on March 5, as is customary at the end of such a visit, set out the highlights and the consensus arrived at during the discussions. The two leaders had exchanged views on bilateral matters and international developments. In bilateral relations, the two leaders "expressed satisfaction over the uninterrupted and progressive strengthening of the relations" between the two countries. The two leaders had noted that the two countries "had undergone colonial experiences which had imposed common socio-economic problems" and that these "could be successfully resolved through economic co-operation and greater mutual understanding."

The two leaders took note that the DSRSL was seeking to build a just and free society and that it was planning to generate economic growth by projects like the Mahaweli Development Scheme and the Free Trade Zone. The Prime Minister of Vietnam "expressed appreciation of these efforts and wished the Sri Lanka people all success in building a prosperous Sri Lanka. Similarly, the programme of the SRV was explained and the President of DSRSL "expressed admiration for the heroic struggle of the people of Vietnam to achieve national independence and their efforts to build that nation."

In regard to foreign relations, "the two leaders reviewed international developments, in the context of their membership in the Non-Aligned group of nations. The two leaders re-affirmed their commitment to the policy of Non-Alignment and agreed to continue to work together towards the constructive and effective development of this policy in accordance with the principles originally enunciated, in order to continue the struggle against imperialism and colonialism and to ensure that the genuine and com-

plete independence and sovereignty of the countries in the movement are achieved and safeguarded. The two leaders were confident that the decisions of the Summit Conference of the Non-Aligned Countries in Colombo would continue to be brought into full play at the Ministerial Meeting of the Coordinating Bureau in Kabul and at the Conference of the Foreign Ministers of the Non-Aligned countries in Belgrade actively contributing to the preparations for the Sixth Summit Conference of Heads of State/Government of the Non-Aligned Countries in Havana in 1979."

The communiqué then set out that the government of DSRSL welcomed the admission of the SRV as a member of the UNO. Both leaders affirmed support for the UN charter and "acknowledged the need to support the United Nations and its agencies to eradicate all traces of colonialism and racism in the international community, to preserve peace and national independence and to establish a new international economic order."

Thereafter the communiqué stated: "The two leaders agreed that the present situation in Asia provided conditions for the development of mutually beneficial relations among countries in the region as a means of contributing to the cause of peace, national independence, prosperity and international co-operation. They reiterated the need for the peaceful settlement of disputes by the parties concerned and affirmed the principle of non-interference by outside powers in bilateral disputes." And from this, the communiqué went on to the next, "The Prime Minister of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam briefed the President of the Democratic Socialist Republic of Sri Lanka on the incidents between the Socialist Republic of Vietnam and Democratic Kampuchea and explained his country's efforts to arrive at a peaceful settlement of this problem on the basis of the Three Point Proposal of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam of February 5, 1978. The President of the Democratic Socialist Republic of Sri Lanka noted these statements and explained that any bilateral issues between Non-Aligned countries should be settled peacefully and without the interference of outside powers in accordance with

the principles and policies of the Non-Aligned Movement."

About the Indian Ocean, "both leaders noted that progress in the implementation of the Indian Ocean Peace Zone Declaration had been slow in the United Nations and called on the major maritime users as well as the littoral and hinterland states to co-operate with the United Nations Ad Hoc Committee in its efforts. Both leaders expressed the hope that the proposed Meeting of the littoral and hinterland states would be a success in paving the way towards an International Conference on the Indian Ocean."

The next clause in the Communiqué expressed concern about the situation in Southern Africa and "agreed that regimes based on racial discrimination and colonialism represented a threat to peace. They pledged support for and solidarity with the liberation movements of the peoples of Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa who are struggling for self-determination and genuine independence. The increasingly repressive character of the racist regimes as seen in the murder of nationalist leaders like Steve Biko was condemned. The two leaders called upon all members of the international community to desist from any action buttressing such regimes and to effectively implement all United Nations Resolutions in this regard."

On the Middle East, "the two leaders agreed that a just and durable solution to the Middle East problem was essential and that such a solution was not possible without the restitution of the inalienable national rights of the Palestinian people. They agreed that the retention of occupied territory by Israel was a violation of the United Nations Resolutions and that the establishment of permanent settlements in occupied Arab lands was a breach of internationally accepted canons of justice and law."

The two leaders also agreed that "the efforts of the developing countries to eliminate the root causes of poverty and economic stagnation required full control over, and utilisation of, their national resources and the restructuring of the existing international economic order, established on a fair and just basis of genuine equality of opportunity with the developed world."

"Blitz" On Sri Lanka And Arabs

On the question of the forthcoming special session of the UN on Disarmament, "both leaders agreed that the forthcoming United Nations Special Session on Disarmament, arising directly from the initiative of the Non-Aligned nations, represented a significant opportunity for achieving international agreement on general and complete disarmament and for the application of the resources thus released for assuring a better life for the peoples of the world. The President of the Democratic Socialist Republic of Sri Lanka explained his proposal to create an international authority to control the manufacture and distribution of armaments as a means of achieving total disarmament."

Finally, the two leaders "agreed that the visit of the Prime Minister of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam had contributed towards the consolidation of friendship and co-operation between the two countries." The Prime Minister of Vietnam thanked the President, Government and people of Sri Lanka for the warm and cordial reception extended to him and his delegation. Invitations were also extended to the President, Prime Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs to visit Vietnam.

IT WAS ALTOGETHER an excellent finale for the Vietnam PM's visit, but what was of particular significance was that the UNP Government has, for the first time, expressed any opinion at all on matters of foreign policy. *Tribune*, not very long ago, had complained that the UNP government had not chosen to indicate its position on any matter of international urgency in the world today.

In this communique, the government's stand on a number of matters has been clarified: (i) there is commitment to non-alignment, the non-aligned movement and the Summit Conferences; (ii) there is condemnation of colonialism and imperialism and a plea made to eradicate all traces of colonialism and racism in the international community; (iii) there is support for the principle of the peaceful settlement of disputes by the parties concerned and affirmation of the principle of non-interference by outside powers; (iv) agreement that the disputes between two non-aligned countries, Vietnam and Cambodia, should be settled bilaterally; (v) full support for the concept of the Indian Ocean Peace

Zone; (vi) support for liberation struggles in Southern Africa—in Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa; (vii) emphasis that peace could not be established in the Middle East without the restitution of the national rights of the Palestinian people, that retention of occupied territory by Israel was illegal and that permanent Jewish settlements in occupied Arab Lands is a breach of accepted canons of justice and law; (viii) that a new international economic order was a "must" and (ix) that all support should be given for general and complete disarmament.

It will now be possible for us to refer to this communique in regard to Sri Lanka's foreign policy on important matters of the day. The UNP Government must become aware of the vacuum it has created in this matter and this communique clears up a great many misunderstandings that have arisen about the foreign policy of the Jayawardene government especially in some non-aligned countries.

For instance, the well-known Indian weekly *Blitz* in its issue of 21.1.78 had a piece entitled A VERY OLD FRIENDSHIP—BUT ... WILL LANKA DITCH ARABS FOR ISRAEL? The report read as follows: "In a recent article contributed to the *Far Eastern Economic Review* (Jan. 6) one B. H. S. Jayawardene, writing from Colombo described Sri Lanka's relationship with the Arabs in the warmest terms as 'a very old friendship'. It is so—BUT unfortunately to another Jayawardene (JR), the Prime Minister of the country, reportedly this does not seem that important. He is alleged to be ready to barter it for American-Israeli goodwill. Sri Lanka, the first Asian country to sever relations with Israel on the issue of the world struggle against Zionism, is likely to be the first to break the non-aligned front and restore diplomatic relations with Tel Aviv, if reports of the top-secret talks between Colombo officials and Israeli diplomats abroad are true. Washington has been pressing the Government of Sri Lanka, like all Asian and African regimes, to help Israel back to international recognition. The Jayawardene Government, in its anxiety to secure American financial and industrial assistance, has apparently fallen to these pressures. As a result, Colombo has lately established contacts with

Israel in third countries. Such contacts have already taken place in Singapore, where one of Prime Minister Jayawardene's diplomatic aides, PEREIRA, met the Israeli Ambassador, I NAVON. It is noteworthy that Navon was Israel's Charge d' Affairs to Sri Lanka in 1968-70 when he established top contacts with Opposition leaders who are today in power. According to authoritative reports, Mr. Pereira assured Ambassador Navon that while Sri Lanka was under national compulsion to continue the foreign policy of Bandaranaike regime in its support to Arabs and hostility to Israel, this position was being slowly changed to a pro-Israeli stance, and within two-three years, Colombo would be in a position to restore full diplomatic relations with Israel. According to authoritative Arab sources, both Pereira and Navon reached an agreement to continue contacts and meetings at the highest possible level. This development is likely to undermine the non-aligned movement and dynamite the Third World support to the Arab struggle against Israeli aggression, coming as it does from Sri Lanka which played a vital role as Coordinator of the recent Non-Aligned Summit which condemned Israel and Zionism and called upon all countries to de-recognise Israel. The recent moves from Colombo would constitute the scuttling and betrayal of the resolution of the Fifth Non-aligned Summit and pull Sri Lanka out of the mainstream of the non-aligned as well as developing countries."

In the light of the Sri Lanka-Vietnam communique of March 5, the *Blitz* story appears to be a tentative piece of kite-flying. But who is the diplomatic aide, Pereira, who had "negotiated" with the Israeli Ambassador to Singapore, Navon? *Tribune* cannot think of a Presidential diplomatic aide by the name of Pereira, and for sometime we had wondered whether the whole story was a piece of journalistic fiction coined by a newspaper correspondent, or the suspicions of Arab circles, anxious to sell a story or provoke some comments or denial.

Blitz was obviously only capitalising on the speculations that have recently gained ground in some countries that the UNP was selling Sri Lanka to the West. It is surprising that the government

of DSRSL did not deny this *Blitz* story or set out the correct position no sooner the article appeared on January 21. The Sri Lanka High Commission in India must surely have brought this *Blitz* story to the notice of the Foreign Ministry in Colombo—especially because this *Blitz* story had become part of the cocktail gossip in political and diplomatic circles in New Delhi.

It would be wrong on the part of the UNP Government to take an ostrich-like attitude to *Blitz*. It is a paper that is read and even if it sometimes goes in for political sensationalism, it is one of the papers that all-who-matter in India read. The last SLFP government had refused accreditation to a *Blitz* correspondent to attend the Non-Aligned Summit in August 1976 because the *Blitz* had published stories critical of the SLFP and Mrs. Bandaranaike. Whilst correspondents of papers from the West who had written more critically and unfairly than the *Blitz*, Colombo had instructed its High Commission in New Delhi not to issue a visa to a correspondent of the *Blitz*.

It is hoped that this Government will not adopt a similar attitude to the *Blitz* because of this story and other stories it might write. The Government should on the other hand, set out the correct facts. Was any official contact secretly made with Navon on the question of ditching the Arabs? If not, the Government should issue a straightforward denial. Is the UNP government planning a two or three-year switch from the Arabs to the Israelis? If not, the position must be made clear. Has investment in the FTZ anything to do with this?

The Sri Lanka-Vietnam communique of March 5 gives the answer to some of the points raised in the *Blitz* story, but not to all of them. It is a pity that nothing has been done—nothing that we are aware of and nothing journalistic and political circles in New Delhi are aware of—by the Sri Lanka Government to correct this *Blitz* story that the J.R. Government was out to ditch the Arabs for Israel.

The *Blitz* story is a clever piece of work. It hangs its gossipy speculation on a report by B. H. S. Jayawardene in a special section in the *Far Eastern Economic Review* of January on ARABS AND ASIA. B. H. S. Jayawardene had stressed

stroply the continuing friendship between Sri Lanka and the Arab world, but the *Blitz* article will tend to confuse some readers that B. H. S. Jayawardene himself had expressed some doubts on the matter. He had not, but it suited *Blitz's* purpose to promote thinking on these provocative lines.

The moral of it all is this: that the Foreign Minister should concern himself with foreign policy matters and not matters of trade or the FTZ. He has recently been to New Zealand to get milk powder and sell Sri Lanka tea. But, he has not yet found time to go to India to discuss non-alignment, Southern Africa, the Middle East, the Indian Ocean, Disarmament and a whole host of other matters of interest to both India and Sri Lanka. If there is greater rapport between India and Sri Lanka on foreign affairs, stories like the one in *Blitz* about ditching the Arabs would not have gained currency. Even if *Blitz* or any other paper had published such stories, they would have been discounted by all knowledgeable and informed circles in India and elsewhere. As it is, there has been mysterious silence about the UNP government, attitudes on foreign policy matters and this has tended to create speculative suspicious in non-aligned and third world countries.

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VIETNAM & INDIA

A Serene Blue Sky Without A Cloud

by Samarendra Kundu
Minister of State, Ministry of External Affairs, Government of India

I have just returned carrying with me the sweet memories of our visit to Vietnam, Laos and Thailand.

The one week's stay in Vietnam and visit to various places of historical, cultural and industrial significance revealed the gigantic task of nation-building in which the Government and the people of Vietnam are engaged. Despite a generation of suaring and long-drawn war of thirty years, the courage and determination of the Vietnamese people are in evidence every where. I also noticed that in spite of the gruelling ordeal of

hard times through which they are passing they have retained their capacity for survival with their spontaneous smiles and laughter which speak abundantly of their bright future.

One of the memorable encounters was with the Prime Minister of Vietnam Pham Van Dong who, inspite of his age and years in prison in the Poulocondore Island and in the jungles of Vietnam fighting the war of liberation, appeared to be a man of charm, compassion, humility and determination. With lyrical warmth, he picturesquely described Vietnam's relation with India as a "serene blue sky without a cloud". One could read in his personality the grim resolve of the nation to reconstruct and to rebuild a new Vietnam in the shortest possible time. He broke all protocol climbing down the steps of the Presidential palace to hand shake, embrace and kiss a small man like me and some members of the Indian delegation.

The meeting with the Vietnamese Prime Minister, Vice Prime Minister and Foreign Minister Nguyen Trinh and our discussion with other Ministers and officials were also marked with great warmth and cordiality. I have come back with a clear impression that the Socialist Republic of Vietnam attaches great importance to the forging of closer relations with India. While fully reciprocating this desire I am at least happy that I have been able to build some new bridges of friendship between India and Vietnam which would certainly contribute to the peace and stability of the region as a whole and widen the horizon of mutually beneficial economic and cultural cooperation.

We visited the mausoleum of late President Ho Chi Minh and paid our homage to his memory by laying wreaths at the mausoleum. It was one of my life's most inspiring moments to visit the two-roomed cottage where he lived as President of Vietnam and walked to the President's House for office work. I was told that when he became the president of the Republic in 1945, he stayed with the electrician of the President's House in a small quarter located in the President's House till 1958, the year he came to visit India.

I was reminded of Mahatma Gandhi's simple and austere living. These two great sons of Asia.

Regional Co-operation

though adopted different means for national liberation, have left deep impact on millions of people for the simple living and high thinking, teaching us to use scarce national resources for the national reconstruction programme. It was very inspiring to know that the Ministers, officers and other citizens of Vietnam cheerfully bear the hardships of austere and simple living. They have done away with almost all luxuries from their life and living. Some of the top officials live in one room flats and some of the Ministers share some flats. Even when only three meters of cloth are given per person per year, one does not notice any nudity, nor at the same time, any set pattern of prescribed uniform for everybody. What strikes one most is that they share the scarcity cheerfully and use this quota of cloth in different designs and colour.

Similarly, the shortage of rice has not upset them and they cheerfully bear the cut in the supply of rationed rice which is their staple food. One sees marked discipline which I believe is generally not imposed by the police or military. In a regimented society as Vietnam is, one senses the wind of liberalisation matched with pragmatic economic policies. One finds boys and girls sitting in the park late in the night and gossiping with each other undisturbed. Hardly one sees the police hunting and hounding. Invariably it is repeatedly pointed out to any visitor the various ravages done by the years of B-52 bomber's "carpet bombing". One can still see the places hit by bombing and pictures of ravages. I was shown some such spectacles in the railway workshop near Hanoi. It is indeed quite horrifying. It is a stupendous task for the Vietnamese to rebuild their country.

Our delegation had in-depth discussions with the Vietnamese colleagues on the priorities and the task of reconstructing their economy. We frankly told them that whatever little we could do to help them in their task of national reconstruction, would be a gesture of good-will and solidarity and would demonstrate our faith in the economic co-operation among our neighbouring countries. They attach highest priority for the rehabilitation of their transport network, particularly, the railways and the development of agricul-

ture including livestock, and textile machinery. We agreed to co-operate with them in these spheres and indicated to them the line of credit which we would be prepared to extend to them in co-operation with the banking system to finance their purchase of railway equipments and rolling stock from India.

A beginning has already been made between India and Vietnam in the field of co-operation of agriculture and livestock breeding. We have agreed to set up a Rice Research Institute and a Buffalo Breeding Centre in Vietnam. We found during our tour that our gift of Murrah buffaloes is highly appreciated by them and we hope to do more in this direction. We have also expressed our willingness to provide training facilities for Vietnamese students in our agricultural universities and other technical training institutions. We also agreed to send experts to prepare reports how best we can help their steel rolling mill, which is now running at one-fourth of its capacity, to run at full capacity.

On the eve of Prime Minister Van Dong's visit to India, we have almost finalised the draft of agreements on co-operation in the fields of economy, trade, science and technology and agricultural research. These agreements are likely to be signed during the latter's forthcoming visit to India.

On our return we stopped over for a day in Vientienne and Bangkok. In Vientienne, the capital of Laos, we were received by the Acting Prime Minister Nouhak Phounsavanh and Foreign Minister Phouma Siprasouth. My talks with both of them were friendly, cordial and wide ranging. I found almost in all international matters there is unanimity of views. The officials of both the teams identified areas for further co-operation between India and Laos, particularly, in the fields of agriculture, livestock breeding and education to which they attach the highest priority.

In Bangkok, I was received by the Foreign Minister of Thailand, Dr. Upadit Upacharayan of Kun. While he spoke of the ancient historical and cultural ties between our two countries, he reiterated his faith in the five principles of peaceful co-existence. We surveyed various areas of economic and cultural co-operation between our two countries and we found

Thailand and particularly Bangkok could throw up a lot of potentiality for Indo-Thai joint industrial ventures. It was gratifying to know that Thailand is also normalising its relations with its neighbouring countries.

This visit of mine has opened a new chapter in our relations and opened up new vistas of multi-dimensional co-operation among the South east Asian countries I visited. I found in this Southeast Asian region, there is considerable progress towards normalisation of relations on the basis of five principles of peaceful coexistence. This augurs well for the future of the region—politically, economically and culturally.

I consider it is the moral duty of India to come to the assistance of some of the least developed countries of this region since there is a great need for appropriate and intermediate technology in this region. Some of these countries lack the basic infrastructure which is essential for further developmental planning and construction. Our visit has opened the doors to the immediate needs of these countries and I hope, we, though a capital importing country, would try our best to assist these countries, as far as practicable. We can plead their cause in the international arena by preparing viable projects with our skill so that some countries may come to their help.

I have returned from the region with my conviction reinforced that there exists a vast reservoir of goodwill and friendliness for India, particularly for our new Government. After the peaceful and silent revolution of March 1977, there is substantial scope for strengthening our relations with them in all fields, politically, economically and culturally.

It would be the happiest day in my life if my visit helps towards ushering in an Asia free from tension and turmoil and pave the way for building a new Asia free from hunger, squalor, disease and threat of war.

—Mainstream, 25/2/78

NEW DELHI LETTER—1

Third World Book Fair

New Delhi, February 25,

The Third World Book Fair at New Delhi lived up to its name in two respects. It was the third fair to be hosted in Delhi, the earlier two having been held in 1972 (The International Book Year) and 1976. And, it was truly the Book Fair of the Third World. Sponsored by the National Book Trust at a cost of Rs. 15 lakhs, the recently concluded Book Fair spotlighted books from Sri Lanka, Afghanistan, Mauritius, Malaysia, Kenya, Zambia, Tanzania, Thailand, Vietnam, Cuba, Iraq and Mexico.

Besides, the Trust organized a four-day International seminar on "Educational Publishing in Developing Countries," in which over 50 experts participated including Mr. H. H. Amerasinghe of Sri Lanka. A conference on the problem of Copyright in Developing Countries, which was also held as part of the fair brought to the fore the depredations of the "multinationals" in the book publishing trade.

With this Third Book Fair, the National Book Trust (NBT) can justly take pride that now New Delhi is on a par with Frankfurt, Leipzig, Warsaw, Belgrade, Cairo, Montreal, Tokyo, Moscow and Singapore Book Fairs. The ten-day fair, which was inaugurated on Feb. 11 by Mr. B. D. Jatti, Vice-President of India, attracted over 200 publishers from 35 countries. The 400 Indian participants represented both the public and private sectors—and almost the entire publishing trade. Over 200,000 titles with bright covers and in many languages were displayed neatly on the racks. The visitor had to walk over at least three miles even if he wanted to cursorily glance through the stalls spread over the Hall of Nations, the Hall of Industries and the Indradhanush Hall, the permanent exhibition buildings in the Pragati Maidan, originally built for the Asia 72 Trade Fair. The Book Fair has been the biggest organized so far occupying as it did 13,000 square metres.

For the bibliophile and the book-lover, for the librarian and the educationist, the fair provided a veritable treat. Almost all categories of books were represented. Technical books (ranging from "Biscuit Manufacturer" to "Operative Surgery" and from "Low cost Car Repair" to "Oriental Insects"), cookery books (vegetarian and recipes for slimming included), children's books with beautiful illustrations in colour, political books (from Marx to Rosa Luxemburg, from Mao Tse-tung to General Giap), pulp fiction, the books of Enid Blyton and the Mills and Boon "classics", Orientalia of the widest range and so on could be found. And, they catered to all tastes and pockets.

Even erotica and pornography were not left out. Apart from lavishly illustrated books on world erotic art, "Emmanuelle", the "porno classic", was also on display.

All the booksellers sold books at discount prices, ranging from ten to fifteen per cent. There was brisk trade at almost all the counters. But the best business was done at the open air "Book Bazaar", which was exclusively for the second-hand book dealers. They gave greater discount and encouraged bargaining.

The books on exhibition, which were not for sale were more interesting. The NBT had organized an exhibition of 6,000 books published in English and all the Indian languages during the last two years. It was a fascinating array of books with enough pointers that Indian book publishing trade is progressing by leaps and bounds. Books that won awards for excellence in printing and design were also on display.

Special mention must be made of two books. One was the "Koran" printed in the size of a postage stamp, which can be read only with a magnifying glass. And the other was an award-winning beautifully bound book with gold lettering—but with blank pages inside.

For a book lover like the present writer, it was a pleasure to see the books on the stalls of Senegal, Yugoslavia, Zambia, Tanzania, Kenya and other countries. The books from Sri Lanka provided a heartening sight. The various language publications of India though bewildering at first glance

convinced the visitor that books for the millions are a necessity in the modern world to meet the demands of students, neo-literates and the reading public. The Indian section had an impressive collection of books on the Emergency and the so-called "second liberation" written by "key-hole journalists" and instant historians. Except for two or three books and that too written by foreigners, most of them have been scrappily written, mostly on hearsay. They have already been relegated to the scrapheap of the second-hand book-dealers.

In passing, it must be recorded that India, according to the UNESCO is seventh largest producer of books in the world and it ranks third after UK and USA in the production of English titles. In 1976, out of 15,802 books published in India, English titles accounted for 6,733 with Hindi coming next with only 2,335 titles. Marathi ranked third with 1,290 books. According to the statisticians, the number of titles per million of population is around 30 against the world average of 150 and the per capita annual consumption is about 32 pages compared to 2,000 pages in advanced Western countries. Thus, India has to go a far way still.

M. Chalapathi Rau, the doyen among Indian journalists, in his "Off The Record" column published in "National Herald" commented on the World Book Fair thus: "Not many of the books displayed at the World Book Fair can be said to be the precious life blood of master spirits as Milton said of great books. The Book Fair is nearer to journalism than to great or good writing. The Book Fair has some fine exhibits but on the whole it is nearer to a trade fair than to a temple of learning." And, one cannot improve on what he has written.

Jag Mohan

RHODESIA

"Grey Supremacy" Settlement

—will not fool landless
Africans—

by Julius Lewin

At last Ian Smith has cobbled together a plan for an internal settlement and the black nationalist leaders within Rhodesia have agreed to it. The United Nations was not consulted. Britain's attitude is wavering. The plan allows 100,000 white voters to elect 28 MPs while four million blacks will somehow choose the other 72 members. Accordingly, if only seven African MPs can be induced, on critical occasions, to vote with the white minority, then the government would lack the two-thirds majority necessary to alter the constitution. Under this plan, the army, the police, the judges and the civil service—as well as the distribution of wealth, especially land—will remain very much as they are today. In fact, the plan is guaranteed to block the fundamental changes urgently required.

The first question for us is this: will Britain accept this settlement and then lift sanctions? The Foreign Office, eager to be relieved of the whole bad business, will put pressure on David Owen to give up further negotiations with Robert Mugabe and Joshua Nkomo outside the country. Let us hope that Owen will not be afraid of the Tories, who broke away from bipartisanship on the issue recently. Significantly, *The Times*—whose deputy editor, Louis Heren, is at present in Southern Africa—promptly declared last week that Britain should accept the pact without delay and proceed to legalise Smith's regime. But the UN is sure to reject the whole plan while Washington tries to conceal its embarrassment.

The guerilla forces will certainly fight on; using Mozambique as a base more than Zambia, which will come under pressure to deny further facilities to those on its territory. The settlement comes just in time to save Smith's tottering economy. Last week a leading white Rhodesian business man

told the BBC that the country could not carry on for longer than a few months because of the crippling cost of the war, which is £ 500,000 per day.

Smith will probably delay the final adoption of the new constitution in the hope that by next October the Tories will have reached office and will give him their assistance. Like *The Times*, the Tories will argue that the six principles of independence which they laid down in 1964 have all been satisfied. The vital principle was the fifth, which said that "the British Government must be satisfied that any basis proposed for independence was acceptable to the people of Rhodesia as a whole." Smith will presumably hold a referendum to obtain African endorsement. He will go to any lengths to ensure that Abel Muzorewa and Ndabaningi Sithole win acceptance of their concurrence in the plan—which will bring them into the Cabinet. Television, radio and all the newspapers will present the issue in a way that makes African voters believe a new day is about to dawn for them.

But that is not true. For all the commanding heights of the economy and all the key positions in government and administration will remain in white hands. At best, the mistaken impressions will be created of "grey supremacy", leaving neither whites nor blacks dominant. The process will be obscured by constitutional jargon and legal fictions. Yet hungry peasants and under-paid urban workers cannot eat pieces of a new constitution.

The basic fact is this: there can be no genuine reconstruction while the division of the land remains blatantly unjust.

A valuable report on labour in Rhodesia, published by the International Labour Office in Geneva last month, indicates what this means. In round figures the 6,266 white farmers own or occupy 45 million acres. An area of roughly the same size is allocated to several million black peasants. The size of the average white farm is 5,374 acres; the size of the average black holding is less than nine acres. And yet vast areas of land held by the whites remain unused while the increasing black population clamours for more land.

The crucial test for African Ministers in Smith's Cabinet will be their ability to secure much more

land for their supporters. The likelihood is very small. Meanwhile, lawyers everywhere will enjoy a hollow debate about Smith's "return to legality"—while wealth accumulates and men decay.

Courtesy: Tribune, London
24/2/78

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ETHIOPIA

Who Are The Aggressors?

—who is aiding them?—

by Nicholas Hyman

The overthrow of the Ethiopian monarchy in 1974 signalled hope to secessionist forces inside the country, who wanted external help in the dismemberment of the old Ethiopian empire. The most intractable nationality problem, besides Eritrea, was that of the Somalis in the Ogaden, largely through outside support for unification in a "greater Somalia" of both the Kenyan and Ethiopian Ogaden regions.

When the fighting began, a rapprochement between Addis Ababa and Moscow became apparent. Soviet-Ethiopian links are not entirely new. The Soviet efforts in 1935 against Italian fascist aggression were not only diplomatic: Maxim Litvinov, then Foreign Minister stated at the League of Nations: "Economic sanctions alone cannot oust the Italian army from Abyssinia and return independence to the country. This task can only be achieved by sanctions up to and including military ones."

The key to current Soviet concern is not the foolish precept, "my enemy's enemy is my friend." The Shah of Iran's new found predilection for acting as a conduit for NATO and Pakistani arms to Somalia like Israeli's supply of American arms to Ethiopia, may even embarrass Washington, and does not affect the Soviet standpoint. What seems decisive is the principle of not seizing territory unilaterally. And that is what the Somalis have done in the Ogaden. There can be negotiated settlements of territory between sovereign states. Yet before any fruit-

ful negotiations—according to the Soviet argument—the invading army should withdraw to its internationally established frontiers.

A fanciful explanation of Somali withdrawal from some of the Ogaden is the direct participation of Soviet troops. The American State Department, and a statement from *Tass*, the Soviet news agency, on January 19, both denied such involvement. Stories of Soviet ships shelling Red Sea ports, and of the Soviet Minister of Defence personally supervising operations for months in Ethiopia, sound like phantom rationales for a concrete intervention from some NATO countries. Also evident, not least quaintly in the *New Statesman*, is a racist myth of Somali invincibility coupled with Ethiopian spinelessness, so that the only explanation for military stalemate must be the use of Soviet and Cuban troops against the Somali army.

The Soviet Union and Cuba actually attempted to bring the two Horn of African neighbours together in the summer of 1977, and failed through not recognising how strong an impetus Somali expansionism or irredentism is. In essence, the same anachronistic creed, which makes real social divisions within the aggressor state, could justify Bavaria, German-speaking Italians and Austria "coming together" or Togo's detachment of part of Ghana. The Pandora's box of tensions unleashed by recognising as just Somalia's unilateral seizure of Ethiopian territory would bring Africa to the position of the Balkans 70 years ago—a prey to internal jealousies, petty warlords elements and great power bullying.

It is possible that elements in France, Italy and other states seek to "destabilize" the Ethiopian regime and prevent the emergence of a relatively large, industrialising state. An article by the Soviet commentator, Andrei Dolgov, on January 27 built on the earlier *Tass* statement, Dolgov claimed that military material for defensive purposes only, with no intention of occupying Somalia's internationally recognized territory, was being supplied by the Soviet Union "consistent with the traditional African policy of Moscow—be it in Angola or Mozambique, in the south or east of Africa—a policy of giving support to the liberation movements and progressive govern-

ments which frequently experience co-ordinated external pressure."

The Soviet Union, like Britain, recently erred in supporting Idi Amin's Ugandan despotism, and has floundered in Libya and Egypt. But to jump from there to denounce Soviet commitments to help Ethiopia to defend itself would be historically unjust. While Britain hesitates to give effective aid to the national liberation movements in Zimbabwe Namibia, and South Africa, British military assistance to Somalia, on the mere bigoted grounds that Ethiopia has defensive aid from Soviet Union, would be most inappropriate and mischievous.

There is still the possibility of a negotiated settlement between Ethiopia and Somalia, if Britain and other states remain scrupulously neutral and refrain from encouraging Somali hopes of an externally forced absorption of sections of Ethiopia now, and Kenya and Djibouti later this year.

The Somali decision to use regular troops in the Ogaden region of Ethiopia most probably constitutes an admission of the presence of these soldiers from last year onwards. In fact, the very existence of a separate Ethiopian-based guerrilla movement is open to doubt, as in the Ogaden region of Kenya.

The Somali admission that the war in Ethiopia was fought by regular armed forces was coupled with apocalyptic threats of the "third world war" breaking out, unless help in men and material reached Meqdishu from "the West." To justify this claim, a phantom army of 20,000 Cuban troops is being spoken of (actually, this would be 80 per cent of Havana's army). One ubiquitous captured adviser, apparently Cuban, is trotted around to excited foreign journalists.

Meanwhile, what really counts is whether or not the Ethiopian Government honours the understanding reached in February between Washington and Moscow, that the Ethiopian offensive should stop at the agreed frontier with Somalia. Provided that the internationally recognized frontier is not violated by either side there can be peace and even mediation. For any NATO government, however, to be stamped by the likes of the *Daily Mail* into a proxy anti-Soviet crusade, would be against the interests of every state—in-

cluding Ethiopia, Somalia and their neighbours.

Courtesy: *Tribune*, London.
24/2/78

HORN OF AFRICA

Somalia-Ethiopia Conflict

—ideology not the issue—

by Madhu Panikkar

THE decision of the Organisation of African unity to send a mission to Addis Ababa and reports of appeals by Mr. Carter and Mr. Brezhnev to the Indian Prime Minister to mediate in the war between Somalia and Ethiopia are indications that the war in Ogaden is entering a new phase. Both the Super Powers seem to be aware that if the victorious Ethiopian forces push on to Bebera and Hargeisa intervention by other powers cannot be ruled out; both Saudi Arabia and Iran are heavily involved in the war as arms suppliers and financial backers of Somalia. The Shah has made a public statement that Iran will not stand idly by if the Ethiopian forces cross the borders. Moscow too has made conciliatory gestures and it is to be hoped that the Russians and Cubans have sufficient influence in Addis Ababa to persuade Col. Mengistu to be generous in victory.

Optimism about the OAU conciliation mission and Super Power pressures has to be tempered with caution. The war is not a sudden flare up caused by a frontier incident, it is deeply rooted in the history of the area. Ethiopia's traumatic experience with Islam, the campaigns of Ahmed Gran which almost destroyed the empire, the Turkish and Egyptian occupations of Massawa, the Egyptian rule in Harar have made it deeply suspicious of Arab intervention on the coast. The Arab backing for Somalia and the Eritrean liberation movements, the constant harping on Islam and Arabism, and the claim that both Eritrea and Somalia are parts of the Arab homeland revived all the fears of a planned and co-ordinated attempt to dismember Ethiopia. The fact that the Somali offensive in June 1977 was

co-ordinated with the escalation of guerilla activity in Eritrea confirmed the suspicion that advantage was being taken of the temporary weakness of the Ethiopian state to deprive it of large areas and access to the sea. The war is not between communist and non-communist states. It cannot be fitted into any confrontation between the Super-Powers. Somalia in spite of it seeking the support of Iran and Saudi Arabia continues to follow a socialist course: the EPLF in Eritrea is the most Marxist body on the Horn of Africa. It is, therefore, not surprising that the United States has not been exactly enthusiastic about supporting Somalia; the Secretary of State, Mr. Cyrus Vance, did say in the middle of 1977 that if Somalia is looking for a new arms supplier the United States would do its best to see that Somalia's requirements were met. But as Siad Barre in a press conference at Teheran in early January said all that he had got from the West was "words, words."

The war is therefore essentially a struggle between rival nationalisms. It may appear strange that Oromo like Mengistu Haile Mariam should be the defender of a multi-national empire built by Amhara conquerors but one of the consequences of the revolution has been the enormous growth in nationalist feeling in Ethiopia. The mobilization of the peasantry, the attempt to create a peasant army—which though a military flop was a major political success—and the agrarian reform all helped to mobilise the people behind the slogan of Ethiopia Tikdam (Ethiopia first). The internal convulsions which continue to rock Ethiopia—apart from the Ogaden and Eritrea—are confined to the Amhara lands. The conquered provinces have seen the revolution as a double deliverance from Amhara overlordship and social and economic oppression. The one and indivisible republic has become an article of faith of the revolutionary elite; a territorial concession in Ogaden to appease Somalia will not be tolerated by the newborn revolutionary nationalism. Moreover, Mengistu can hardly forget that one of the major causes of military discontent against the Emperor was the prohibition placed on General Amon Andom, the victor of the 1964 war against Somalia from crossing the frontier. It will therefore

take a lot of persuasion to convince the Dregue to confine itself to the task of liberating Ogaden.

It will be equally difficult to convince the revolutionary council in Mogadishu. Ogaden has a special place in Somali national consciousness. The Ogaden Somalis represent the purest form of Somali culture and tradition and the founder of Somali nationalism belonged to the Ogaden tribal group. For Somali nationalists a Somalia without Ogaden will be a body without a heart. The Somalia base their claims on the principles of self-determination and the fact that the present day frontiers in Africa were imposed by the colonial powers and have no moral or legal validity. The Somalis constitute a homogeneous population, they are a nation in search of a state. The partition of East Africa caused the Somalis to become the subjects of Italy in Italian Somaliland, of France in French Somaliland and of Ethiopia in Ogaden. The entire aim and purpose of the republic which was formed by the union of British Somaliland with the Italian trust territory of Somalia was to bring into single state the Somali dispersed in other countries. The five stars in the Somali flag are the symbols of this resolve. A failure in Ogaden will have serious consequences; having lost its purpose the Somali state may become a prey to internal dissensions. The government of General Siad will not be able to ride the storm caused by this disaster; after all one of the major causes of the 1969 coup, was that the policy of *detente* pursued by Egal was leading Somalia nowhere near achieving its purpose.

The OAU has not been sympathetic to the Somali cause. The principle of self determination if applied to the independent Africa states will create problems which no African state is even prepared to envisage. The challenge to the frontiers imposed by colonialism, if successful, will create innumerable frontier disputes which could lead to wars. And if Somalia is successful in Ogaden what is there to prevent it from pursuing its ambitions and trying to annex Jibouti and the Somali inhabited areas of Kenya?

The challenge to the colonial legacy on frontiers really undermines Somalia's position. Before the colonial era the Somali tribes were migratory nomads with no

fixed territory. It was with the tribes and not with a territorial entity or the ruler of a state that the European powers entered into treaty relations. The inland frontiers of the colonial possessions were left undefined, most of the tribes in Ogaden and even on the coast had a tribute paying relationship with the emperor, which the Ethiopian state could insist on only when it had the power to enforce its authority.

But in theory Ethiopia claimed the coast and it was with Ethiopia that the frontiers were ultimately settled. By the treaty of 1897 Britain assured the right of the tribes under its control to migrate in search of pastures and water to Ogaden. But the real basis of the territorial claim is that during the period when Ethiopia was under Italian occupation Ogaden was detached from Ethiopia and administered from Mogadishu.

Under the treaty of 1942 with Ethiopia, which placed the *Hodh* and the "reserved area" under British military administration for the period of the war, Ogaden continued to be administered as

Steve Biko

As a benefit for the International Defense and Aid Fund for Southern Africa, the Royal Shakespeare actors have been performing on Sunday nights *A Miserable and Lonely Death* (Warehouse), a dramatisation by Norman Fenton and John Blair of the inquest into the death of Steve Biko—who, most people will know, died in September 1977 of brain injuries received while detained by South African security police.

Most people will also know of the official inquest that exonerated the police of any responsibility for Biko's death. The testimony that is heard confirms beyond the shadow of a doubt that the travesty of justice that took place. The crimes against Biko were barbaric: the judgement that no crime had been committed is a mockery of civilised values. *Di Seymour's* simple set was backdrop bearing the statement by Vorster: "If we are a police state, then we must be the happiest police state in the world."

—Tribune, London, 24/2/78

part of Somaliland, and in 1944 the emperor was forced to renew the treaty under threat from Britain of occupying the whole of Ethiopia.

The British purpose was clear; it controlled the former Italian Somaliland and Ogaden and, like Italy before it, it planned to create a greater Somaliland under its control. Mr. Bevin indeed did put forward such a proposal; the British administration in Somaliland allowed the civil service, including the police, to join a political party

to support this viewpoint.

However, when the scheme for a British trusteeship was torpedoed at the UN the ex-Italian territory was placed under Italian trusteeship. Britain lost interest in greater Somaliland and in 1954 Hodh and the "reserved area" were returned to Ethiopia. The Somalis protested and the Somali lobby in the British Parliament talked of a cession of territory but in actual fact it was only Ethiopian territory that was restored to Ethiopia. The Italian occupation,

the war years and Britain's post-war imperial ambitions on the Horn Of Africa had created a myth—the myth of a greater Somalia, including all the Somali clans.

Somalia should give up the myth, realise that at present ethnic nationalism in Africa only leads to a *cul de sac*, and readjust its national purpose to the existing realities. This will be an extremely difficult task but the alternative to it is continuing difficulties with all its neighbours.

SRI LANKA CHRONICLE

Feb. 22 — Feb. 28

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, FEBRUARY 22: The President returned home last night after attending the historic meeting in Australia of Commonwealth Head of States in the Asian Pacific region. The government of the Federal Republic of Germany has agreed to grant aid both in the form of loans and outright grants upto a total of Rs. 784 million this year. The Ministry of Trade has proposed a law for consumer protection — to regulate international trade; the legislation is to provide for restriction on hoarding in general and scarce commodities in particular, it also seeks to minimise monopolistic practices. The Minister of Cultural Affairs has asked his officials to explore the possibility of reviving the order of Buddhist nuns in Sri Lanka—CDN. Qualified technical officers in the state sector will be allowed private practice—CDM. The Speaker of the NSA yesterday blamed the so-called expert educationists who, he said had brought chaos to the system of education in Sri Lanka. A private citizen—the Secretary of the Mahajana Peramuna yesterday challenged in the Supreme Court the non-appointment of an acting President of Sri Lanka during the absence of the President. The Department of Food and Co-operatives has decided to further reduce the price of bombay onions. The head of the newly set up Police task force to combat sabotage of rail tracks yesterday alerted all police stations to intensify their vigilance. 30,000 undergraduates are expected to boycott classes tomorrow in protest against what they call developments which nullified autonomy of the campuses and threats to the students rights—SU. The clay necessary for the manufacture of tement will in future be transported by rail from Navatkuli to KKS instead of from Murunkan—EN. Around Rs. 50 million is to be spent on the import of cigarettes—ATH. The Gem Corporation has lost Rs. 16,39,000 by holding 3 foreign exhibitions—DW.

THURSDAY FEBRUARY 23: The Minister of Education said last night that there have been false and misleading statements that Sinhalese students who would have been admitted to the University this year in terms of the previous policy of standardisation of marks would now be kept out on account of the government's policy to abolish standardisation; these statements he said were completely untrue and had been spread by persons who are politically opposed to this government and were motivated solely by a desire to create communal harmony and disharmony in the country and to persuade students to boycott their classes; these statements were being made he added even before the University admissions have been finalised and even published. All schools in the island will be closed to day and tomorrow according to a communique issued by the Ministry of Education. A public meeting of ULFL leaders was abandoned within minutes of its commencement at the Jaffna Espalande last night when crowds began hooting and jeering at the speakers; this was followed by the hurling of stones, slippers and bottles. The non-repayable grant of Rs 140 million Swedish kroners granted to Sri Lanka for the two years 1978 and '79 by Sweden is to be increased by a further 10 million Kroners this year. The power of judicial review, which was taken away from the Supreme Court is to be restored soon; when this is done the present constitutional court will automatically be scrapped. The establishment of a Unified Export Development Authority will not only streamline the exports but will also bring far-reaching results immensely beneficial to the export sector; this was the appeal made by the National Chamber of Commerce to the Minister of Trade.—CDS. Under a project financed by UNDP and executed by ILO, a special mission headed by Prof Seers is in Sri Lanka to assist the government in preparing the economic strategy which takes account of employment needs.—CDM. The President has recommended the continuation of the graduate trainee scheme for this year too. All Police stations in the city have been directed by the Commissioner of Police to pay special attention to crimes committed against tourists and foreign nationals. A special envoy of the Japanese government is expected to arrive here on February 26 for top level talks on matters relating to assistance for Sri Lanka. The Ministry of Plan Implementation has now brought to the notice of MP's and GA's the procedure to be adopted in giving jobs by Job Banks which comes into effect from March 1.—SU. The Reserve Police will recruit 15,000 more youths, about a hundred from each electorate. The Minister of Trade has said that 300,000 mammoties are to be imported and distributed.—DM. Construction work

has started at the new People's Fair site at Narahenpita.—**JD.** The Minister of Textile Industries has stated that his ministry is doing its best to uplift the handloom textile industry as a national venture.—**IDPR No 58.**

FRIDAY FEBRUARY 24: The PM said in the NSA yesterday that the government would not permit any party to use students to achieve something which they could not achieve at the polls. The Minister of Education said in the NSA yesterday that behind the so-called agitational campaign of students scheduled to be launched yesterday was a sinister plot to topple a democratically elected government by violent means. Dr. Nath Amerakone, a former Secretary to the Ministry of Housing and Construction and Mr. V. W. Kularatne were yesterday remanded by the Chief Colombo Magistrate when they were produced before him by the CID. Representatives of the inter-Campus Student Unions have deplored attempts by certain disgruntled elements who were trying to rouse communal hatred. A resolution by the Minister of Public Administration and Home Affairs that the former President, Mr. Gopallawa be granted a pension of Rs. 2,500 a month was passed in the NSA yesterday.—**CDM.** The government's timely action yesterday prevented inciters and other unscrupulous persons from making use of innocent school children to achieve their own narrow ends said the Secretary to the Ministry of Education. The PM said in the NSA yesterday that the government was always prepared to look into any cases of injustices or disability that has been caused to any student on account of the abolition of standardisation.—**CDM.** The Chairmen of two Parliamentary Committees submitted their interim reports when the government parliamentary group met yesterday.—**SU.** TULF MP's participated in the lunch afforded by the President at Queen's House.—**EN.** The Ceramics Corporation's 'Lak Nil' factory at Negombo has now been closed down.—**DM.** The CWE has lost Rs. 2.9 million on coriander sales alone. The Mahaweli development project which the government hopes to finish in five years will take two years to survey; this will cost an extra 10 million Rs.—**ATH.** The President told yesterday's Parliamentary Committee meeting that five persons were in custody on suspicion of inciting students to lawlessness.

SATURDAY FEBRUARY 25; The PM revealed to a stunned NSA yesterday the sinister plan of certain politically defeated elements to overthrow the government by the unleashing of violence using innocent school children as pawns. The by-election to the Colombo west seat in the NSA will be held on March 21; eight candidates including five independents handed in their nomination papers yesterday. The government is taking all possible steps to avert a calamity of a drop in the production of coconuts and keep prices of nuts down the Minister of Plantation Industries told the NSA yesterday. Over three hundred Mahayana bikkhus arrived in the island to participate in the consecration of the Japan Lanka Peace Pagoda today by Sri Lanka's President. A two month buffer stock of rice will be made available for release to peg prices of rice in the open which market showed an upward trend. General Mohamed Zia Ul Haq, Chief Martial Law Administrator and Head of the government of Pakistan has extended an invitation to the President to visit Pakistan 'as early as possible'. The Directors of the Greater Colombo Economic Commission at their meeting yesterday decided to bring the area of the Katunayake Airport within the

purview of the Commission.—**CDM.** The Central Employment Exchange at Lotus Road, Fort will be closed from March 4. The leader of the TULF and Mr. M. Sivasithamparam, MP met the President yesterday and held discussions regarding many problems of the Tamil speaking people.—**EN.** The National Paper Corporation will open a new paper factory at Rajangana with aid from the Canadian government; it will employ about 5,000 persons.—**LD.** The Food Department has decided to start investigations regarding an official who is alleged to have played out the department in imports as well as exports of foodstuffs worth many millions.—**DW.** The People's Bank will open small banks near fisheries settlements; they will grant loans of 5,000 Rs for construction of houses and Rs. 7,500 for fishing equipment. The National Milk Board has decided to issue 2 million pounds of Lakspray in March.—**DM.**

SUNDAY, FEBRUARY 26; The Secretary to the Ministry of Education yesterday categorically debunked rumors spread by mischief makers that fewer Sinhala students were being admitted to the University this year. An Educational Reforms Committee has been appointed by the Minister of Education to examine the prevailing education system and to make recommendations to improve the standard of education in the country. Approximately 500,000 radio receiving sets used in Sri Lanka are unlicensed and the State loses around Rs. 8 million annually in revenue. All cinemas in the island are to be cleaned up, so that proper facilities are available to patrons; this includes specifically the rural cinemas as well; a decision to this effect has been taken by the Board of the State Film Corporation following instructions issued by the President.—**SO.** The PM and Minister of Housing's housing target of 10,000 houses within the government's six-year tenure has been doubled; the rural sector will be the chief beneficiary of the revised programme with as many as 75% of the 300,000 houses being located in villages. The city slums and tenements are to be provided with water, health facilities and sanitation as part of a 'basic services project' launched by the Common Amenities Board in collaboration with the UNICEF. All schools will re-open tomorrow and principals have been instructed by the Secretary to the Ministry of Education that discipline must be maintained at all costs and children protected. The University of Sri Lanka will take in about 1,000 more students this year. The UNP Women's Leagues will launch a big campaign to educate women on the government's economic proposals. Decentralisation of the Central Mail Exchange in Colombo has been advocated to achieve a better service by ensuring adequate supervision and security.—**ST.** The Police have been ordered to provide protection for the houses of government MP's following intelligence reports of threats to cause disturbances.—**WK.** There is a likelihood of ration book holders receiving paddy in one go instead of rice four times.—**CM.**

MONDAY, FEBRUARY 27; The Public Service Commission and the Judicial Service Commission which were abolished by the previous regime will be re-established soon; they will henceforth be responsible for appointments, transfers, dismissals and disciplinary control of State employees at the executive level and judicial appointees respectively. The government will soon launch the Lungamvehera Project. Ruhuna's largest Irrigation Scheme the Minister of Irrigation, Power and Highways announced yesterday. All schools which were closed for two days last Thursday and Friday will

re-open today. Symbolising the dissemination of the ideals of peace, hundreds of thousands of paper lotus petals were strewn from the pinnacle of the Peace Pagoda at Sri Pada when the President on Saturday morning crowned the pagoda by unveiling the pinnacle. Two leading business organisations in Japan have set up a joint venture here to promote trade between the two countries and also to participate in development. The government is considering the setting up of several small scale semi-mechanised tile factories utilising a particular type of clay found in the vicinity of rivers—CDM. The Chunnakam and KKS Police are making enquiries regarding a group of youths who are alleged to have abused and threatened to harm the Leader of the Opposition and blast his office at Tellepallai according to a report reaching Police HQ's in Colombo. Investment by local entrepreneurs either independently or with foreign collaboration in the establishment of more cigarette factories would be welcome as a means of solving the persistent cigarette shortages in the country said the deputy Minister of Industries and Scientific Affairs. The GCSU yesterday condemned the conspiracy of communalist to exploit undergraduates and students.—CDM. The Sri Lanka Insurance Corporation is to set up well-equipped medical centres in the principal cities in the island to provide medical facilities for the people. Work has started on the Maduru Oya Reservoir Scheme in the Pollonnaruwa district; 125,000 acres will be developed under this scheme. The Paddy Marketing Board is implementing a programme for purchasing paddy in the Amparai district with more than 600 officers deployed for this work.—S.W. The UNP is to expel Mr. Navin Gooneratne who last week defied the party and entered the fray at Colombo West as an independent candidate for the forthcoming by-election.—S.U. HE Mr. Le Bao has been appointed by the Government of Vietnam to Sri Lanka presented his letter of credence to the President today.—IDRP 325 post offices and 2475 sub post offices will be open all over the country in the next five years.—DM. The CWE has decided to import torch, transistor and radio batteries immediately because of the current shortage 35,000 pounds of prawns worth Rs. 1.4 million was exported to Japan; this is the largest consignment exported by the Fisheries Corporation after the new government came to power.—D.W. Mrs. Sirimavo Bandaranaike has filed a case against Mr. E. L. Senanayake for accusing her falsely of diddling her income tax returns and she has said that he did it to undermine her popularity.—DK.

TUESDAY FEBRUARY 28; Air Ceylon has been severely criticised by the Maldives for its bungling of all traffic, both passenger and cargo, between Colombo and Male. There has been a steady rise of foreign investment in industries in Sri Lanka recently; according to Industries Ministry sources approval to set up over 200 new industries with foreign collaboration was given this month. No student who qualifies for admission to the University will be kept away as a result of standardisa-

tion being done away with said the Minister of Education. The government has made arrangements to import 500,000 imported sarees in time for the Sinhala and Hindu New Year; priced under Rs. 100 each they will be distributed through the public sector distribution networks. Reputed international firms in the field of tyre production have offered their technical know how and management skills to the Sri Lanka Tyre Corporation. The International Atomic Energy Agency has approved for 1978, several new requests made by the Sri Lanka Atomic Energy Authority under the Agency's regular program for technical assistance. The TULF Working Committee has decided to have a single president and a single Secretary General; earlier there were three, of whom two died.—CDS. On a directive from the President, special arrangements were being made this year to admit students from backward rural areas to the University of Sri Lanka after they were given a special intensive course in their subjects. More CWE, Marketing Department and Janawasa retail points are to be opened by the government to check the rising cost of living said the Minister of Trade. A scheme to make South and South East Asian countries self-sufficient in rice by the early 1990's was proposed at a meeting of economic experts yesterday.—CDM. Blue prints for a training Institute for mass media have been drawn up by the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting. The Minister of Labour has decided to give jobs to about 8000 ex-Land Army personnel who have sought employment. Mr. Uichi Noda, MP and Chairman of the Overseas Economic Co-operation Committee of Japan now on a visit to the island yesterday held talks with the President. The UNESCO organised fourth regional conference of Ministers of Education and those responsible for economic planning in Asian countries will be hosted by Sri Lanka this year. A round the clock police guard has been placed at the residence of the leader of the Opposition.—S.U. All Secretaries of the UNP branches in the Jaffna district are to be relieved of their posts with immediate effect.—EN. The government of France has decided to appoint Mr. Jaques. Bourgoin as Ambassador of France to Sri Lanka in succession to His Excellency Mr. Pierre Anthonicz.—D.P.R. The government has decided to reorganise all rest houses and appoint directors to each of them.—DM. After the take over of rice ration books the sale of rice at Co-ops has gone down by 2,000 tons while flour sales have gone up by 20,000 tons. The State Printing Corporation has registered a loss of 14 lakhs.—DW.

REFORM OF THE
PUBLIC SERVICE—I

Political Neutrality

—a basic need—

by A Special Correspondent

This is the first of five articles on the Reform of the Public Service. The author has been a member of the Public Service for many years and is not yet able to write under his own name. But what he has to say has a great deal of meaning and significance.

INTRODUCTION. To build a good administration is a long and painful process. "Government and administration are not new inventions. They are as old as the history of human beings working together in large groups. For thousands of years, since long before the dawn of recorded history, the arts of government and administration have been essential features of human society. Ever since man emerged from the most primitive forms of association he has had to devise administrative systems."¹

A Government is expected to spread the benefits of economic and social progress to the many and not limit the enjoyments of the fruits of man's labour and ingenuity to a privileged few. To succeed in this, the political and administrative machinery must operate simultaneously and in complete harmony. A Government's good intentions can be negated by the inertia of a hostile public service that lacks understanding of the government's philosophy and policies, and covertly committed to a different philosophy. Public service is an instrument of government and career officials must accept their role of servants, not masters of the citizens, devoted to the pursuit not of their interests but of the general well being. It has been said that "the public service should in a very real sense belong to the society it serves, sharing its culture, its values its problems and its ambitions."

A United Nations Handbook has described *Political Neutrality* as follows:

"Political neutrality means more than the mere absence of political activity or bias on the part of individual career officials; it means that the career official will always respond to the will of the Government". (IA)

This paper is written to help to achieve this objective. In a multi-party, p. u. a. l. multi-racial, multi-religious and multi-religious society politically neutral administrative service is a basic need. These thoughts set down in the paper are submitted for discussions on a wider forum and wishing it would come to the notice of Government when it considers the next amendment to the Constitution.

CONSTITUTIONAL CHANGES AFFECTING THE PUBLIC SERVICE. Sri Lanka had "flourished as an absolute monarchy... until the last King of Kandy was dethroned in the second decade of the 19th century AD. Representatives of the King ruled on his behalf and he had Ministers who looked after different branches of government and officials who administered justice and collected revenue."

Our discussion will start from the appointment of the Colebrooke Commission in 1823 bearing in mind that this country had a well established system of administration from as far back as the first century BC. During the reign of Parakrama Bahu there were "Three Ministers assisting the King, twelve governors ruled over the provinces and eighty-four other officials over the smaller districts"². Sir James Emerson Tennent in his book Ceylon states "Civil dissensions, religious schisms, royal intrigues, and assassination... with foreign invasions diminished the influence of the monarchy and exhausted the strength of the kingdom" If these conditions had not created an attractive climate for invasion by an alien power, the public service of the country would most probably have developed in an altogether different style. All that needs to be borne in mind for the purpose of this paper is that this country was not without a public service of it's own to suit it's needs.

This public service had existed from as far back as the first century BC and, as the Donoughmore Commissioners themselves pointed out in their report, "The

first century BC, and the second, fifth, ninth and twelfth centuries AD were flourishing times, though in the ninth a Malabar invasion had necessitated the removal of the capital to Polonnaruwa. The reign of Parakrama Bahu I (1153-1186) in the twelfth is still looked upon as a glorious period. The country was united and its' Government reorganised."³

"The British possession of Ceylon having been confirmed by the Peace of Amiens, the settlements in the Island became a Crown Colony with a Council consisting of the Chief Justice, the Commander-in-Chief and the Chief Secretary and with a new Civil Service. The Governor could get the advice of the Council but was in no way obliged to accept the advice. He was answerable to the Secretary of State and through him to the British Parliament. In 1823 a Royal Commission—the Colebrooke Commission—was appointed to investigate the administration of the Island. He found the powers of the Governor unlimited. He recommended a Legislative Council which the Governor had to consult. By order in Council of 28.09.1833 an Executive Council consisting of officials and a Legislative Council consisting of 9 officials and 6 unofficial members were constituted on 1.10.1833"⁴

Thus the seeds of representative government were sown. The people of the country began to have a share in their government. Jefferson's famous proposition that "governments are instituted among men deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed" was beginning to flower.

In 1869 the number of unofficial members was increased to 8 and the official majority was thus reduced to a mere 1. By this time a new "educated" class of Ceylonese was emerging and the demand for more participation in the government of the country was manifesting itself in several recognisable ways. By Royal Instructions dated 24.11.1910 a Council of eleven official and ten unofficial members was set up. Of the latter, four were to be elected and the electoral roll was on the basis of a literacy test. The principle of election was thus established and this new Legislative Council met for the first time on 16.01.1912.

Pressure for further reform continued. An Order in Council was promulgated on 13.08.1920 which "greatly broadened the basis of the Legislative Council" Membership was increased to thirty seven, fourteen being officials and twenty-three being unofficials. The progressive trend towards representative government was clear. At the same time, by Royal Instructions to the Governor, three unofficial members were also added to the Executive Council.

The Ceylon National Congress continued to press "for a real and substantial majority in the Legislative Council and a much wider franchise." By the Ceylon (Legislative Council) Order in Council 1923 "a new legislative body was constituted, consisting of twelve official and thirty seven unofficial members." According to the Soulbury Commission Report "normally the Governor was to make laws for the peace, order and good government of the Island" with the advice and consent of the Council. He however had extra legal powers to be exercised "only in exceptional cases", but when he did so, he had to report his reasons to the Secretary of State. This Council was inaugurated on 15.10.1924 and within three years the Secretary of State announced the appointment of the Donoughmore Commission.

DONOUGHMORE COMMISSION—STRUCTURE OF PUBLIC SERVICE AT THE TIME. This Commission arrived in this country on 23.11.1927. It proposed the abolition of the Legislative Council and recommended that, apart from the three official Members (Chief Secretary, Attorney General and the Treasurer) there should be no official members of the Council. "The Council will in future be known as the State Council. The State Council will concern itself with administration as well as with legislation. Possessing these dual functions it will require dual organisation. To deal with administrative matters it will sit in Executive Session; to deal with legislation it will sit in Legislative Session."⁵ The former Executive Council was abolished and the Ministers constituted as a Board had had "ultimate responsibility for the Annual Budgets and Estimates, Supplementary Estimates, and consequential financial measures..... the Chief Secretary should be the

Chairman of the Board but since he and the other Officers of State (Legal Secretary and Financial Secretary) would be respectively the political, financial and legal advisers to the government rather than executive officers they would not vote either at the Board of Ministers or in the Council".

When this Commission arrived in this country, it found that "under the existing Constitution, the Head of a Department is empowered to make appointments, on his own authority to non-pensionable offices which carry a salary not exceeding £ 80 or Rs. 1,200 per annum. All appointments and promotions not falling within this category are made by the Governor personally, subject to the approval of the Secretary of State in respect of certain classes of appointments carrying salaries exceeding £ 300 or Rs. 6,750 per annum."

This could not be regarded as anything short of benevolent despotism. The Commissioners felt compelled to propose a change, by the appointment of a Public Service Commissions (PSC). It will be noted that this is the first time reference is made to a PSC. It was proposed, further, that this would be an advisory body to the Governor and would be responsible for advising him:—

- (a) with regard to the appointment of individuals to posts in the Ceylon Services carrying salaries greater than those to which Heads of Departments may be empowered to appoint on their own authority;
- (b) with regard to the promotions of individual officers to all posts above this salary point;
- (c) with regard to the grant of facilities to individual candidates with a view to their subsequent employment or promotion in any branch of the Ceylon Services;
- (d) with regard to regulations governing conditions of entry, promotions (including languages and other examinations) reward, punishment and dismissal, whether applicable only to particular branches of the Ceylon Services or to the Services as a whole.

This PSC was to consist of the Chief Secretary and two other senior Government officers who would be appointed by the Governor. The PSC ultimately consisted

of the Chief Secretary, Financial Secretary and Legal Secretary, who were called Officers of State.

The Public Service now began to enter the political environment and senior officials begin to work closely with the elected representatives. Under the Donoughmore Constitution, there were seven Committees charged with responsibility for certain specified subjects. The Chairman of each Committee, a member of the State Council, was given a permanent Official Secretary who as a member of the Ceylon Civil Service. It was stated that "the Official Secretary would not occupy in relation to Head of Departments a position of official superiority, but he

The Land Acquisition Act (Chapter 460) As Amended By The Land Acquisition (Amedment) Act No. 28 of 1964.

Notice Under Section 33

Reference No. LL/A/7003

I, N. K. Premasiri, Acquiring Officer, Ratnapura District in terms of the section 33 of the Land Acquisition Act (Chapter 460) as amended by the Land Acquisition (Amendment) Act No. 28 of 1964, hereby give notice that the undermentioned amount being compensation of land described in the schedule hereto have been paid into the District Court of Ratnapura, to the credit of the case noted against it to be drawn by the persons entitled to the amount.

N. K. Premasiri
Acquiring Officer,
Ratnapura District.

Kachcheri, Ratnapura.
February 16, 1978.

SCHEDULE

Description of Land

Eight allotments of land called 'Gabbela Watta', situated in the village of Gabbela, Walandura Wasama, Udapattu South Kuriwiti Korale, Ratnapura District, surveyed and depicted as Lot Nos. 35, 36, 38, 99, 100, 101, 102 and 103 in Supplement No. I to F.V.P. 232.

Amount: Rs. 11,259.68

Case No. 225/Ref.

would be the intermediary between the Chairman (of the Committee) and the Heads of Departments in all matters as the latter did not consider there was a case for direct personal touch".⁶

THE REFORMS DESPATCH.

The demand for further constitutional reforms continued. Governor Sir Andrew Caldecott's despatch to the Secretary of State was an important watershed in the constitutional evolution of this country. This despatch was sent on 13.06.1938. The Soulbury Commissioners themselves referred to this despatch as marking "an important stage in the discussion of the reform of the Constitution". In the meantime World War II intervened and His Majesty's Government in England, by its declaration of May 1943 undertook post war examination of constitutional reform. This is now history.

The Constitutional Scheme formulated by the Ceylon Government Ministers in accordance with His Majesty's Government's declaration of 26.05.1943 was withdrawn by the Ministers. For the purpose of this paper, it is important to see what our own Ministers had proposed as a control instrument for the Public Services of this country.

This was published as Sessional Paper XIV of 1944. The relevant sections are produced below:

- 62(1) There shall be a PSC consisting of three Commissioners (of whom one shall be designated Chairman) appointed by the Governor General acting in his discretion.
- 64(1) Every new appointment to a public office not otherwise provided for in this order and carrying an initial salary of not less than Rs. 3,600 per annum shall be made by the Governor-General on the recommendation of the PSC.
- (2) The PSC may direct that any new appointment to a public office to which clause (1) of this Article does not apply or any class of such appointments shall be made by the Governor General on the recommendation of the PSC and the appointment or class of appointment shall thereafter be so made until the PSC otherwise directs.
- (3) Any new appointment to a public office to which clause (1)

or (2) Clause of this Article does not apply shall be made by the Head of Department in which the public office is held had shall be reported to the PSC and may be revoked by the Governor General on the recommendation of the Commission.

What is significant in the proposals of our own Ministers is that they themselves were anxious to provide an institutional device that would firmly guard the Public Service of the country against external pressures.

PSC PROPOSED BY THE CEYLON MINISTERS.

It is clear from the Explanatory Memorandum dated 11.09.44 in relation to the Constitutional Scheme (subsequently withdrawn) formulated by the Ministers, that they showed a special concern for the clear demarcation of political compulsions and administration. It was pointed out that "in the Ministerial system the Minister has only one department which is politically in his control and administratively in the control of his Permanent Secretary. Administrative as well as political co-ordination are thus achieved and a clear distinction is drawn between politics and administration."

The Ministers themselves thus made it very clear that political neutrality was the corner stone to their political thinking even at that time. The Ministers were also clearly conscious of the need for impartiality in appointments to the public service for in paragraph 27 they say "In view of the importance of securing impartiality in appointments to the public service, the Ministers decided to establish an independent PSC of three persons, as provided by Article 62"

Thus it is clear that our own Ministers favoured the need for an independent PSC free of political control and to be responsible for the Public Service. An independent PSC was expected to provide the climate needed to nourish a truly politically neutral public service, while ensuring its efficiency. It was not necessary for the public service to emphasise the need for a politically neutral stance. The political masters themselves had seen the need for it.

SOULBURY COMMISSION AND PUBLIC SERVICE REFORM.

Despite the withdrawal of the Minister's scheme for constitutional reform, the Soulbury Commissioners arrived in this country 22.12.44, while the war was yet on. The Commission has noted that the "constitutional scheme formulated by the Ministers in accordance with HM's Government's Declaration of 26.05.1943" had already been placed before the public. The Commission in the Prologue to the report says "that although the Ministers and Members of the State Council did not appear before the Commission, their views, however, became well known to us through the Press and other channels, and not least through the Debate held in the State Council during our stay, on the Ceylon (Constitution) Bill, a measure designed to confer immediate Dominion Status which passed its third reading on 22.03.1945."

HM Government having considered the report of the Soulbury Commission "reached the conclusion that a Constitution based on the line proposed by the Soulbury Commission will provide a workable basis for constitutional progress in Ceylon." Thus, under the Ceylon (Constitution) Order in Council 1946 a new Constitution was given to the people of this country on 15.05.1946. For the purpose of this paper only those sections of the Constitution as they affect the Public Service are of relevance.

According to paragraph 50 of the summary of the recommendations of the Soulbury Commission, the Governor will retain the powers of appointment, promotion, transfer and disciplinary control of all Public Services and will be exercised on the advice of the PSC. But the Order in Council of 1946 reversed this recommendation and conferred full executive powers on the PSC created under section 58 of this Constitution.

Section 60 thereof is reproduced below:

- 60(1) The appointment, transfer, dismissal and the disciplinary control of public officers is hereby vested in the PSC; Provided that appointments and transfers to the office of Attorney General shall be made by the Governor-General.
- (2) In sub-section (1) of this section the expression "transfer"

means a transfer involving an increase of salary.

The Constitution went a step further in ensuring complete independence and autonomy for the Commission by providing section 62 which is also reproduced below:

The provisions of section 56 of this Order shall apply in relation to the PSC as though the reference therein to the JSC were a reference to the PSC and the reference to judicial officers were a reference to public officers.

It is necessary therefore to quote section 56 as well:

Every person who, otherwise than in the course of his duty, directly or indirectly, by himself or by any other person, in any manner whatsoever influences or attempts to influence any decision of the JSC or any member thereof shall be guilty of an offence and shall, on conviction after summary trial before a Magistrate, be liable to a fine not exceeding one thousand rupees or to imprisonment for a term not exceeding one year or to both such fine and such imprisonment: provided that nothing in this section shall prohibit any person from giving a certificate or testimonial to any applicant or candidate for any judicial office.

The public service was thus effectively shielded from extra-legal and political pressures.

Further constitutional progress was achieved by the promulgation on 19.12.1947 of the Ceylon (Independence) Order in Council 1947. Ceylon thus achieved fully responsible status within the British Commonwealth of Nations. The powers and functions of the PSC remained unaltered and continued to remain an independent body with full executive powers in regard to public officers. The term 'public officer' is defined in section 3 of the Ceylon (Constitution & Independence) Orders in Council 1946 and 1947 thus:

"any person who holds a paid office, other than a judicial office as a servant of the Crown in respect of the Government of the Island, but does not include..."

The persons not so included are given in the same section.

REFERENCES:- 1—A Handbook of Public Administration—UN publication ST/TAO/M/16 (para 1); 1A—ibid (para 79); 2, 3 and 4 Donough more Report; 5—Donoughmore Report; 6—ibid (para a).

(To be Continued)

NEGOMBO

Open Letter To Hon. Denzil Fernando, MP For Negombo

IN reference to the statement which you made on the occasion of the Municipal Council Probe which was published later in the Sun of 18th Jan. 1978, I would like you to listen to the sad plea of the people of Negombo.

Governments have come, governments have gone and you, our honourable Minister of Parliament, have been elected three times to the NSA since you came on the UNP ticket, yet Negombo remains a stagnating, undeveloped and a stinking city even today. If a person who had seen Negombo 50 years ago were to revisit it today, he will hardly see any difference or improvement in it. Most of the cities in Sri Lanka have got New Post Offices, beautiful spacious modern markets etc. but we have a Post Office from the time of the Portuguese, a market which had been named after the much loved late Prime Minister, Mr. Dudley Senanayake, and this same market today is a disgrace to his very name. It has been a waste of public funds because neither the merchants could sell their goods in it nor could people come there for the purchase of their goods.

Our money, namely tax payers' money, which amounted to nearly 5½ lakhs, had been used to build a bus stand while in most places it was the CTB that built bus stands. Today a slight shower floods it so much that people cannot enter it well-dressed. As a result of this wastage of tax payers' money much needed garbage tractors cannot be bought to clean up the stinking city. It was recently that the service organisations like the Lions Club, Tax Payers' Association and Balamandalaya and the Religious leaders who came forward to assist the garbage collectors to clean up the city.

Our hospital is supposed to be a base hospital for the whole district yet it is unhygienically stinking due to the smell from the bucket-latrines. Sickneses are spreading due to the unhealthy atmosphere of the hospital. Doctors have no quarters within the hospital; specialists have to come all the way from Colombo;

even those who are boarded in private homes have no telephones (telephones were fixed before the Non-aligned Conference and later removed) in order to attend on emergency cases. Some of the hospital staff are drunk in the evening. Medicines are often out of stock. Is it not a fact that some of the drugs had been often sold to private dispensaries?

Dear Hon. Minister, you are aware that in 1973 quite a big sum of money was allocated to the Base Hospital Negombo by the decentralized budget—since it was not used, the same amount of money had been passed in 1974 and 1975. Were you aware of the stinking situation of the hospital and the great suffering our people underwent and still undergo in this hospital? When more than 25 Priests, gathered in a dialogue, with you at the NCTC Tammita, queried as to why you do not move in the matter you answered "I do not like to go on my knees before the SLFP ministers to get this money". If the money was passed by the central budget, your little sacrifice in this regard would have helped Negombo to have a beautiful modern hospital. Dear Hon. Minister, if you have seen the sad state of affairs at the hospital and if you really sacrificed your "time and legal practice for the sake of the people" surely you would not have minded going on your knees (if indeed that were necessary) for the sake of the People of Negombo.

When the Priests of Negombo went on delegation to the Special Commissioner regarding the bus stand the Special Commissioner said that "99% of the staff and workers are taking bribes in the Negombo Municipality". You who have been Mayor of Negombo on three occasions and still are "De jure and De facto Mayor" why didn't you try to bring about a "just society" within the Municipality.

Dear Hon. Minister, do you know the corruption that is galore among the Police in Negombo? Many injustices have taken place both in private and public places and some of these are perpetrated by high ranking servicemen who are supposed to protect law and order, but no action has been taken against them. They go on still in their posts and in their malpractices.

When the water-cut was imposed by the Municipality for over a week, people suffered much and in the hospital so many died since operations could not be done—some

lonely individuals and service organisations arranged bowlers of water to Munnakkara area. Similarly as reported in the "Sun" of 19.01.78 constant failure of electricity has brought great hardships for the people and so many deaths in the hospital. Can the masses point out to any sacrificing leader who comes forward to listen to their helpless cries?

When hoteliers bought all our good fish, prawns and crabs and the poor Negombians could not buy a prawn unless at enormous dollar prices no leader saw the plight of our people. When prostitution became a problem in Negombo because of Tourism and girls were deserted it was a Priest with the Magistrate Linsken de Alwis who negotiated with the religious nuns to run a home at Munnakkara for these girls.

Dear Hon. Minister, you speak so much of your "sacrificial service". You still don't look like a victim or martyr. We would love to SEE your sacrificial deeds.

Rev. Fr. Fracoid Antony O.M.I.
131, Tammitta,
Negombo,
27.02.78.

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BATTICALOA

NEW CAMPUS

—Text of a Memorandum Submitted to the Batticaloa University Committee—

The redemption of pre-Election pledges has always proved a problem: grandiose expectations have regularly been held out to a long-suffering electorate yearning for change and a better deal, and the electoral body everlastingly gullible succumbs to the bait and votes either Labour or Conservative, Liberal or Communist. So has it been in Sri Lanka with the contending parties out-Heroding each other in conjuring visions of a roseate future overflowing with milk and honey in the trail of election victory.

2. Among the many succulent baits thus thrown out by the Party now in power is the early establishment of a University in every Administrative District in the Island. It had not been so explicitly

aired in the Manifesto but subsequent pronouncements have made it imperative that a start should be made especially where further wooing was politically opportune. In the South the battle of sites is being fought and already agreement seems to be in sight to enable the Competent Authorities to get cracking with the blue-prints for both construction and instruction.

3. The Campus, to follow American Usage, is an affiliate College governed by the Central Body preparing also candidates for examinations and grant Diploma by the Controlling University Authority. The Campus would therefore be not an independent Corporation but subject to general control and direction by the Head of the affiliating parent Institution. It would on its own right sue jure enjoy no administrative or academic autonomy but share in such privileges as would statutorily be conferred on the parent body. So I believe is this Sri Lanka blend of the American and British Systems operating in their highest seats of learning. It would be a happy situation indeed if the Campuses are allowed to develop under the aegis of the parent body untrammelled by political interference until excelling in their specialities they acquire a sober and staid maturity rich with tradition, when they could in the fulness of time be deemed firmly established for grant of Charter by Parliament entitling them to independent status and recognition.

4. The advertisement issued by Senate House speaks of a Campus of the University of Sri Lanka to be established in the Batticaloa District. It is not clear, as indicated by developments in the South, as to whether it is not intended to have constituent branches of the Batticaloa Campus in the contiguous Districts notably those of Amparai which is inclusive of Kalmunai as well, and perhaps also Trincomalee. In such an event it would be advisable to insist that the language of instruction be exclusively English. Our experience of segregated bilingualism or even trilingualism has been so bitter that indigenous tongues should not be permitted to prevail except in their respective faculties. Needless I believe is it to reaffirm our conviction that modern studies, to wit, Nuclear Physics, Electrical Technology and the like are best administered in English to which as against Russian or German or French we are deeply

committed by the ties of History.

5. The Campus would doubtless be oriented towards the economic development of the District and its confines. It should therefore consider in depth the special aspects of life in the District and establish such Faculties as would contribute towards the speedier improvement of living conditions in the District. Archaeology and Palaeontology as also Ancient History and the like however gratifying academically need not engross our attentions here. They should be relegated to more developed regions where there is more leisure for the pursuit of such studies.

6. Life in this District comes into recorded history with settlements on the shores of the Lagoon and around those inland depressions, natural formations, which subsequently came to receive the name Tanks be they village tanks or artificially constructed reservoirs usually much larger in extent where water was stored and utilized for basic human needs and also channelled out for issue to the cultivation of crops mainly paddy.

8. The Campus should therefore concentrate on marine studies, on

NOTICE

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

Ref No. 24/1/188

It is intended to acquire the land described in the schedule below for a public purpose. For further particulars please see the Gazette of the Republic of Sri Lanka No. 307 (Part III) of 03/03/1978.

S. J. Pathirana

Land Acquiring Officer,
Galle District.

Kachcheri,
Galle.

16th February, 1978

SCHEDULE

Name of Land:—
Castle Hill Estate

Situation:—
Narawala Village, D.R.O's
Division of Four Gravets
(Bope-Poddala) in Galle District.

Plan and Lot No:—
Lot No. 1 and 2 in P. Plan
No. GAA 1178.

Agriculture with special emphasis on paddy and coconut and on livestock farming. These are still our staple industries. The bulk of our population draws sustenance from the sea and inland waters, from coconut and paddy cultivation and from cattle, goats and poultry. It has perhaps been overlooked by our Planning Secretariat that while land is limited in extent and inelastic, the resources of the sea in territorial waters and beyond are limitless, still largely untapped, and must in future be harnessed to serve the multifarious needs of our growing Island community.

9. As to the siting of Campus buildings to house the entire University Staff, students and all, there should be no interim or permanent take-over of existing structures resulting in any large-scale displacement of scholars from already existing seats of learning. The consequential dislocation would lead to alienation of sentiment and much resentment besides. It would engender strife felt at first in the hearts of the displaced to be manifested, with so many mischievous elements at work all around fomenting discord, in angry demonstrations and acts of sabotage.

10. The site itself should be selected with discernment as to expansion needs and as far as possible close to and within easy reach of the provincial or District Capital. Planting it in a village or township would lead to skirmishes with the local peasantry who are still strangers to the permissiveness raging unchecked among University undergraduates.

11. Peradeniya itself did not grow out of displacement or dispossession and if the stupendous project of Mahaveli Diversion scheduled for completion in 30 years is to receive such accelerated attention as to be accomplished within five years, the task of rearing structures to accommodate a maximum of 500 students need not stagger the imagination if completed within two years. The Batticaloa District as currently demarcated has a population not exceeding 200,000 men women and children.

12. It is readily conceded that we have waited long enough: Jaffna with a more enterprising peasantry and a population of 800,000 received its Campus not very long ago. And the deep South with a higher population and a higher per capita income has still to receive its Campus.

13. There are many more things I should desire to deal with

e.g. residence, external studentship, student qualification for entry.... but time would fail me and your dateline for receipt of memoranda would have expired. I should therefore be happy if arrangements could be made to receive oral representations in amplification and clarification of the issues dealt with in written submission and to embody them wherever reasonable and practicable in intelligent synthesis for consideration and implementation by the Higher Authorities.

E. Seemanpillai,

Mylambaveli,
Chenkaladi.

+ +

MANNAR

Conservation Of Rain Water

The Mannar District is one of the arid regions of Sri Lanka with a scant rain fall. It is therefore essential to conserve the rain water that falls during the months of November and December, which is at present woefully wasted and allowed to drain into the Indian Ocean. The Water Resources Board should investigate this urgent matter and leave no stone unturned to prevent the colossal waste of precious rain water.

Any bus traveller or motorist who goes along the Mannar-Sankupiddy road would have seen the flood of rain water rushing through the numerous minor rivers and rivulets that abound in this part of the vast stretches of fertile land at present neglected and uncultivated in the Mannar and Ponakari coastal fringes of Sri Lanka. Hundreds of Bridges and culverts may be seen on this road which are consuming vast sums of the tax payers' money in their annual maintenance. For what purpose are these unwanted bridges and culverts built and maintained at exhorbitant expenditure? The only purpose they seem to serve is to drain the national wealth of precious rain water into the Indian ocean! The lakhs of rupees annually wasted in the construction and maintenance of these superfluous bridges and culverts, could be better utilised in the construction of a number of tanks about two miles from the coastal roads, and the

several thousands of acres of valuable cultivable land brought under the plough.

Many people seem to forget the fact that the Malvatu Oya or Aruvi Aru is the second largest river in Sri Lanka. Due to the numerous agricultural schemes initiated by successive governments in the North Central Province, quite a huge volumes of water coming down this river is gainfully diverted to paddy lands in the upper reaches of the river. This is the reason why the Giant's Tank now does not receive adequate replenishment from Aruvi Aru which is diverted at THAKKAM near PARAYANALANKULAM. The Sri Lanka Maritime Welfare Association had repeatedly brought to the notice of the Irrigation Department that it should formulate a scheme to conserve the water now running waste down the basin of the Aruvi Aru, by constructing dams at the five points where this river is crossed by roads: the Periyakunchchukulam Road, the Pannavadduwan Road, the Silavathural Road, the Nannattan-Periyapulachchipotkerni Road and the Nanattan-Arippu Roads are the points of intersection. The S.L.M.W.A. had proposed that five or ten foot Dams may be constructed at these points so that during the rainy season rain water presently wasted, might be arrested and held in the basin of this river. With the availability of water pumps, the peasant farmers who are now settled along either banks of the Aruvi Aru, would be in a position to use the precious River Basin Reservoir to irrigate their paddy and other high-land crops, like chillies, maize, kurakkan etc.

Under the aegis of the Freedom From Hunger Campaign, the Mannar District Ground Water Development Association, with the able supervision of its District Manager, Mr. E. C. HOPPMAN, a retired A.S.P. has assisted and continues to assist poor peasant farmers in the traditionally water-famished Mannar District, to rehabilitate several backward villages. The Sri Lanka Maritime Welfare Association has expressed its deep appreciation for the humanitarian services rendered to the poor farmers in the Mannar District. This welfare organisation has appealed to the Sri Lanka Freedom From Hunger Campaign to obtain the requisite funds from affluent developed countries to initiate the Aruvi Aru Basin DEVELOPMENT PROJECT, which would be undoubtedly a perennial source of

water and an eternal bloom to the barren and arid District of Mannar, which has the lands and the trained personnel, who are now compelled to face recurring droughts and starvation due to the one thing they need urgently—WATER!

With the dawn of a Dharmista Society, the cultivators in the long neglected MANNAR DISTRICT are confidently hopeful that the centuries of neglect and the thirty years of discriminatory political party rivalry will give way to a more broad-minded and truly national policy of first things first. If this is realised and implemented, the time is not far, when Mother Lanka would not only be self-sufficient in our staple diet—rice, but also become more the granary of the East!

Magi A. Punnia Puvirajasinghe,
Hony. Secretary-General.
Sri Lanka Maritime Welfare Association.

Kuruchandra Inpam,
Mannar,
07.02.78.

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LETTERS

Police Special Branch

Sir,

I refer to Retired D.I.G., J. Van Sanden's letter in the *Tribune* of 18.02.78. Even before the Special Branch was formed our C.I.D. had a "Secret Service" vote. As its name implies it is secret but an account had to be maintained which I used to inspect confidentially on behalf of the I.G.P.

In those days discipline was rigidly maintained from the highest to the lowest grade. For example a provincial superintendent (an European) when asked by the I.G.P. at his inspection why an order made at the previous inspection had not been carried out said, "Sir, it was not your order but Mr. W's." "Mr. W. is doing this inspection on my behalf and any direction given by him must be taken as my order" thundered Sir Herbert Dowbiggin—in my presence—I was a stripling at that time.

There is nothing to prevent the Auditor General on a directive by

the P.M. (or President) from examining and reporting upon the Special Branch's secret accounts whenever considered necessary.

In the U.S.A. during the last 12 months a congressional committee has probed and publicised the activities of the C.I.A. to such an extent that in the *Time Magazine* of 6.02.78 there is the cover story by the new C.I.A. Director, Stansfield Turner, in an attempt to fight the criticism as well as public attacks which are tending to incapacitate the C.I.A.

5, De Alwis Avenue,
Mt. Lavinia,
20.02.78.

R.W.W.

Mahaweli And The North

Sir,

In the February 4th and 11th issues of your esteemed journal, two articles appeared on Mahaweli Diversion by Mr. R. Kahawita, a learned authority on the subject. It dealt with socio-economic and engineering aspects of this colossal Project and numerous problems that will have to be encountered while under the execution of this Project. As the learned writer has commented the impact on the prosperity and economic well-being of the country will be tremendous.

It is not my intention to comment or criticise his articles but a clarification is needed regarding the statement that "whether water can be taken further North depends on the Trans-Basin Storage etc., etc." It is wondered whether to take water from Huruluwewa which is in the upper reaches of the Yan Oya basin to the Ma Oya basin where Padaviya tank is situated, this efficient management and maintenance is not necessary. The distance from Huruluwewa left bank to the commencement of the upper reaches of Ma Oya basin is about 26 miles as the crow flies. This canal will have to be traversed along on a little higher contour of the Main left irrigation channel of Huruluwewa tank. This traverse ought to cut the ridge that separates the Yan Oya and Kanadawara Basins, (a tributary of Malwattu Oya basin) and taken along the contour will be about 30 miles east but

of course surveys are very necessary to lay out the most economical traverse and to determine the extent of land acquisitions for compensation etc. If we look at the geography of this channel trace, it commences from Huruluwewa tank and cuts Seepukulam-Galenbindunuwewa at 9th milespost Anuradhapura-Tricomalee Road near Kahatagadigiliya before it reaches the Ma Oya basin Madawachchiya-Horowapotana road near Ratmalgahawewa before it reaches the Ma Oya basin near Kebitigollawa. From this point an almost straight canal of about 16-20 miles in South-North direction is necessary to reach Kanakarayan Aru basin which feeds the Irapaimadu Tank. If resources can be found to trace and cut a channel from Huruluwewa to feed Padaviya Tank and the trans-basin storage and other factors are efficiently managed and controlled for this purpose, it is very simple and the cost is negligible (when compared to the complicated works involved in this colossal Project) to extend this canal further down within Kanakarayan Basin, a few miles east of Omantai.

Moreover, the arid north is being exploited at its rich clay and valuable lime stone in abundance to be processed as cement, the vital material for the construction of dams and other hydraulic structures which are the back bone of this massive Project. The land where these mineral deposits are mined is a waste-land and cannot be of any use to man. Hence, as water is most essential to quench the agricultural need of the parched North, the Mahaweli water should be diverted to North, also, without exception not as a barter or as a compensation but it is a humane point of view for the betterment of the future generations.

If politics does not interfere and confront with Engineering, this is definitely feasible. Good will may prevail as an act of Providence to complete this gigantic task.

T. Anandarajah

92, Kandy Road,
Jaffna,
17.02.78.



Confidentially

Code Of Conduct—3

IS IT NOT TRUE that the Code of Conduct for Parliamentarians has become a major talking point in political circles? That it has not yet begun to seep down to the ordinary people who congregate in street corners, tea boutiques, village culverts and the like? That the daily press should keep publicising the clauses of the Code until every resident of the island will know what a Minister or an MP can do or cannot do? That in two articles in this column, *Tribune* has drawn attention to the first twelve clauses of the Code with background explanations of the why and wherefore of these respective provisions? That in the last article we had dealt with the first part of Clause 12 which has laid down that MPs should not interfere directly in affairs of Government offices and Corporations? That, in short, it was a directive that every vestige of Chit System should be avoided? That we had expanded on this, but we had not been able to touch on the proviso that in matters that "may come to the notice of Members of Parliament which they conscientiously feel action should be taken in the interests of the Government", the MPs should adopt the "correct procedure" of bringing the matter to the notice of the Minister or the Deputy Minister in charge of the function "to enable the matter to be authoritatively investigated and appropriate remedial action taken?" That clause 13 follows from this? That Ministers and Deputy Ministers are required to give priority to such matters and after investigating the matter inform the MP concerned about the action taken? That clause 14 is one of the most important clauses in the Code? That it laid down that "Minister, Deputy Ministers, and members of Parliament should not in regard to any matter permit a conflict of interests in their personal affairs and their official activities. Neither should they sponsor by using undue influence their friends, relations or close associates interests in any official matters unless it is to rectify a wrong. There is,

however, no objection to certificates of character of competence being given?" That it must be remembered that this would apply not merely in regard to jobs but also contracts? That some of the biggest scandals in the country had originated from the fact that Ministers and MPs had "sponsored" the efforts of certain "individuals, companies or firms" to obtain lucrative contracts under the government? That this is one of the matters about which the greatest vigilance must be exercised? That already there are stories about such Ministerial and MP monkeying with certain contracts in the purchase of fertilisers, wheat flour and other commodities? That there have been whispers about such "undue influence" tantamount to corruption in the matter of certain tenders that run into millions?

That clause 15 contains a stipulation that Ministers, Deputy Ministers and MPs should exercise the greatest care about government property (eg. cars etc.) and they should not permit unauthorised use of these facilities? That this clause had become necessary because the facilities extended to MPs—cars, telephones, transport etc., etc.—had regularly been abused by various hangers-on of parliamentarians? That the next clause (16) relates to "foreign honours, gifts or favours by virtue of their official position" which parliamentarians "and their spouses" receive from foreign sources? That special mention is made of trips abroad, scholarships and other benefits? That all public officers and the families and also very correctly brought within the scope of this clause? That procedures have also been laid down in regard to gifts by visiting heads of state and the like? That the provisions of the next clause have ostensibly been put into practice with a certain amount of fanfare? That they relate to "invitations" to private social functions from (a) businessmen and others whose motives are questionable; and (b) foreign embassies, High Commissions etc? That whilst this clause in the Code does not apply to purely personal matters e.g., wedding invitations from a constituent or an old friend, the parliamentarian should strictly follow the guidelines laid down in the matter of accepting such invitations (and in case of doubt consult the Chief

Government Whip in regard to one category of invitations and the Minister of Foreign Affairs in regard to others? That there is ample evidence that the code in regard to invitations is being followed? That there are also indications that businessmen, diplomats and others are trying to devise ways and means of organising small dinners through persons who are known to be personal friends of Ministers, MPs and big officials? That to the credit of the vast majority of the new parliamentarians, it must be said, that they have so far not succumbed to the efforts of the vested interests to draw them into their net? That in the old days the bait was more often than not a foreign trip for the parliamentarian and/or his wife (and members of the family)? That it was during such foreign trips that the parliamentarian was caught hook, line and sinker by designing merchants?

That it has also become necessary for the government to take the initiative to formulate appropriate Codes for Secretaries of Ministries, Senior Public Servants, Junior Public Servants, Corporation Chairmen and other Executive Staff, Police and Armed Forces personnel of all ranks, and workers of all categories (especially those in essential services like railways, CTB, posts and telegraphs etc)? That in India some retired Judges of the Supreme Court have declared that it would be in the interests of an independent judiciary to formulate a Code of Judicial Ethics and Conduct? That in Sri Lanka, after the battering of the Judicial system has received in recent years, especially after 1972 that a Code of this nature would be most welcome? That the Chief Justice and the other judges of the Supreme Court should take the initiative in this matter? That retired judges of the Supreme Court will be able to contribute a great deal in this matter?

NEXT WEEK

Confidentially

— On Fish And Fisheries

For All Your Requirements of

PAPER

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