

TRIBUNE



When someone substitutes kerosene for oil, it is not merely making the wick burn
common.
with water. Oil it can lead to blindness or heart disease. VVA suffers when chilla powder
is mixed with sand or milk with dirty water.



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NEWSPAPER REVIEW

All Citizens Must Act To Stop Adulteration Of Food

When someone adulterates foodstuffs for sale he is not merely making a big profit but is committing a crime against the health of the community. When coconut or gingelly oil is mixed with mineral oil it can lead to blindness or heart disease. Who suffers when chillie powder is mixed with sand or milk with dirty water?

The administration Report of Colombo Municipal Council for 1976 (released very recently) revealed that samples of many food items tested were adulterated: *Butter*—with emulsions of water and vegetable fats; *Arrowroot*—with maize and tapioca flour; *Chillie powder*—with wheat flour, coriander, poonac or sawdust; *Coffee powder*—with powdered ground nut husk, starch (to as much as 85%); *Turmeric powder*—with wheat flour, maize flower tapioca and a toxic coal tar dye material.

'The maximum fine for adulteration under the Act is Rs. 200/-. The Municipality's Report stated: 'This fine is inadequate when I think the cumulative effect on the health of the community when food adulterated with substances like metanil yellow diluted in turmeric powder and formic acid diluted in vinegar are consumed by us.'

Citizens Can Do Longer Afford To Wait For The Authorities To Act.

Test Food samples (some can be done at home by simple tests and others in private or school laboratories at little cost) and expose the food criminals.

And, Demand Streamlined Legislation And Prompt Enforcement.

SPACE DONATED

Letter From The Editor

LAST WEEK, we had a picture of a scene from a tea estate. This week our picture comes from a rubber estate. Rubber, though it is Sri Lanka's second or the third most important export product (depending on the fluctuations of the world commodity prices), has been a steady economic bulwark of the island's economy. It had triggered the Korean boom in 1951-52, but in the recession that followed, Ceylon saved itself by signing the Rice and Rubber barter agreement with China; and, for over 25 years this agreement has been one of the main bedrocks of Sri Lanka economy. But with the manipulation of the prices of the exports and imports of third world countries by the western industrialised nations, the debt of the Less Developed Countries (LDCs) in the last twenty five to thirty years had mounted to an estimated £ 102 billion or very nearly \$ 250 billion. It is not necessary to go into the mechanics of how prices have been manipulated in such a way that the debt burden of the poorer countries has been doubled, trebled and in some cases quadrupled in less than two decades it will, however, suffice to state that a good case can be made out for the total cancellation of the debts of the LDCs. In recent times the negotiations at GATT and UNCTAD conferences, the North-South dialogue meetings, and all other international economic discussions, have ended in deadlocked stalemates. The big bankers especially from the USA, West Germany, Britain and Japan were opposed to any cancellation or easing of the debt burden of the LDCs. In this situation, a new confrontation had begun to surface and Third World countries were driven to tough hardline postures. At an official UNCTAD meeting held in December 1977 as a preparatory meeting for the March 6 Ministerial Conference, the question of Third World World debt was dropped because officials from developing countries and the industrialised nations had failed to agree even on a basis for negotiations. Western nations thereafter had begun to develop second thoughts and veered round to a more conciliatory approach because they realised that unless developing countries were enabled to tide over their current account deficits there might be a global economic holocaust following the inevitable collapse and bankruptcy of many LDCs. Rethinking on the debt question was really set in motion by the action last year of Sweden, Canada, Holland and Switzerland in writing off loans due from the poorest countries. At the recent Geneva meeting of UNCTAD the only important item on the agenda was the demand by developing countries for debt cancellation and rescheduling. The developing countries, too, after the breakdown of talks in December, had moderated their position considerably by moving from confrontation to negotiation: they wanted "immediate and generalised debt relief only in cases of the less developed, most seriously affected, landlocked and island developing countries." Opponents of debt relief, notably international bankers, had stressed that widespread debt relief could erode financial discipline in developing countries and undermine the credit system. But those in favour countered this argument by saying that it was illogical to extend aid as grants if western nations keep on insisting on repayment of past loans. Finally, even the US, Japan, West Germany and Britain were persuaded to agree to a moderate consensus resolution in which industrialised nations undertook to help poorer developing countries to solve their debt problems by easing terms of loans they had already granted. The decision did not specify how donor countries would soften the conditions of existing official development loans, but observers said that the wording left open the possibility of delaying repayments, lowering interest rates or cancelling debts completely. Speakers from many countries were disappointed with the resolution. But it was only a beginning.

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CONTENTS

EDITOR'S NOTEBOOK	
—The IMF Package	p. 2
INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS	
—Who Killed Sebai?	
Larnaca To Lebanon	p. 5
SRI LANKA CHRONICLE	
—March 6—10	p. 10
A JEWISH DISSIDENT'S	
—Confessions	p. 14
PUBLIC SERVICE—2	
—In Other Countries	p. 17
RACE RELATIONS—1	
—Christians Options	p. 21
LETTERS	
—Sansoni Commission	p. 23
CONFIDENTIALLY	
—More About Fish	p. 24

NEXT WEEK

- QUIDNUNCS
- Tenders, Tractors, Textiles
- CONFIDENTIALLY
- Fish Phones, Telexes
- LETTER FROM THE EDITOR
- The Hopper Visit
- EDITOR'S NOTEBOOK
- Foreign Affairs

EDITOR'S NOTEBOOK

IMF, IBRD And Sri Lanka

Colombo, March 18

The visit of the World Bank's Vice President for South Asia, Dr. W. David Hopper last week (March 13-17) was in fact the culmination of negotiations on the official and diplomatic levels between the UNP government and the IMF and IBRD. Knowledgeable circles are aware that these negotiations had started no sooner the Jayawardene government had come to power in July 1977. The first stage of the IMF-IBRD package was finalised in October 1977—this had involved "monetary stabilisation, liberalisation of import policy, rationalisation of food subsidies and the offer of enhanced incentives to promote domestic food production". The first part of the package had brought needy Sri Lanka an IMF standby credit of \$ US 93—\$ 95 million, that is about 1,600 million rupees—in the various currencies in the basket.

The UNP government has fulfilled according to insiders, its own part of the bargain for the first stage: (a) stabilisation and unification of Sri Lanka's currency by a new floating parity at a devalued rate for the rupee; (b) liberalised import policies; (c) elimination of the subsidised rice for about 50% of the population (d) the handing out of massive loans on the agricultural sector to induce production; (e) an accelerated Mahaweli Development Project Plan; (f) establishment of the FTZ; (g) developing small holdings and agricultural management techniques under the umbrella of an Agricultural Development Authority; (h) restoring and improving national capital with equal emphasis on trade, commerce, agricultural industry and housing; (i) reviving the tea, rubber and coconut industries; (j) harnessing

the energies and expertise of the private sector, subject to the norms social obligation.

This was the package for the first stage. Some of the items have been fulfilled and the foundations have been laid for the rest. This first and second packages cover the most significant aspects of the country's economy and "are based on the government's political commitment to build a just and free society".

The only matter on which the government had slipped up on the first part of the IMF-IBRD package was that it had fixed the price of wheat flour so low that the subsidies tend to be ultra-heavy. It is not clear when this situation will be remedied by fixing a price for wheat flour and bread that will be closer to world price levels, but the government is naturally cautious about raising the price of wheat flour at this stage.

But, judging by the amount of wheat flour pouring in as gifts, grants and on concessionary terms from the USA, Canada, West Germany, Australia etc., it is clear that the rich Western countries do not want the Jayawardene government to embarrass itself by raising the price of wheat flour and bread immediately. Nor does it appear that the IMF is pressing too hard—but in principle, the IMF, quite correctly from every angle, is opposed to food subsidies.

But with the Budget and the preliminary measures the Government has taken, the stage was set for phase 2 of the IMF-IBRD package. This involved the transfer of resources from the IMF and directly from donor countries to develop the economy along the lines indicated. The UNP government has shown its bona fides about getting things done by adopting; (a) the Presidential system of Executive Power; (b) publishing a White Paper on Employment Relations; (c) by taking steps to reform the Constitution

to perpetuate the communal harmony it has been able to establish so far; and by; (d) streamlining its security services to ensure political stability.

Various teams from the IMF and other allied agencies have been in Ceylon during the last six months and the details for IMF-IBRD package for stage 2 has, it would appear, were finalised by them. This envisages (a) an IMF standby credit around US \$ 300 million that is about Rs. 5000 million; (b) loans from the IBRD, ADB and other agencies as aid for Mahaweli and other specific projects; (c) bilateral aid from the World Bank's Consortium aid Club for Sri Lanka which meets in Paris every May; and (d) a recommendation for international money-bags to invest in Sri Lanka's FTZ and also in joint ventures in the rest of the island not only for profit but also to strengthen the local private capital sector.

IMF's BOSS Witteveen's visit, some weeks ago, marked the first lap in Stage Two of the IMF-IBRD package. He is believed to have been satisfied generally with the progress made and had given the green light for detailed negotiations of the IMF's stand-by credit of US \$ 300 million and the IBRD'S and Consortium Aid. Witteveen was followed by one or more teams of IMF experts and the details they had worked out, it would seem, was acceptable to the UNP government.

Details are not known, but going by IMF predictions and methodology in other countries, the IMF is likely to insist a further "cut" in subsidies. Anyone examining the present economy of Sri Lanka will easily spot four big white elephant "subsidised" undertakings: (1) The Milk Board—with its fantastic subsidies on imported milk powder and other dairy products; (2) the CTB with the lowest bus fares in the world and carrying an excess labour force;

(3) the Fertilizer Corporation where subsidies have been so high and so voluminous that viable agriculture has no meaning; and (4) The Petroleum Corporation which subsidises nearly all its products to keep prices down. Already the subsidy on fertiliser to plantations has been cut by 25%. This is only the thin end of the wedge.

From an IMF (and a rational) point of view it is essential to emancipate the economy of the island from the crippling and suicidal impact of the enormous subsidies the country cannot really afford. It is believed that the UNP government has accepted the suggestion that all subsidies such as those now going out to the four state undertakings mentioned above should be drastically cut with a view to eliminating them completely in the nearest future.

How this will be done is anybody's guess. And it will be prudent for the government not to keep the IMF "conditions" for the second part of the package a dark secret for long. Nothing is ever kept secret in this country and it will be better for the government to take the initiative in this matter and set out the facts completely than allow the Opposition to make capital of the so-called "secret" IMF package deal.

It was after all this preliminary work that Dr. Hopper, Vice President of the World Bank (IBRD) for South Asia, came to Sri Lanka and there does not seem to be any doubt that he has generally given his imprimatur for the IMF-IBRD package—no doubt if Sri Lanka fulfills its part of the bargain.

The Ceylon Daily News, in one of its rare editorials that merits serious consideration, on March 14, stated: "When the Lester Pearson Commission surveyed international develop-

ment trends at the initiative of the World Bank some years ago it discovered a certain 'aid weariness' among many donor nations. At that time, a distinguished agricultural economist from Canada suggested that the Commission must 'also have encountered an aid weariness among the recipients'.... For countries receiving foreign aid, he said, 'it is a weariness born of being too long a supplicant suffering the donor's quiet arrogance and his implicit denial of sovereign equality.' That economist is now the World Bank's Vice President for South Asia, and is in Colombo today, to begin a series of consultations on the sweep and specifics of the Government's development package. So there is good reason to hope that under the guidance of W. David Hopper World Bank operations in South Asia will not attract complaints of 'theoretical remoteness' or 'domineering aloofness.' Such epithets have been directed at the World Bank by critics here, just as they have been in other countries. It is not our business to decide how valid or invalid these criticisms might be. Sri Lanka and the World Bank have forged close relations down the years and we have no doubt that those relations will endure. On the other hand, however, we believe that Sri Lanka, in the current phase of its growth can find comfort in the knowledge that Dr. Hopper's approach to development coincides with our own.....'

"During the interview late last year, Dr. Hopper said that in his view developing countries should be the big food producers and not the residual food producers of the world. All that was required to reduce or end the lag in developing country agriculture, he argued, was resources. Some resources must obviously come from within developing countries themselves. Without labouring the point, and without

minimising problems and difficulties it can be easily said that never before has Sri Lanka had the opportunity it now does to reshape its destiny. The combination of a decisive leadership and a people yearning for release from the perils of economic uncertainty is potentially capable of releasing the country's creative energies—long dormant and neglected. It is in this overall context of Sri Lanka's current political and social situation that the Government's development package must be viewed.....

"The various elements of that package do not add up to a miraculous formula which will produce instant development. They do, however, offer our people hope of a time when they need not fear that today could be worse than yesterday. Part of the responsibility for fulfilling that hope lies within ourselves. But as Dr. Hopper indicated in his comments on agriculture we cannot reach our goals alone. Like other developing countries, Sri Lanka needs external resources; not as beggars pleading for charity but as people with the powerful collateral of commitment to their own cause. That commitment is particularly evident in proposals to accelerate the Mahaweli Development Project, in an effort to give the people the fruits of their own labour in the shortest possible time. Plans for accelerating the projects are imaginative and provide the best possible indication of the sense of urgency that today guides Government thinking. These plans have fired the imagination of our people, and been well received by donor countries. No doubt they will evoke a similar response during the talks that begin today. Aid organisations are not social service institutions. They have to be hard nosed and realistic if they are to be effective. Equally, however, an aid organisation that is overly pernicky, and fails to grasp the political realities on

which economic policies are based, would be guilty of the arrogance and denial of sovereign equality which Dr. Hopper once noted. It is Sri Lanka's good fortune, that given Dr. Hopper's stated views, World Bank operations in South Asia cannot possibly suffer from such a neo-colonial taint."

COINCIDING with the Hopper visit, Sri Lanka had teams from CIDA—Canadian International Development Agency, and ADB—Asian Development Bank. They have come to examine and evaluate the "priority programmes to be worked by the new government in this country. . . . they were particularly interested in our projects with regard to housing and slum clearance, water and power supplies and labour intensive industries in the Greater Colombo Commission area. . . . in the entire gamut of our development activities to re-vamp our economy and give a better life to our people. . . ." Reports indicate that substantial aid for bilateral projects were forthcoming from Canada, the Netherlands and other countries.

One of the main questions decided during the Hopper visit, after his discussions with President Jayawardene, related to (a) closer liaison between the World Bank and the relevant officials here; (b) the political realities on which Sri Lanka's development package is based; (c) the human element in the Government's economic thinking, and (d) the approach to be taken by the Bank and Sri Lanka at the Aid Consortium meeting to be held in May. It is believed that after these discussions, the World Bank was likely to throw its full weight behind government mid and long term programmes.

One of the most serious repercussions of the IMF-IBRD package for Sri Lanka's economic development is the initial inflation that has gripped the country mainly because of the

massive devaluation and the unloading of several hundred million rupees of agricultural loans in a rural sector that was in no way ready to make use of much of that credit. To meet this inflation the Weekend of March 14, suggested that a Pay Rise had been planned: "The President Mr. J. R. Jayawardene has ordered an immediate and complete review of the salary structures of more than one million employees now in the state services and private sector organisations. Observers believe this could be the prelude to an all round real wage increase for those employees, in line with the present cost of living. The WEEKEND reliably learns that the President discussed this matter at a top level meeting in which Prime Minister Mr. R. Premadasa, and high ranking Central Bank officials participated. The President is said to have outlined the areas which should be taken into account by the officials when the review was undertaken. Broadly, the salary structure review will include a study to ascertain whether the present salaries are in line with the high cost of living and if not by how much the present scales should be increased. The new scales, in the event of a decision to that effect, would also reflect measures to discourage public servants from taking bribes and incentives for good work, official sources told the Weekend. The President has ordered an immediate report on this matter." *A further pay rise, without adequate increase in domestic production will mean more inflation. A pay rise will not automatically ensure greater production.*

The question that worries many people is whether the executive administrative machinery of the government can implement and carry out the policies of the government. There are some happy signs that the President means business. The port of Colombo had been in a chronic

state of disorganisation for years. The warehouses were clogged with goods imported by government departments which had not been taken away. Red tape at the Customs, Port Commission, Port Cargo Corporation and other places delayed everything and the backlog had mounted.

In the first week of March, the President, Mr. Jayawardene and the Prime Minister, Mr. Premadasa visited the port and wanted all arrears cleared up. The President entrusted the work of getting the port into working order to General Sepala Attygalle with powers of co-ordination and speedy execution. Within one week the port was a different place. In less than two weeks the entire backlog had been cleared. And things have begun to hum. All the excuses trotted by bureaucrats and trade unionists earlier as to why the work in the port could not be expedited have disappeared.

The President and the Government are also proceeding cautiously where the trade unions are concerned. The contemplated law on trade unions and employment is now only a White Paper for discussion. The fullest discussion has been allowed and picketing during lunch time and other times has been allowed to enable protesters to carry on a poster campaign against the White Paper. The five-day week is being continued, although any sensible government will revert to a five and a half day week without delay. The Government is not seeking a confrontation with trade unions. It is likely the President and PM will negotiate with the trade unions after everybody has let off steam for sometime.

The Sun of March 13 carried a report that the President had taken steps to bring some key sectors under his direct purview. The report stated: "Four divisions have

been established by the Ministry of Plan implementation to deal with wide-ranging subjects now under the purview of 13 different Ministries. The President, Mr. J. R. Jayawardene as Minister of Plan Implementation, will be directly supervising these four divisions—categorised into Agriculture, Industry, Economic Infrastructure and Social Infrastructure. According to official sources, the new divisions have been created to hasten the economic development process of the country with the speedy implementation of the Government's policies and programmes in this direction. The four divisions will handle the following subjects: (1) *Agriculture*—field crops, tree crops, forestry, fisheries and animal husbandry; (2) *Economic Infrastructure*—construction (irrigation highways, buildings water supply and drainage, shipping and tourism, power, posts and telecommunications and transport; (3) *Social Infrastructure*—education, housing, health, social services and cultural affairs; and, (4) *Industry*—industry and textiles. The four public servants who will handle these respective divisions are Dr. Mervyn D. de Silva (Agriculture), Mr. V. M. Selvaratnam (Industry), Dr. V. Ambalavanar (Economic Infrastructure) and Mr. D. Nesiiah (Social Infrastructure). Mr. Nesiiah will perform his functions in addition to his other duties as a Senior Assistant Secretary. The other three officials are at present Deputy Directors of the Ministry of Plan Implementation. These officials have also been instructed that no subject coming under these divisions should pass without the attention that is deserved and expected. This point, it is learnt, has been stressed to them even if it may amount to a certain duplication or over-lapping in the workings of the respective divisions."

If the President can get the administrative machine to function effectively and efficiently great deal can be achieved within a short time.

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

By Ariel

Who Killed Sebai? And Why?

—behind the scenes in the Middle East—

The situation in the Middle East is today more serious than ever. Israel has occupied a large segment of South Lebanon and has announced that it intends to stay put until its conditions are fulfilled—and the conditions are tantamount to disguised occupation. The reason for the aggression against South Lebanon is said to have been a guerilla raid into Israel by alleged PLO commandos.

Prime Minister Menachen Begin who has the effrontery to condemn patriotic PLO commandos as "terrorists", "criminals" and the like forgets his own past when he was the leader of the "terrorist" Stern Gang which carried on a guerilla war against Arabs and Palestinians to carve out a "homeland" for Jews. The Palestinians are now carrying on a struggle for a homeland. How can Begin call them "terrorists"? When Begin became Prime Minister this paper had very correctly (and in retrospect justifiably) stated a "former terrorist had become Prime Minister". Immediately pro-Israeli elements, particularly from abroad, had sent protests (which we did not think it necessary to publish) that *Tribune* was a cock-eyed victim of Arab propaganda.

Begin's invasion of Lebanon shows him in his true colours. He is one of the hardline Zionists who believes that the homeland of the Hebrews

should extend from the Euphrates to the Nile and the lesser tribes who inhabited this vast area were fit enough only to be vassals. His aggressive occupation of Lebanon on the flimsiest of excuses demonstrates that peace only meant Jewish supremacy—*Pax Israelia* for West Asia and the Eastern Mediterranean.

The way he has conducted negotiations with Sadat shows that he has no scruples about the way he carries on negotiations to attain his objectives. He, and Zionists like him, know that the USA has given Israel enough military strength to defeat all Arab armies put together. When Sadat took the risk of initiating direct bilateral negotiations with Begin on the basis of UN Resolution 242, the world expected Begin to respond suitably. Eut, with the military might behind him, what did he do?

In an article in the *Tribune* on February 11, this columnist showed that Begin had followed the customary traditional Israeli strategy of procrastination and side-tracking to legalise its expansionist and aggressive military victories. The latest tactics adopted by the dominant group around Begin is only a further continuation of the same strategy. When Sadat genuinely wanted a comprehensive Middle East settlement to include the West Bank, PLO, Jordan and Syria, the Israeli hierarchy cunningly planned to use Sadat's magnanimous gesture to force him into a separate peace abandoning the Palestinians and other Arabs. In spite of all the pressures that Zionism could bring to bear on Sadat through the richest countries of Western Europe, Sadat refused to agree to a separate Egyptian—Israel peace agreement.

To the credit Carter and his administration, it must be said, that although there were Washingtonian hints that it would be wise for Sadat to go

it alone, each time Sadat stuck to his guns, Carter spoke of a homeland for the Palestinians. Carter had started very well supporting a homeland for the Palestinians, but the Jewish lobby in the U.S.A. forced him to waver. Finally, Carter was battered down to a Declaration of Principles and Intent in terms of UN Resolution 242 in regard to the Gaza Strip, West Bank and Golan Heights with a detailed interim agreement about the Sinai. Sadat, it would appear, had agreed to this if the Declaration of Principles and Intent was in unequivocal terms. Carter's envoy Atherton had shuttled between Cairo and Jerusalem to get an acceptable formula for the Declaration of Principles and Intent. British Foreign Secretary Owen went to the region to arm-twist Jordan to join in the talks on Israel's terms. Jordan refused to fall in with Owen's suggestions and Sadat began to get impatient with Israeli intransigence.

It was at this time that Youseff-el-Sebai was murdered in Nicosia and the Larnaca episode exploded. Even Sadat was stampeded into the belief that the PLO and Palestinians were responsible for the outrage. But when this did not completely break Sadat from the PLO and Arabs (the few measures against Palestinians in Egypt were regarded by Israel only as symbolic), the alleged raid into Israel was staged to provide an excuse for Begin to start once again on Israeli expansionism. Who staged the guerilla raid into Israel? It bears all the symptoms of an agent's provocateurs' undertaking.

The reactions among the Arab countries—from Saudi Arabia to Morocco, and from King Hussein to Sadat—were probably not what Begin and his gang had expected. But that is another matter. So also is the question what democratic Opposition inside Israel and among enlightened Jews is thinking. Elsewhere in this issue is published

an article by the well known journalist I.F. Stone entitled *Confessions of a Jewish Dissident* and this will throw revealing light on much of what is happening in the Jewish world today.

But what is of great importance is to examine first the question: who killed Sebai? Why was he killed? Who staged Larnaca? And from that, go on to the raid in Israel and the invasion of South Lebanon. Sebai was a close confidante and friend of Sadat. He was known to be a staunch opponent of a bilateral Egypt-Israel pact. He was also regarded as a possible liaison for Sadat to the Soviet Union and the socialist bloc should the need arise. He had been the Secretary-General of the Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee from its inception (in Nasser's days) and he has one of the best known and most popular writers and novelists in the Arab world. For the PLO to think of killing him on the flimsy excuse that he had travelled to Jerusalem with Sadat seems preposterous to anyone who knows the finer nuances of the complexities of Middle East politics.

Nancy Parsons writing on February 26, in the New York paper *New Solidarity* stated: "Evidence came to light this week confirming that last weekend's bloody showdown between Cypriot and Egyptian troops at Larnaca airport was aimed at exploding behind-the-scenes negotiations among Egypt, Jordan and the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) on a 'virtual blueprint' for a comprehensive Mideast peace. The Cypriot incident has been partially successful in isolating Egypt's President Anwar Sadat within the Arab camp. Whether or not it succeeds fully will be determined by the U.S. response to Soviet-

Saudi initiatives to resituate the Mideast flashpoint in the light of global peacemaking interests. *Baltimore Sun* correspondent Michael Parks reported yesterday that prior to last weekend's violence at Larnaca airport, President Sadat working closely with Jordanian King Hussein and Yasser Arafat of the PLO, had formulated a plan for granting the Palestinians limited self-determination in the Israeli-occupied West Bank and Gaza Strip. Sadat was to have presented the proposal to the Israeli government in an effort to move the presently stalled peace talks. The sudden eruption of 'Palestinian terrorism' in Cyprus brought Sadat up short, and Israeli Foreign Minister Moshe Dayan is now testily hinting that neither a separate peace with Egypt nor a comprehensive regional settlement may be possible because dissension within the Arab camp has prevented any further progress in the talks.

"The assassination of close Sadat Associate Youssef Sibai, in Nicosia, Cyprus, last weekend, followed by the disastrous airport shootout between Egyptian commandos and Cypriot National Guardsmen was specifically orchestrated by British intelligence networks to throw a damper over Palestinian-Egyptian relations as the prelude to the total isolation of Egypt within the Arab camp and the negotiations of a separate Egyptian-Israeli peace. To a certain extent, Egyptian profile prescribed by the Cyprus hijacking gamble. Abetted by the torrent of ravings against the PLO and calls for separate peace from nationalist newspaper *Al-Akhbar*, Sadat did indeed blast the PLO as 'murderers' and even broke off diplomatic ties with one of Egypt's closest allies, Cyprus. Sadat has not, however, abandoned his two basic demands in the negotiations: that the Palestinians be granted self-determination and that Israel withdraw

"Foreign Intelligence Services"

from the occupied territories. The president's refusal to capitulate totally to the British intelligence scheme has left the door open to resolving the temporary breakdown in Egypt's relations with its Arab allies."

Leading PLO representatives have made a serious effort to help Sadat out of his present mood by insisting that (1) they had no part in the staging of the Larnaca incident; that (2) the incident itself was the work of 'foreign intelligence services'; and that (3) Egypt's role in representing the entire Arab sector in the peace negotiations is of the utmost importance. PLO leader Arafat personally emphasised the role of 'foreign intelligence services' in setting up the Larnaca disaster and has moved quickly to restore the PLO's ties with Egypt by instructing the PLO representative in Cairo, Said Kāmal, to begin contacting Egyptian officials and newspapers. PLO representative in Egypt had likewise denounced the 'plot against the PLO, Egypt and the Arabs' that the Cyprus incident represented adding that Sadat was sincere and did not intend to betray the Palestinians, nor has he done so." However, he added, the Sadat initiative has failed and the Arabs must now "close ranks" and "not let themselves be victimized by plots like the Cyprus affair."

Though the writer Nancy Parsons charged that British Intelligence was responsible for the murder of Sebai and the Larnaca shoot-out, PLO sources attributed the same to "foreign intelligence services". Left wing commentators have pinpointed the role of the CIA. But whoever did it, it is difficult for anyone to believe that the PLO was responsible for it.

Nancy Parsons placed the blame squarely on Moshe Dayan for subverting all peace efforts: "One of the key sticking points in destabi-

lising the Mideast situation rests in the continuing freedom of Israeli Foreign Minister Moshe Dayan to undermine any and every peace initiative. In a secret address to the Israeli Knesset's Foreign Affairs and Defence Committee—subsequently leaked to the press—and later in an interview on Israeli radio, Dayan touched all bases, writing off any immediate for a global or separate peace with Arab nations. In his Knesset speech, Dayan accused Jordan of sabotaging a separate peace with Egypt because of King Hussein's refusal to join the negotiating talks except on the 'impossible conditions' of Israeli agreement to Palestinian self-determination and Israeli withdrawal from the occupied territories. In the radio interview, Dayan added that comprehensive settlement was likewise impossible 'because Syria's and Jordan's preconditions are unthinkable for Israel.' Dayan suggested instead a 'fresh approach'—a broad hint for a return to Henry Kissinger's step-by-step diplomacy. British Foreign Secretary David Owen went to the Middle East where he met with King Hussein urging the Jordanians to enter the negotiations and then journeyed to Israel to report on his success.

The writer, Nancy Parsons, also stated that there had been friendly contacts between Saudi Arabia and the Soviet Union: "Directly complementing the PLO's efforts to cool out the situation within the Arab camp, the Soviet Union and Saudi Arabia have conscientiously attempted to restore the basis for effective outside intervention into the Mideast negotiating process. The Soviet press voiced the commitment in calls during the weeks to improve Soviet-Saudi ties, pointing out that such a bilateral relationship dates from 1926 when the Soviets first moved to 'weaken the grip of the British monopoly on

trade.' And the writer was disappointed that the US was dragging its feet on this matter: "...As for the U.S. little effort at all has been made to join with the Soviets and Saudis in stabilising the present dangerous situation in the Mideast and then moving it toward a comprehensive settlement along the lines of the Oct. 1 joint Soviet-US communique. Instead, Under Secretary of State Alfred Atherton is conducting third-rate shuttle diplomacy in the area, which even President Sadat has written off as mere 'phrase-making'. And, while Secretary of State Vance has faced down congressional Jewish Lobby leaders Senators Javits and Jackson and Representatives Rosenthal, Conte and Long in sticking to the Administration's policy toward the Middle East has yet to emerge. The example for such policy is tentatively being set by the Saudi-Soviet Initiatives, and have elicited from the US press reminders of the 1968 plan of former Secretary of State William Rogers to use regional economic development as the vehicle for lasting peace."

According to radical Arab sources the campaign to isolate Cyprus from the Arab world was said to have been hatched in London in 1977 shortly after the NATO session. The aim was to split the democratic and progressive forces of Cyprus, to cause anarchy and chaos and to oust President Makarios and to set up a government in Cyprus that will become part of NATO. These elements had thought that the main stumbling block to the pro-NATO conspiracy was removed with the death of Makarios. However, anti-Makarios and pro-NATO forces inside Cyprus failed to get their nominee made President. Spyros Kyprianou, a long-standing and consistent supporter of Makarios was elected President.

The murder of Sebai is attributed in Cyprus to Israeli agents acting

in conjunction with certain Egyptian elements. Bob Dreyfus, writing in the *New Solidarity* on Feb. 22, stated: "An orchestrated wave of anti-Palestinian riots and demonstration in Egypt, fed by provocative and irresponsible speeches by President Anwar Sadat and Prime Minister Salem, signals the success of British Intelligence's blood-bath on Cyprus, which began with the assassination of a top Egyptian editor and ended with a battle between Egyptian army commandos and Cypriot forces at Larnaca airport. The goal of the operation, in which key sections of Egypt's military intelligence establishment and of Cypriot security and police forces were complicit, was to provoke a split between the Egyptian government and the Palestinian Liberation Organisation and thus accelerate the momentum toward a bilateral pact between Egypt and Israel—on Moshe Dayan's terms.

"Such a deal, in which Egypt, Israel, and probably Jordan would agree to exclude Syria and the PLO from a deal over the occupied West Bank, would permanently split the Arab world into pro-Egyptian and pro-PLO blocs. The result, as intended by the British and Henry Kissinger, would be the eruption of a devastating series of U.S.-Soviet—confrontations throughout the Middle East, North Africa, and the Horn. That, in turn, would represent a virtually irreversible setback to US-Soviet relations and send the world spinning toward a NATO-Warsaw Pact showdown.

"The key to the operation in Cyprus turns out to be a small clique of fanatic nationalists in Egypt, in Egyptian Intelligence and in the circles around the right-wing daily *Al Akhbar*, with close ties to the pro-British net works dismantled since 1952 by the Nasser regime but recently restored to power by Sadat. This group, which also maintains ties to the Dayan network in Israel, staged the terrorism on

Cyprus and its bloody conclusion in order to manufacture an incident to discredit the Palestinian movement."

Other reports have revealed that the hired assassins of Sebai had arrived from London by different and circuitous routes. It will be recalled that PLO leader Hammami was assassinated in London a short time before, and the PLO chief Arafat had instituted investigations to find out the connections between the assassination of Sebai and Hammami.

According to the same sources not long before the Larnaca airport battle a large group of NATO intelligence officers had arrived in Cyprus. There was also a large inflow of Israeli "terrorists". It is alleged that the Larnaca adventure was master-minded by an Egyptian Military Attache who wanted to wreck the negotiations between the Cyprus government and the terrorists who held the hostages. At the decisive moment when the agreement for the surrender of the terrorists and release of the hostages was reached, he is said to have by-passed everybody and after disclosing the location of the terrorists and the hostages had ordered the Egyptian commandos to start the operation. Cypriot papers say that the Egyptian commandos seemed to have had only one task: to see that all the terrorists were killed so that they were not taken alive.

An incident of this kind is bound to spawn many "inside stories" some of which may be pure guesses, but they all have historical validity of a kind. Bob Dreyfus elaborating on the incident went on to state: "Securing a plane and seizing hostages, the terrorists then left Cyprus—but, one by one, the Arab countries refused to accept the plane. Algeria, which initially accepted the request to land at Algiers, quickly reversed its decision, probably as a result of either French or Soviet warnings,

and the plane was forced to return to Cyprus. It now appears likely that the Egyptians had planned to stage a bloody raid on whatever Arab country gave the terrorists asylum. This would have touched off a vicious crisis between the Arab blocs led by Egypt and Syria, respectively, and when the Arabs refused to play Britain's game, Egypt was forced to stage its drama on Cyprus itself. Throughout the incident, the plane and its passengers were piloted by two flyers of British nationality, who had 'volunteered' to fly the plane. The two pilots had been 'vacationing', in Cyprus. From all evidence, the pilots played a key role in cooperating with the terrorists, sabotaging counter-terror plans when the plane stopped to refuel in Djibouti before returning to Cyprus and so forth. When the pilots returned the plane to Cyprus, the Cypriot authorities—led by President Kyprianou himself—launched urgent efforts to negotiate an end to the affair."

Bob Dreyfus, in the same article went on to describe the rest of the drama and some of its implications: "The PLO immediately disassociated itself from the affair, and later PLO chairman Yasser Arafat blamed 'foreign intelligence services' for the terrorism and pledged that the PLO would bring those responsible to justice. Top PLO officials, extremely sensitive to the threat of a break in Egyptian-PLO relations, sent a representative to Egypt for the funeral of the slain Sibai and that of the commandos, and in addition the PLO sent two leaders to Cyprus to work with the Cypriots. Kyprianou spoke by telephone with Sadat, who told the Cyprus President that Egypt would not interfere in the delicate situation and that all rescue efforts would be left to the Cypriots, said Kyprianou later. Nevertheless, without warning, an Egyptian C-130 landed at Larnaca airport, and shortly afterwards a squad of anti-

terror commandos emerged from the plane, guns blazing. What followed was carnage. For almost an hour, Egypt and Cyprus fought a mini-war that left at least 15 Egyptians dead and many others wounded.

"Although Egypt claimed that it had notified the Cypriots that it was sending the commando force, Cyprus said, apparently truthfully that it had not been informed. A key aspect of the entire operation was the breakdown in communication between Egypt and Cyprus, that allowed the runaway squad of commandos to operate freely. After the events, Cyprus said yesterday that it fired its No. 2 police official, in charge of communications for 'transmitting false information' and 'negligence.' According to reports in the Greek press, when the Egyptians attacked Kyprianou and his team had already succeeded in getting the terrorists to surrender, and they had begun to disembark! The only conclusion that can be drawn is that Egyptians were intent on staging an incident that could be used as a pretext for breaking with the PLO and the Arabs!"

But all this drama did not force Sadat to agree to a separate peace. He did not want to abandon the Palestinians even after having been driven to making bitter attacks on the PLO.

Then the so-called PLO raid on Israel gave Begin a chance to march into Lebanon. It will be sometime before revelations how Israeli intelligence "inspired" the "terrorist raid" on Israel took place. It gave Begin an opportunity to postpone his visit to Washington where he would have been under pressure to agree to a Declaration of Principles and Intent about the West Bank, Gaza Strip and the Palestinians.

Begin has also pre-empted any discussion on this Declaration of Principles and Intent by a new interpretation of Resolution 242. The *Time* magazine of March 13 had this to say: "As he shuttled back and forth between Jerusalem and Cairo last week, US Ambassador Alfred (Roy) Atherton suffered a rude shock. The man who administered it was Israeli Premier Menachem Begin. While discussing the stalled peace negotiations, Begin told Atherton that he believed United Nations Resolution 242, which, among other things, calls for the withdrawal of Israeli forces from occupied territories, does not apply to the West Bank. Begin's curious argument: under the terms of 242, the Israelis need withdraw only from territories whose sovereignty they recognise, and Israel has never recognized Jordan's sovereignty over the West Bank. This represents a serious hardening of Israel's position. If the feisty Premier sticks to his guns, it will be a grave setback to the peace process. President Carter said as much when he observed at his press conference that the 'abandonment' of 242 'would put us back many months, or years,' since that ingeniously ambiguous resolution has been the framework for all Middle East peace negotiations during the past decade. Begin's new stand would make it almost impossible for the completion of a declaration of principles that Israel and Egypt could sign; it would almost rule out any chance that Jordan's King Hussein would then join the peace process because Begin's interpretation of 242 forecloses Hussein's hope of getting back the West Bank territory he lost in 1967. If Begin does not have a quick change of mind before leaving for Washington next week, his visit with Carter may be an unsmiling one. Writing in the *Jerusalem Post*, former For-

eign Minister Abba Eban attacked Begin's position as 'judicially frivolous'. *Davar*, the semiofficial voice of the opposition Labor Party, declared: 'The Israeli attempt to undermine the sanctity of 242 is a perilous maneuver. It only strengthens the impression that the government is fleeing any attempt to deal with fundamental questions and prefers formalistic sophistry and settlement gimmickry'...."

We can only say AMEN.



STOP PRESS

UNP RETAINS COLOMBO WEST

Mr. Anura Bastian (28) of the United National Party was elected to represent the Colombo West electorate in the N.S.A at yesterday's by election. Mr. Bastian's majority over his closest rival Mr. D. W. Abayakoon (SLFP) was 10,132. The results were as follows:

Mr. Anura Bastian (UNP)	13,156
Mr. D. W. Abayakoon (SLFP)	3,024
Mr. Bernard Soysa (LSSP)	3,016
Mr. N. Gooneratne (Ind)	2,457
Mr. R. Wijaya Indra (Ind)	334
Mr. N. P. Perera (Ind)	30
Mr. G. K. S. Wijewardene (Ind)	28
Dr. S. A. Karunaratne (Ind)	24
Majority	10,132
Total polled:	21,181
Total registered	37,983
Spillit	71

TRIBUNE, March 25, 1978

SRI LANKA CHRONICLE

March 6 — March 10

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—Dina-
 mina; LD—Lankadipa; VK—Virakeşari; ATH—Aththa;
 SM—Silumina; SLD—Sri Lankadipa; JD—Janadina;
 DP—Dinapathi; SU—Sun; DW—Dawasa; CM—Chinthama-
 nani; WK—Weekend; RR—Rivirasa; EN—Eelanadu;
 IDPR—Information Department Press Release; DK—
 Dinakara.

MONDAY, MARCH 6: "My current visit has contributed to the strengthening of relations between Vietnam and Sri Lanka; all terms and clauses embodied in the Trade and Cultural treaties signed by us will be implemented, said Mr. Pham Van Dong, PM of Vietnam in a farewell message before his departure yesterday morning. Expressing the hope that Sri Lanka would become the largest riceproducing country in the east, the Vietnamese PM said at Polgolla "Give us rice after the Mahaweli Scheme is completed in six years. The shift of policy in Sri Lanka from a consumption-oriented economy to one of development and investment is of great significance and should be understood in its entirety in the major capitals of the world said the Minister of Trade who left on a three-week tour of eight European capitals on Saturday night. The number of passports issued by the Department of Immigration and Emigration has shot up to about 12,000 a month. The divorce laws are soon to be amended to give a Family Court powers to grant a divorce if in the opinion of the court the marriage has broken up—CDN. Two prisoners were killed and several others injured when ten remand prisoners broke jail from the Anuradhapura prisons in the early hours of yesterday morning; six of the escapees who were captured and admitted under heavy guard to the hospital; one is reported to have succumbed to his injuries. Air Ceylon has suspended all international flights with immediate effect on the orders of the Ministry of Shipping, Aviation and Tourism following a recommendation by the Board of Directors of Air Ceylon. About seventy members of the NSA will participate in the Orientation seminar for Parliamentarians sponsored by the PM to be held from March 14 to 17. A new market is to be constructed on the old St. John's Market site—CDM. Vietnam has made no request to Sri Lanka to seek a solution to the Vientian-Kampuchea border dispute; however Sri Lanka as the Chairman of the non-

aligned movement could take an initiative in finding and adequate solution and it was upto the conscience of Sri Lanka to do that said the PM of Vietnam. The leader of the SLFP yesterday denied that she or any other member of the party had advocated the overthrow of any government by any means other than through the democratic process. Top level changes are expected to be made in the Police personal Security branch which handles all security arrangements for the President and the PM—SU. The government is soon to make the Ratmalana airport an international airport—LD. The Chairman of the Mahaweli Development Board has said in private that the Mahaweli Development could not be completed in Six years—DK. Work on the accelerated Mahaweli Development programme is going full scheme ahead with many countries offering assistance. The National Paper Corporation's recently commissioned paper factory at Embilipitiya will be the testing ground for the world's first chemical recovery system from straw pulp. The first Fisheries Bank to be set up under the aegis of the People's Bank will be opened at Koralaewella in the Moratuwa electorate.—CO.

TUESDAY, MARCH 7: The government has given the green light to public corporations and private sector establishments to get back to a five and a half day week; the five day week which came into operation as a measure to conserve fuel following oil price hikes in the Middle East was promulgated under Emergency Laws as Fuel Conservation Five Day Week regulation in 1975; the law became invalid when the emergency lapsed in February last year. The President paid a surprise visit to the Colombo port yesterday to make an on the spot check of alleged irregularities; he was accompanied by the PM. Journalists from 15 countries will attend a ten day seminar cum workshop on food and agricultural reporting in Colombo from March 18 to 27. Conditions and terms of local government employees will be equated with those of their counterparts in the State service—CDN. The daring Anuradhapura jail break on Sunday is alleged to be master-minded and led by an ex-insurgent who is one of five still at large. The Committee on University Examinations, in its final report has recommended the appointment of a three member Examinations Disciplinary Committee annually. Even though the teacher training colleges were closed, the final examinations of the training colleges will be held. Mr. Jauges Bourgoin who has been appointed by the government of France as its Ambassador to Sri Lanka presented his letter of credence to the President—CDM. The government has nominated five Cabinet Ministers to look after the electorates represented by the SLFP MP's. The Job Banks to be operated by the Ministry of Plan Implementation have

got off the ground with the printing of employment registration forms. The proposed University campus in the east will be sited at Vantharamoolai, a village twelve miles from the Northern part of Batticaloa, the Minister of Education announced yesterday. The Vietnamese PM in a farewell message before leaving Sri Lanka on Sunday said his four-day visit had brought about good results—*SU*. A discussion between the top rungs of the TULF and the MP for Batticaloa was initiated yesterday to bring about a peaceful reconciliation—*VK*. The MP for Batticaloa, Mr. S. Rajadurai has said that he and the movement were one and that he would not leave the party; and if anyone tried to use him to work against the movement he would not listen to them—*EN*. Out of the 1226 complaints received by the one man commission on the 1970 election disturbances 500 are to get about 5 million rupees for damages caused by the disturbances—*DM*. Three million bushels of paddy are expected from this year's paddy harvest from the Trincomalee district—*LD*.

WEDNESDAY, MARCH 8: Job Bank forms will be issued today to the 140 government MP's for distribution to the unemployed in their electorates, in connection with the government's crash programme to solve the country's unemployment problem. The Netherlands government yesterday indicated to Sri Lanka that its aid quantum for this year would reach Rs. 286 million; this constitutes an increase of Rs. 25 million over Dutch aid to Sri Lanka last year. Foreign aid to set up medium scale industries and the purchase of lorry chassis for rice mills, is now being granted by the Industrial Development Board through the Development Finance Corporation. The NSA meets at 2 p.m. today. A two month target has been set by the government to clear the backlog of general cargo clogging the Port of Colombo—*CDN*. Price Control men will launch island wide checks on co-ops to ensure that correct weight of mass consumption items including rice, flour and sugar are given to consumers. The government will import 100 million cigarettes of popular brands to overcome a temporary shortage of local cigarettes according to the Ministry of Trade. Sri Lanka's educational system has been able to achieve the near-ideal teacher-student ratio; according to the latest education census there are 22 students for every teacher on the average—*CDM*. The mysterious activities of a foreign vessel in Sri Lanka's territorial waters off the shores of Weligama last Saturday resulted in a massive Police and Naval operation. Ministers have been told they should not invite any heads of state when they call on them without the concurrence of the President—*SU*. The Leader of the Opposition has been told that the government had decided that the passing of the Sinhala examination for promotions in the public service will not be changed—*VK*. Following the spate of bus holdups

and gang holdups recently, all police stations have been instructed to set up special preventive branches—*DP*. Following investigations carried out by the Ministry of Textile Industries the licenses of fifty industrialists who have been feeding Pettah merchants with their high quality cloth quotas have been cancelled. About a thousand more students will gain entrance to the university this year than the year before—*CO*. GA's in the 22 districts have been summoned for a conference to be held at the Ministry of Public Administration and Home Affairs—*IDPR No. 84*. The Minister of Finance and Planning has had discussions with the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Minister of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs and other high officials in Britain; these discussions covered the whole range of Sri Lanka economic relations and the prospect of increased aid from the UK to Sri Lanka—*IDPR No. 83*.

THURSDAY, MARCH 9: The President of the 22 million strong Asian Regional Organisation of the International Confederation of Free Trade Union Congress Mr. C. V. Deva Nair who is in Sri Lanka as a guest of the Ceylon Workers Congress praised the pragmatic approach President Jayawardene was adopting towards the Trade Union movement and towards trade unionism. The PM, while disclosing to the NSA yesterday the 19 foreign trips undertaken by the former PM, Mrs. Sirima Bandaranaike during her regime as Premier said that details of trips abroad of UNP government will be readily available for public scrutiny. A panel of experts from Netherlands will begin an exhaustive in-depth study of the multi-purpose Mahaweli Development Scheme next month to update the Master Plan and lay down priorities for its execution within the new time limit of six years laid down by the government. The President spent the afternoon in Kotte yesterday inspecting the electorate. Education Ministry sources commenting on the recent incidents at the Maharagama Training College said yesterday that the trouble started when three trainee teachers were posted back to the schools from where they were chosen. Three leading French firms and their subsidiaries and associate companies have pooled their resources to offer their help to Sri Lanka in international trading, financing and implementation of industrial and development ventures in the public and private sectors. The Indian High Commissioner here had been transferred to Ottawa as High Commissioner; he will be succeeded here by Mr. Thomas Abraham—*CDN*. School dropouts are taking to drugs in a big way; this shocking discovery was made by the Narcotics Bureau in a survey to assess the extent of drug use in Sri Lanka. The UNP-controlled Jathika Estate Workers Union will set aside nearly Rs. 150,000 every month for the welfare of the estate

workers, according to a union spokesman. The President of the Peradeniya Campus said yesterday that he would watch the situation and decide on the steps to be taken on the students strike today—CDM. Crew absenteeism was the main reason for the CTB not operating over 25% of its scheduled operations last year. According to a survey carried out by the government recently the monthly income of seven million of the people in our country is below Rs. 300; added to this many of them are leading a hard life; over 12 lakhs are unemployed; the soul aim of the government was to solve their problems said the PM. Hambantota, Moneragala and Minneriya have been earmarked as suitable towns for the setting up of three new cotton ginning units by the Minister of Textile Industries—SU. A major fire broke out in the main junction at Akarapattu, burning to the ground over twenty shops and incurring lakhs of Rupees worth of damage—DP. During the two days from the 19th to 30th December 1978, the Agricultural Insurance Board has paid a sum of Rs. 147,252 as crop insurance compensation to farmers in various parts of the island—IDPR No. 86. The government of Sri Lanka has appointed Mr. V. L. B. Mendis as Ambassador of Sri Lanka to France—IDPR No. 48/78. There are about 12,000 applications for birth certificates yet to be issued at the Colombo Kachcheri; one has to wait for three months to obtain a birth certificate. The CWE has taken steps to issue 10000 hundred weights of dry fish for consumers this month—LD. The Tractor Corporation has taken steps to import tractor spare parts worth Rs. 200 million from Japan, UK and several other countries. Sri Lanka Navy's gunboat 'Gajabahu' has been sold for 1,20,000 dollars to a Pakistani Steel firm—DW. The government has given the IMF a firm promise to increase the price of flour from the 1st of next month—JD. The government wishes to bring to the notice of the public that the publicity given in the newspapers regarding the five day week was incorrect; although emergency law lapsed in February 1977, action has been taken to replace them with permanent laws; it is incorrect to say that the government had decided to revert to the 5 1/2 day working week—IDPR No. 88.

FRIDAY, MARCH 10: Sri Lankans employed in the Middle East have begun remitting foreign exchange into bank accounts opened in their names in the two national banks—the People's Bank and the Bank of Ceylon; this follows a new scheme introduced by the two banks to enable Lankans working abroad to maintain current accounts here with deposits either in sterling or dollars. The NSA yesterday agreed to appoint a Select Committee of nine members to study and examine cases of breaches of privilege (Amend-

ment) Act. The Minister of Public Administration and Home Affairs announced yesterday that the government had decided to give full executive powers to GA's to co-ordinate the activities of government departments and corporations in their districts. The Minister of Agriculture and Lands has with the concurrence of the President appointed a Board of Directors to the Agricultural Development Authority. The Police believe that the current spate of robberies taking place in many parts of the country are linked up with a subversive movement and the robberies are a means of raising funds. This year's May Day will be celebrated without slogan shouting demonstrations; but there will be the biggest ever cultural display on the Galle Face Green. The death occurred in Colombo yesterday of Mr. Vere de Mel, a member of the old Civil Service—CDN. The Minister of Education said yesterday that the acute shortage of schools and school furniture could have been minimised by about Rs. 50 million from funds voted for Political Authorities under the decentralised budget to provide facilities for schools by the last government been utilised. The revenue earned by the government this year from arrack tavern rental exceeds that of last year by over Rs. 400,000. There have been allged attempts to derail trains at Kekirawa and Vavuniya yesterday, according to reports received at Police HQ's—CDM. The students of all Faculties of the Peradeniya Campus of the University of Sri Lanka walked out of their classes yesterday morning. An official inquiry into the functioning of Teacher Training colleges, their curriculum during the previous regime will begin shortly CO—Dr. P. K. Rai, a world famous expert on agricultural insurance was in Sri Lanka recently on an invitation from the Agricultural Insurance Board; during his stay in the island he will conduct investigations on the agricultural insurance schemes here—IDPR No. 91. The government is to spend Rs. 1800 million on the Samanawewa project; a team of Soviet specialists have already given their reports to the Minister of Irrigation, Power and Highways. The police will launch an island wide operation to stop school children from taking drugs—LD. Rs. 168 million has been allocated by the government for the development of the 22 districts—DM.



51



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Confessions Of A Jewish Dissident

by I. F. Stone

A Tribune reader sent us this clipping from *The New York Times* "Review of Books" of March 9, 1978. I. F. Stone is one of the best known political journalists in the USA, and we publish his article with acknowledgements to *The New York Times* because of its great topicality. It will help readers to understand the vast complexities of the problem and role of the "controlled" media of the West or anywhere in the world.—Ed. Washington,

Abstractly speaking, I should be quite a popular person in the American-Jewish community. I am a dissident. I am also, at a time when the search is on for moderate voices on the Palestine question, a moderate. And I proved my devotion to displaced persons in and out of the Middle East years ago. I have a medal to prove it, from the Haganah—the illegal Jewish army that fought what Prime Minister Begin calls the Jewish war of liberation and established the state of Israel in 1948.

Yet despite all these credentials I find myself, like many fellow American intellectuals, Jewish and non-Jewish, ostracized whenever I try to speak up on the Middle East. It demonstrates what slight changes in time and space can do to familiar categories. Dissidents, Jewish and non-Jewish, in the Soviet Union are—deservedly—heroes. They may be forced to circulate their views in *samizdat*, they may be dependent for circulation in their homeland on the typewriter and carbon paper. But

at least they make the front pages of the American and world press, and the correspondents in Moscow hang on their words. Here at least their books are bestsellers.

But it is only rarely that we dissidents on the Middle East can enjoy a fleeting voice in the American press. Finding an American publishing house willing to publish a book which departs from the standard Israeli line is about as easy as selling a thoughtful exposition of atheism to the *Osservatore Romano* in Vatican City. In this respect, our lot is worse than that of the Arabs. Even before Sadat's visit to Jerusalem made it fashionable there were synagogues willing to invite Egyptian and even Palestinian Arabs, and occasionally an American of Arab origin to explain his viewpoint. Only a few days ago Mohammed Hakki, an able and eloquent Egyptian newspaperman who now works for his country's embassy here in Washington, was given a Sabbath forum and heard with courtesy at Adas Israel, one of the capital's most prestigious congregations.

But I have yet to hear of an American journalist of dissident views, Jewish or gentile, accorded similar treatment. I will not name them but there are top figures in the profession, with long records of championing Israel and the Jewish people, who complain bitterly in private that if they dare express one word of sympathy for Palestinian Arab refugees, they are flooded with Jewish hate-mail, accusing them of anti-Semitism. As for Jewish dissidents in America, we get the standard treatment. We are labelled "self-hating Jews." American Jewish intellectuals are lectured on what is stigmatized as their weakness for "universalism". One distinguished academic was summoned to an Israeli consulate for a scolding

and put into deep-freeze by colleagues for advocating a generous peace policy toward the Palestinian Arabs. We are asked why we cannot be narrow ethnics, suspicious of any breed but our own. Isiah is out of fashion.

Gentile dissidents are generally treated simply as anti-Semites, no matter how often they have demonstrated friendship for Israel and the Jews in the past. A pro-Israel Republican senator, many of whose closest aides are Jewish, suddenly found himself treated as an enemy by the organized Jewish community in his state because on a trip to the Middle East he had ventured some expression of sympathy for the Arabs, too.

Even the Quakers are on the blacklist; they have demonstrated that the peacemakers may be blessed in heaven but they have a hard time on earth. At their Mideast peace conference in Washington last summer they were picketed by Jewish organizations. The State Department co-operated by denying a visa to a Palestinian moderate scheduled to speak there. (The Jewish dissidents of Breira, meeting at the same 4-H Club headquarters in Chevy Chase a week later, got worse treatment: the Jewish Defence League invaded the meeting, breaking up furniture and tearing up membership lists.) On the Middle East, freedom of debate is not encouraged. Much ill-will has been piled up, though not publicly expressed, in Congress, the government, and the press by the steamroller tactics of the hard-liners.

My trouble originally began with my weakness for refugees. In the spring of 1946 I was the first reporter to travel with "displaced persons" (as they were then called) out of the Nazi camps from Poland to Palestine through the British blockade. After making that trip,

I found myself a hero in the American Jewish community, a speaker at more than one national convention of Hadassah. I can even remember being trotted out by the Zionists to persuade the (then) Uncle Toms of the American Jewish Committee to overcome their fears of identifying with the Zionist cause.

Now their publication, *Commentary*, has become the principal pillory for Americans who dissent from the Israeli hard line. In the past twenty-five years I have been asked to speak in a synagogue only once, and I won't name it lest I again embarrass its rabbi, for then I made the mistake of asking sympathy for Arab refugees as well. I remember, as if it were yesterday, the horror of statelessness in the Thirties for those who fled fascist and Nazi oppression. I feel for the scattered Palestinians who would like a state and a passport too.

My first taste of being a dissident came quite early. When I got back from my illegal trip, my series "underground to Palestine," in the New York newspaper *PM*, was an instant success. It pushed circulation to a high point which, if maintained, might have saved Ralph Ingersoll's unique experiment in publishing, a newspaper without advertising. I travelled with some of the most wonderful people I have ever met, both passengers and crew—including survivors of the death camps and the handful of American-Jewish sailors who volunteered to man the ships taking them to Palestine.

The story of their lives and adventures stirred sympathy for the Zionist cause among Jews and non-Jews alike. Then when publication in book form was planned, I was taken to lunch by friends in the Zionist movement, including a partner in one of the topmost advertising firms in America. They outlined a \$ 25,000 advertising

campaign to put the book across. But then came the awkward moment. There was one sentence, I was told, just a sentence or so, that had to come out. I asked what that was. It was the sentence in which I suggested a binational solution, a state whose constitution would recognize, irrespective of shifting majorities, the presence of two peoples, two nations, Arab and Jewish within Palestine, with two official languages, Arabic and Hebrew, which are now indeed the two official languages in the state of Israel.

That position may sound like dreadful heresy today. It was not that far-out in 1946, a year before the United Nations decided to partition the country between two states, Arab and Jewish, with economic and other links between them. At that time the Hashomer Hatzair, the left Zionists, an important sector of the Zionist movement then as now, had long advocated a binational solution. In addition I then suggested that the binational state be established in the whole of Palestine, as it was before 1922. It was then that the British carved out a new kingdom across the Jordan for the Hashemite dynasty after the Saudi family drove out of Mecca and established their fierce fundamentalist Wahabi state where barbarous penalties straight out of the Bible are still imposed for adultery and theft. This was the consolation prize for Britain's friend, King Abdullah.

I refused to take this passage out "My Boss, Ralph Ingersoll," I said, "allowed me to make the three-month trip at considerable sacrifice for the paper. He did not tell me what to write. It was printed that way in *PM*. He would have a low opinion of me, quite rightly, if I submitted to such censorship for the sake of an advertising campaign." **That ended the luncheon,**

and in a way, the book. It was in effect proscribed.

But two years later the book was translated into Hebrew with the offending passage intact, though the translator was a leading member of the Mapai, the dominant party in Zionism and as deeply opposed as my interlocutors in America to a binational solution. And as the 1948 war approached, copies of the book were given out to Sabras, i.e., native-born Palestinian Jews, in the armed forces to help them understand how Jews had suffered and some survived the Holocaust. As so often since, dissent frowned upon in the United States was allowed in Israel, so long as it was published in Hebrew. To this day few American Jews realize how much free debate goes on in the Hebrew press and a Hebrew book publishing there. The language barrier makes possible a most useful little Iron Curtain behind which American Jews can be herded into supporting the hard official line.

Arabs who read Hebrew, and many do, have free access to this debate, but we do not. Very little of Israeli debate, either in the press or the Knesset, filters through to the American public. Few American correspondents know Hebrew, and only the official statements are easily available in English. Consequently the coverage of the last Knesset session, after Sadat's walk-out from the peace talks, might just as well have been coverage of a rubber-stamp parliament in any Third World dictatorship. None of the dissenting voices was reported. All we got was what Begin said. *This failure to report Israeli debate is a great obstacle to wise decision making here. Many in Israel, too, feel that it is not anti-Semite to believe that a generous attitude toward the Palestinian Arabs may be a better safeguard of Israel's future than the*

niggardly something-for-nothing response of the hardliners. Moderates in Israel look to the leaders of the American-Jewish community for leverage against the hard-liners, and the timid doves of the Jewish establishment here look to opinion in Israel for support; but communication between them is blocked off, and the result is a rigid monolithic policy totally unsuited to the great opportunities opened up by Sadat's courageous initiative.

Many here in the United States must have felt appalled at Sadat's reception in Jerusalem. I knew Chaim Weizmann, and he was not only a masterly diplomat but could bring something of the poet to political difficulties. Had he been still alive and the president of Israel, he would have risen to the occasion with a magnanimous gesture and a healing phrase. But all Sadat got from Begin was a warm-over UJA speech. Begin's response made me blush. Quite a few people in Israel shared that same feeling of disappointment over Begin's response to Sadat's visit, but you would hardly guess it from press coverage here. *Ma'ariv*, the biggest newspaper in Israel, ran a long interview covering more than one full page with the deputy prime minister, Yigal Yadin, taking issue with Begin after the Sadat meeting and calling for a more flexible policy. To have the deputy prime minister disagree publicly with the prime minister was a major political story, but so far as I know the only paper in this country that printed the deputy prime minister's statement was the *Washington Star* (December 4). I didn't see it even mentioned elsewhere. The headline in *Ma'ariv* indicated the divergence between Begin and his deputy prime minister: "The Moment of Truth Comes and Israel Will Have to State Its Willingness for Territorial Concessions in

Judea and Samaria (the West Bank) Or Else There Will Be No Peace."

One of the many other unreported voices of dissent was that of G. Schocken, editor of Israel's most respected paper, *Ha'aretz*, who expressed his disagreement with Begin in an unusual signed editorial. The Knesset debate then too was meagerly reported. When I tried to get the Israeli "Congressional Record" (*Divrei Ha Knesset*) from the Israeli desk of the State Department I was told after the usual bureaucratic indifference that the latest copies the State Department had were a few issues from the year 1965! Yet it would help the administration resist the monolithic hardliners if the American Congress and public were made more aware of dissent in Israel. The most striking recent example was the editorial in the *Jerusalem Post* (International edition of January 24) on Sadat's action in breaking off the peace talks. While expressing regret over the "tougher line" taken by Sadat in his speech recalling his negotiators from Jerusalem, the *Post* said: "His criticism about Israel's handling of the talks and some of the public statements made here should however also lead to some self-review in Jerusalem. For certainly Sadat seemed to have every right to wonder about Israel's intentions when bulldozers in Sinai, replete with fanfare, suddenly materialized while he was supposedly gaining agreement about Israeli withdrawal, and when Israeli rhetoric countered a commitment to desist from polemics."

The *Jerusalem Post* has long been the distinguished English voice of the Israeli community. Its scarcely veiled rebuke to Begin is quite different from the unrestrained

condemnation in this country of Sadat by such figures as Rabbi Alexander M. Schindler, chairman of the Conference of Presidents of Major Jewish Organizations. He said Sadat's "impatience conveys the impression that you disdain the negotiating process in its entirety" (*The New York Times* January 30).

I was brought up to believe that a fundamental pillar of any stable political situation is—in that historic American phrase—"the consent of the governed." How can there be a stable, secure relationship between Israel and the Palestinian Arabs, both those on the West Bank and those stateless in the Palestinian Diaspora, without their consultation and consent? To impose the kind of "self-rule" Begin envisages on the Palestinians is to push Israel into an endless sea of troubles. How do you make sure the people they elect to office are not secretly sympathizers with the PLO, or not "moderate" enough to suit Israel, Hussein, or Carter? Do you cross-examine candidates in advance to make sure they're satisfactory? Do you open their mail, bug their phones, and police their social contacts to make sure they stay that way? And how much respect will Palestinians have for this variety of "self-rulers"?

The frown of the occupying power or of foreign statesmen may defeat itself by conferring legitimacy. When Carter on the eve of his recent trip abroad "ruled out" the PLO in advance, he invited embarrassing questions. If negotiations are to be limited to "moderates", does that rule out Begin and the Likud too? If the Palestinians are to have self-rule, what gives Carter the right to cast the first ballot? All else becomes negotiable if the principle of self-determination is recognized. A transition period in which old fears are allayed and both sides

can settle down comfortably into coexistence has much to be said for it. But not if "self-rule" is a counterfeit and "transition" invites Gush Emunim to expand its settlements and erode a future Palestinian state even before it is born.

The latest warning signal was the news that a new West Bank settlement is being established in Shiloh, despite Begin's promise to Carter, on the novel plea that this is only an 'archaeological' settlement. If archaeology can excuse new settlements, and Gush Emunim disguise itself as a mere band of eager beaver Schliemanns, no place is safe. There is no spot in the Holy Land where some antiquity cannot be dug up. But the administration is so timorous that Carter's note of protest to Begin, instead of being given full publicity, was leaked to James Reston's column in *The New York Times* Sunday, January 29, as if the White House were afraid to raise its voice.

Washington has not even reacted to Dayan's remark in a recent Knesset debate that under "self-rule" the Israeli army would have the right not only to protect Jewish settlements on the West Bank but to enforce further land acquisition by Jews. Such threats hardly serve the cause of the security and stability for Israel and the Middle East.

History over and over again has proven magnanimity a better safeguard than myopic military thinking. Those who wish to see the case for alternative policies in the precarious Middle East negotiations should read the thoughtful analyses by two Israeli doves in recent interviews here which deserve far wider attention than they have received. One was the interview with Mattityahu Peled in the February 23 issue of the

New York Review of Books and the other with Arie Eliav in the December 24 *Nation* and (a longer version) in the January-February issue of *Worldview* magazine. Both these Israelis are seasoned by experience. Peled was a major general in the Israeli armed forces and Eliav was secretary general in 1970-72 of Israel's then ruling Labor Party. But both, despite, their past eminence, now that they are dissidents are in danger of being reduced to non-persons. They get little attention in the press and television.

How can wise solutions be reached, and the opportunity for peace rescued, when such dissident voices are hardly heard here above a whisper in what passes for debate on the Middle East? How can we talk of human rights and ignore them for the Palestinian Arabs? How can Israel talk of the Jewish right to a homeland and deny one to the Palestinians? How can there be peace without some measure of justice?

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PUBLIC SERVICE—3

In Other Countries

—relevant experience—

by A Special Correspondant

This is the third of six articles on the Public Service in Sri Lanka. The writer stresses in all the articles the compelling need for political neutrality on the part of public servants.

THE BRITISH EXPERIENCE. In recent times we continue to have ample evidence of the British politician's absolute dedication to the principle of political neutrality of the Civil Service in Britain. For this purpose I am taking the liberty

to quote from *Inside View* by Richard Crossman, one time Secretary of State for Social Services:

"What about the attitude of the official to the party politician who becomes Minister? The British Civil Service accepts the two-party system on condition that they themselves keep clear of it. They realise that, even in terms of administration, changes of government are wholesome things. They also realise that their own elaborate system of departmental and inter-departmental management requires a politician at the top of each Ministry who provides an ultimate point of decision, as well as functioning as a catalyst of change"²⁰.

Crossman goes on:

"What they (Civil Service) don't want is party politics, and they have a severe and puritanical view of party politics. For instance I have a large press department. The press department issues my speeches for the press and is very skilful in persuading the papers to publish them. But, of course, if my speech has reference to the opposition of a hostile character, it has to be issued by the Labour Party and not by my press department. They simply say that 'That has a political tinge to it: I don't think it is quite suitable for us Minister'²¹.

Let us ask ourselves honestly, is this possible in this country? I would not venture an answer. Crossman says something even more interesting:

"When I go on tour for the Department an extraordinary thing happens on most evenings. I am going around on official visits to see this hospital, that Social Security office. But later on that evening, I shall be addressing a Labour Party meeting.

There comes a point when the black saloon car disappears, along with my Press Officer and my Private Secretary. They are all off, and I am alone, until I walk across to a dim little Party car waiting for me on the other side of the street. I cease to be Minister on official visit; I join the party and make a political speech. These are severe customs which are religiously observed by the Civil Service. They know when I am their Minister on official service and when I am a politician working for the Party. In the second capacity they want nothing to do with me"²².

Comment as far as we are concerned in this country will be superfluous.

The *Governance of Britain* is the latest book of Prime Minister Harold Wilson, the writer has read. In this book Wilson refers to the Civil Service as "extremely agile and politically, almost cynically, dispassionate in reading electoral portents. Each department of state is preparing the necessary policy guidance on the main issues affecting its department"²³. He continues:

"For example, the incoming Government in March 1974 was committed to ending the previous Government's confrontation with the National Union of Mineworkers. Michael Foot on his appointment on the evening of Monday 4.03.74 found on his desk the relevant proposals for departmental action and for submission to the Cabinet. Cabinet was able to take action Tuesday afternoon, and renewed negotiations between the Coal Board and the Mineworkers began and were successfully completed on Wednesday. The State of Emergency, the compulsory three day week and other concomitants of the confrontation ended on Thursday"²⁴.

It is the view of the writer of this article, that it is this dedication to political neutrality of the British Civil Service that enables the Party coming to power to carry on its declared policy without difficulty or obstruction, imagined or otherwise. It is said that "in Britain even the Minister's Private Secretary will stay to serve his new master, abandoning overnight his loyalties and policies of his predecessor, suddenly acquiring that professional enthusiasm for the ex-enemy which is the special mark of the dedicated civil servant."

Anthony Sampson reports that after the 1970 elections, one civil servant wrote to him thus:

"I have been astonished to see with what automatic loyalty officials set out at once to apply the new Tory doctrines for freeing the individual from overmuch government. Whatever their personal skepticism and reservations, the very fact that the doctrine was purely political made it all the more a matter of conscience and duty to scrupulously to put it into practical effect"²⁵.

In any organised society where government is carried on by elected representatives of the people, the position of the public servant becomes somewhat ambivalent and very difficult, particularly at the higher echelons where they have to advise and help to shape policy. As R. W. L. Wilding had occasion to remark in a lecture on the post Fulton programme "the feeling that to be misunderstood by the ignorant is inevitable, and that to be traduced as a result is our peculiar badge of honour". It should, in any case be accepted that the duty of the civil service is to carry out the political decisions and be loyal beyond question to the government of the day. A striking example of how the politician and the civil servant work

in complete harmony and understanding is described by Herbert Morrison in *Government and Parliament*:

"Between the first part of the Potsdam discussions between representatives of the Governments of US, USSR and Britain, the British General Election was proceeding. Some of the Americans said to the British 'If there is a change of government as a result of the election in your country there will be, we suppose, changes in your more important civil servants. So we shant' see these British civil servants any more. They were assured, though they were not totally convinced, that this would not happen. They were genuinely puzzled and could not follow it when Mr. Atlee turned up as Prime Minister and head of the British delegation in the second part of the conference, instead of Mr. Churchill, accompanied by the same civil servants as served Mr. Churchill. Had the change of government been the other way round the same civil servants would have appeared and a Conservative Government could have equally relied on their loyalty. The fact, of course is that, civil servants are servants of Her Majesty, the Government—whatever the political colour of the Government may be—and of the nation"²⁶.

Thus in actual practice, changing political fortunes do not affect the traditions of the civil service in England. There is no reason why in our own country which had a public service from as far back as the first century BC these traditions cannot be cultivated. This cannot be achieved without political direction at the highest level. Our country's interests will best be served by such a civil service. It would not be a bad idea if an all party political conference decides

that any public officer who indulges in politics will have no place in the administrative hierarchy. This has to be an all party political decision. This certainly does not mean any disloyalty to departing political masters. I cannot describe this better than by quoting Anthony Sampson himself once again "When new Ministers arrive, the officials are studiously friendly and helpful. . . but they will never tell them the secrets of the previous governments policy decisions. The filing cabinets remain firmly guarded with combination locks by civil servants and on key subjects a new file is opened on the day the government comes to power. If an incoming Minister asks to see the files about devaluation or Rhodesia, the crucial documents will have been removed. . . when Ministers and advisers complain about files being withheld—as they have done—they are quietly referred to the Prime Minister". As one Permanent Secretary put it "their dirty linen is safe with us. If we can't promise them that, then they'll take the dirty linen somewhere else."²⁷

THE FRENCH EXPERIENCE.

More has been written in this paper about the civil service in Britain because our own service developed on those traditions. Let us now briefly refer to the French Civil Service. In their book *Public Administration in France*, Ridley and Blondel say that "an administration is characterised more by its spirit than by the institutions in which it works. The first characteristic of the service is its sense of mission and second characteristic is that the French Civil Service has consistently been a pole of attraction for all classes of the nation" Ridley and Blondel also remark that "while the British civil servants are concentrated in the capital and in large cities, French civil servants are deployed all over the country"²⁸

Napoleon established a civil service with lives of their own. As he said when he founded the Imperial University:

"I want to create a corps because such a corps does not die. . . It is necessary that such a corps should have privileges, that it should not be too dependent upon Ministers and upon the Emperor. . . I want a corps that will have an administration and rules so built into the organisation of the nation that it will never be possible to dismantle it without due consideration"²⁹

Lord Palmerston said the same thing, but in different words. "A civil service not too dependent upon Ministers" is thus seen as the pre-eminent need and quality that any government looks for in its servants. It is no wonder that since the end of World War II, when the governments of France were falling, the administration of the country was sustained by the civil service that had clearly imbibed the Napoleonic concept.

Ridley and Blondel have further said:

"...reforms modelled on the British practice were introduced shortly after the war. In the first place a civil service division was created in 1945. It was placed directly under the Prime Minister and the laws of 1946 and 1959 both stated that the Prime Minister was to 'supervise the implementation of the present law'. . . The Prime Minister was made directly responsible for the management of the civil service."³⁰

Thus in 1945 the prestigious Ecole Nationale d' Administration was established. Competitive examinations recruitment to the higher civil service which had been the practice from around 1875, was now made compulsory by the law of 1946. In 1795 the Ecole Polytechnique had been created

by the Revolution and Napoleon decided that it should run partly as a military school and partly as a technical school to train civil servants' "The Ecole Nationale d' Administration and the Ecole Polytechnique are unquestionably the two most important schools"³¹ where rigid discipline was imposed on the students. Ministers have increasingly had to recruit members for their cabinets "from the natural reservoir of technical and administrative skill, which is the civil service itself" and which these two institutions provided". Ridley and Blondel continue "Emphasis on political reliability has gradually given way to stress on technical competence. The turning point in this evolution was a law of 1911, followed by a decision of the Conseil d' Etat in 1912 which held for the first time that members of a cabinet (i.e. the cabinet of each Minister) were civil servants. . . cabinets have become increasingly to be staffed with specialists and less and less with purely political Aides-de-Camp." It must be noted that the Conseil d' Etat is the most renowned of the Advisory Councils which were set up during the time of Napoleon, which were the first and only form of consultative administration which the French system of Government knew at that time. It is remarkable that members were recruited from within the administration itself, which as we have already seen, were intended not to be too dependent on the politician. So much for the French system which again supports our view that a politically neutral civil service is an institution much to be desired and needs political support to achieve.

THE UNITED STATES EXPERIENCE. As regards this system, I cannot think of a better description than that given by Henry Parris which I quote in full:

"For almost 40 years after the adoption of the Constitution, the Federal Government was run, under the President and his Ministers, by a class of permanent administrators. Jefferson dismissed a number of them and gave their posts to his followers as a reward for party services. But with that exception, the system endured until the election of Andrew Jackson in 1828. After that, however, and the final establishment of a two-party regime, what had been the exception became the rule. Permanent officials were dismissed wholesale and their jobs, distributed among the faithful. Therafter, similar changes ensued whenever a Presidential election brought a new party to power."

This system has been described as the "spoils system". Parris asks "Why did not the spoils system take root in Britain?" He himself answers "prior to the 19th century, office was regarded as something closely akin to freehold property. To deprive a man of his place seemed, therefore only less shocking than to deprive him of his goods or land" During her reign, Queen Anne was one of the main opponents of the "spoils system." The attitude of George III was similar. In as much as there were features of the British Government favourable to permanence, which were absent in the US, so were there provisions of the US government favourable to the "spoils system" which did not apply in Britain. R. Moses in *The Civil Service of Great Britain* writes "There was not in England, as in the US, a reasoned principle of rotation. In the US the fear of entrenched and arbitrary authority of permanent office holders, inherited from the colonial days, had led a number of states to make express provision for short official terms and rotation."

I would like to conclude this section of the paper with a fuller quotation from Henry Parris regarding the US practice:

"Even under the spoils system, the American administrator could reasonably count on a fixed tenure of office, though a short one. Under a British spoils system there could have been no certainty whatever. The party in power in England must always be ready to resign on an adverse vote in the House of Commons. With a tenure of at least four years, and probably at least four more, the US could survive rotation. But no English cabinet could maintain itself in office a single year supported at Whitehall by an untrained rabble without certain tenure and opposed in Parliament at every turn by an embittered and rapacious minority. Who would care to enter the civil service with so hazardous a tenure? Who would want to be a government clerk for six months or even an under-secretary?" "For all these reasons, the spoils system did not take root in Britain. What happened instead was the evolution of the permanent civil service, in response to the novel problem posed by a change of government; who has to go and who has to stay. It involved the separation of the administrative sphere from the political sphere—for which there was, in any case, a good deal of pressure from the political side. . . the growing demands of political life itself, which made increasingly difficult for men to combine political with administrative roles."

THE INDIAN EXPERIENCE. Finally let us see how the public service in neighbouring India responds to the political compulsions. In 1924 the Lee Commission was appointed to report on the Super-

rior Services in that country. In recommending the setting up of a PSC the Commission had observed:

"Wherever democratic institutions exist, experience has shown that to secure an efficient civil service it is essential to protect it as far as possible from political or personal influences and give it that position of stability and security which is vital to its successful working as the impartial and efficient instrument by which government, of whatever political complexion, may give effect to their policies. In countries where this principle has been neglected, and where the "spoils system" has taken its place, an inefficient and disorganised civil service has been the inevitable result and corruption has been rampant".

It is further reported by Editor Shiva Rao in *Framing of the Indian Constitution* that on assuming office as Hon Minister, Sardar Vallabhai Patel minuted "Today my Secretary can write a minute opposed to my views. I have given him that freedom to my Secretaries. 'If you do not give your honest opinion for fear that it will displease me, your Minister, please then you had better go. I will bring another Secretary' I will never be displaced with a frank expression of opinion". Here again we see the golden thread that runs through the fabric of a country's government machinery that keeps on supporting the need for non-political civil servants who will not be swayed by the swing of the political pendulum.

GOVERNMENT AND THE CIVIL SERVICE. A Government is elected by the people to govern. It lays down policies and programmes in accordance with the mandate given to it by the country. The implementation is a task for the state officers. Thus, the public service has a supreme and sacred

responsibility to discharge. As pointed out by Herbert Morrison, they are the servants of the Nation, and not of a political party. As responsibilities of government have widened, to the same extent has the responsibility of the Public Service towards the country grown. Ordinary citizens confront the State at several points, in their daily life. Government taxes them, determines the eligibility of the citizen to the social service and other benefits they are entitled to. The type of education the children will receive is again a matter for determination by the government. Most people can discharge their responsibility to their families and to themselves depending entirely on the services provided by Government. Thus the public service, as the government's executing agency, is bound to be constantly in touch with the people. In consequence it's qualities of integrity, it's non-partisan reputation and total commitment to the policies of the government of the day is of importance to the people. This can be achieved only if the public servant is able to retain a non-political stance.

The civil service must administer with the knowledge that it too may be called upon one day to justify it's minutest action—this is the only safeguard against possible executive tyranny. In the moment of decision he almost automatically must ask himself how he could justify his actions in Parliament if called upon to do so. Above all it should be a matter of conscience, because it is his Minister who will be called upon to answer for the officials in the NSA.

Referring to the change of government in Britain and the responsibility that the civil service carries, Anthony Sampson's classic description is worth quoting:

"It gives the working of democracy the dramatic immediacy

of a coup d' etat, with removal vans in place of machine gun. But the combination of sudden change and smooth continuity reveals that behind this apparent break there is a heavy fly-wheel that keeps its momentum and survives any transition; the great machine of the permanent CIVIL SERVICE. The moment of change of government is the moment of truth in the relationships between the politicians and the bureaucrats"³².

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(To Be Continued)

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RACE RELATIONS IN SRI LANKA-2

Options Before Christians

by Fr. Tissa Balasuriya, OMI.

We publish the second of three instalments of an article on Race Relations in Sri Lanka by Fr. Tissa Balasuriya, OMI. Readers will find this series not only interesting and thought-provoking but also one that will induce action to bring about a Sri Lanka that will banish race conflict for ever. —Ed.

CHRISTIANS are a minority of about one million out of a total population of about 14 millions. Yet they have a significant place in race relations here. In race they are Sinhala, Tamil and Burgher.

They are found in all the provinces, districts, towns as well as in the plantation areas. They are related to the cultures of these peoples. The Muslims are Tamil and/or Sinhala speaking. On the other hand most Buddhists are Sinhala, and most Hindus are Tamils. Generally the Moors and Malays are Muslims and the Burghers are Christians.

Thus the Christians are a sort of linking factor within the country in so far as the religious ties are strong enough to affirm themselves even in times of racial tensions. The institutions run by Christians, specially the schools have also been a meeting place of different races, even after the language media separated the children racially into separate media streams. Thus Christians can and must be in the future a group that works for harmony in Sri Lanka with justice towards all.

Each religion provides its own motivation for human relations. Kindness and justice are enjoined by all. Christianity has love of neighbour as absolutely central to its understanding of goodness and holiness. Jesus taught that love of God and love of the neighbour are equal in importance. In fact the two form one commandment. When asked who is the neighbour who has to be thus loved unselfishly he narrated the parable of the good Samaritan. A Jew who fell among thieves, was beaten and left half dead on the road side was not helped by fellow Jews. Even the religious persons passed him by. It was a stranger, of another race, a Samaritan who stopped and took all the trouble to help him. Jews and Samaritans were then traditional enemies. Jesus thus taught the extent of the love of the other required of those who wish to follow his path.

Jesus regarded whatever is done in genuine love towards anyone

else as done to him. "Whatever you do to the least of those my brethren you do unto me." The criterion for admission to heaven, the eternal reward, is once again our attitude towards others. "When I was hungry, you gave me to eat... when I was in prison you visited me" . . . Mt. 25. In his teaching there is thus strong identification of love and concern for all others with the love and worship of God.

The teaching of the apostles is also clear. St. Paul says, in Christ there is neither Jew nor Gentile. St. James protests strongly against acceptance of persons merely because of their social position. Racism is thus incompatible with the gospel of Jesus Christ. Racial prejudice is incompatible with genuine Christian holiness of life.

UNFORTUNATELY throughout the history of the Church, there has been the need to combat the human weaknesses of racism, clannishness and casteism. Thus in the early Church there was a protracted debate before Gentiles were accepted as Christians. The Judaizing apostles were keen on imposing the Jewish cultural trait of circumcision first Council of the Church—the Council of Jerusalem.

In future centuries Christians were guilty of racism when Europeans expanded their empires to other Continents. By then Christians had come to accept the implicit superiority of the White race over the others. Hence the fight against racism is a century long struggle. It may have to be waged for many more ages till human beings are more thoroughly transferred to be truly human and hence closer to God.

Due to our human weakness we tend to be selfish. Selfishness is individualist and collectivist. Collective selfishness supports the

promotion of one's kith and kin even as against the good of others. Racism is a form of collective selfishness. Racial prejudice is nurtured by collective selfishness, specially in the expressions of culture, myth, folklore and even history.

Such selfishness makes us unconcerned about others, specially when there is apparent calm in the situation. That is why we tolerate slums alongside the five star Inter-Continental and Oberoi hotels. Similarly concerning race relations. When another's language is not given a rightful place it may not affect us. We do not feel it because we do not identify with the other. We may be satisfied with our position so we do not do anything about the evils around us. This can be true of members of the majority as well as of the minority communities. Can we be satisfied that we are really loving God and others if we ignore the causes which lead to such strained relations and even bloody violence?

RECOGNITION of our own guilt can be the beginning of wisdom and remedial action by us. It is essential that persons and religious groups recognize that racial prejudice is a deep long term malaise in our society. It is a form of special sinfulness that perverts our relationships. It takes structural forms as when the political constitutions and legal systems deny justice to persons. As a Christian Group we have not analysed the sin of our community relationship. It is doubtful whether there is adequate theological reflection on it in the training of the seminars, religious and laity. Even the Sunday sermons would tend to refer to it in times of crisis, but not as an ongoing situation which challenges us to a human and Christian response of righteousness and virtue against ingrained evils. Christian institutions have res-

ponded generously during times of racial crisis. The dedication of groups like the women religious was heroic and extremely self-sacrificial. We need to bring such enthusiasm to the long term remedying of the racial problems, otherwise we may only do remedial work after the damage takes place.

In order that we undertake to work systematically for communal justice, and harmony, a conscious option must be made for the types of race relations which are just. With clear awareness of the difficulties involved we must decide to give time and attention to it. This is more than even working for the rehabilitation of refugees, which too is a necessary and valuable work. We must strike deeper at the root causes of the evil, within ourselves and in their socio-political economic and cultural manifestations.

IT IS TRUE issues of communal justice are somewhat complicated ones, with political implications also. Hence too easily persons, committed to personal sanctification and to guide others in moral and spiritual advancement, neglect the analysis and study of these issues. They are said to be far beyond the ordinary persons reach; or sometimes even regarded as too mundane. A few of the more spiritualist guides tend to soft pedal these issues, since they believe that the kingdom of God is not limited to mere earthly goods and values. Whatever the reason, there is a tendency for religious persons to shun away from the social analysis needed for understanding these issues; and consequently for taking an option for justice. Yet these very problems impinge so deeply on people's daily lives, on their attitudes towards others and their work; on their feeling of being wanted for unwanted in this country and society. When calamities like August

1977 occur over a hundred thousand had to leave their homes and flee for safety as refugees. Can we truly love others as ourselves, and love others as children of the same loving God and not want to seriously ask ourselves why these things happen, and what we can do to prevent such inhumanity in our country and in our time? Can the moral guides of the people be silent on these long term issues, without forfeiting their very credibility? The issues are complicated and grave; hence also the deeper obligation for the religious leaders to take the means necessary to study and reflect on these issues and place their enlightened judgement and guidance before the masses of their followers and all others.

An option for communal justice is a spiritual decision as well as a political option. We must have no illusions about it. Unless politicians can be pressurized to bring about the necessary changes in the Constitution and the law of the country, there will be an important area of prejudice and injustice that would not be remedied. As in the overall question of social justice, communal justice requires active participation in the processes of political decision making. Failure to do so, would make us guilty of the evils of racial conflicts due to our negligence. Unfortunately much of Christian spirituality is still rather unrelated to the need of active participation in public life. How far is the sacramental life of the Christian communities related to the resolving of racial tensions: e.g. our confessions, masses, communions? How seldom do spiritual writers refer to growth in personal sanctity by such dedicated action in public issues? How few are the parishes which take a long term interest in such issues—beyond immediate help to those in need? The building of neighbourhood groups on an

inter communal basis can be a foundation for such action.

(To be Concluded)

LETTERS

Link Language

Sir,

In the discussion on 'Link Language' do we not ignore a most important language asset—A large number of our Tamil speaking peoples do know Sinhala and quite a few Sinhala speaking peoples know Tamil? These folks speak to each other and have strong social links uniting them to each other in many villages and towns. I do not know the statistics but I would suspect that there are as high a percentage of such citizens as there are English speaking Tamils and Sinhala folks. Our trouble is that we do not look to these folks to give the lead. Most of the reconciliation groups formed after the communal holocaust were English speaking folks who were not actually involved in the conflict and for whom therefore reconciliation is an empty word.

If leadership were more seriously given to the Sinhala and Tamil speaking peoples—and we must not kid them into the belief that this happens—when they choose between one group of English speaking folks and another every six years. I am convinced that those of the Sinhala and Tamil masses who do know each others' language will help to resolve the Island's problems.

Dr. Bryan de Kretser

Hendala.

11.3.78

Sansoni Commission

Sir,

I am shocked and pained to see that your valuable journal is completely ignoring the Sansoni Com-

mission and the extraordinary facts which are coming to light in the course of evidence being led before it. In fact in the Sri Lanka Chronicle wherein you record the events that occur during the week, there is hardly a sentence or two about the Commission or the startling evidence that is being given before it.

People in the South should know how their people had treated the Tamils. Then only a true and lasting solution can be found for this perplexing problem.

If the riots were sparked off by the cry for Eelam, surely it should not lead to the rape of women or murder of innocent people; and the rioters would not be led by powerful party personages or even ex-MPs.

I am afraid you must be under the impression that it is best not to stir any ill feeling by publication of these stories. But, to bury our heads in the sand ostrichwise would not solve anything.

I can understand the SLBC and hiring press keeping mum. But an independent paper like yours should have acted differently. You may have done this in the belief and hope that the Government would take steps to prevent any similar recurrence and solve the problem for good.

I fervently hope and pray that this would come true and falsify those who are saying that none has gathered figs of thorns or grapes of thistles.

Jaffna,

13th March 78.

S. A. V.

The daily papers report the bulk of the evidence before the Sansoni Commission, and owing to exigencies of space we have not repeated what appears in other papers. We will, however publish in due course, a summary of all the relevant evidence as a series for our feature FOR THE RECORD for permanent reference—Ed.

Confidentially

○ More About Fish

IS IT NOT TRUE that the suggestion in this column last week that all the fish caught in our waters do not come into our markets has been confirmed by a report in the *Sun* of March 16? That under the heading CAN FISH IN OUR WATERS BUT 40% OF CATCH OURS, the paper reported: "Fishing in our territorial waters is allowed to foreign entrepreneurs on the condition that 40 per cent of the catch be handed over to Sri Lanka, said the Chairman of the Fisheries Corporation, Mr. Oscar Fernando, yesterday. All costs of these fishing ventures will have to be borne by the foreign concerns which enter into agreement with the Corporation, he said. A fishing organisation in Hong Kong has already been permitted to fish in our territorial waters and a trawler of this organisation which is engaged in fishing in the deep seas off Trincomalee is expected to come ashore shortly. This believed to contain about 30 tons of fish and 40 percent of it will be delivered to the Corporation and the rest transferred to Hong Kong for processing. A Japanese firm is also expected to enter into this venture shortly." That this column last week had reflected suspicions that the Corporations trawlers had been leased out to foreign entrepreneurs? That an official statement on this question would be most welcome? That the question of "selling" the fishing rights in our waters, to foreign entrepreneurs, as revealed in the *Sun*, needs investigation at a high level? That it would be interesting to know whether the decision to sell the fish in our maritime economic zone to foreigners was made by Government at Cabinet level or whether it was

a unilateral decision of the Fisheries Corporation? That it is necessary to know how the Fisheries Corporation and its Chairman will ensure that 40% of the catch is handed over to Sri Lanka? That a foreign trawler can easily transfer several catches to other ships from its own country on the high seas outside our maritime economic zone without the Corporation being any the wiser? That the foreign entrepreneurs can claim that the part of the catch was caught outside Sri Lanka's maritime zone and that it did not come within the purview of the agreement? That the Fisheries Corporation should publish the agreements so far signed and which are likely to be signed soon with foreign entrepreneurs to catch fish in our waters so that the public can know what the Corporation is up to? That looked at from any angle the selling of fishing rights in our waters for a vague 40% of the catch is a splendid example of selling our birthright for a mess of pottage? That even if the Cabinet has been misled into sanctioning such agreements, it is time that this sale of fishing rights is reviewed? That the scarcity and high price of fish in our markets has become such a scandal that the government should do something about the matter pretty soon? That all the plans for economic development contemplated by government can easily be overcome by a fishy stink?

IS IT NOT ALSO A FACT that the distribution system the Fisheries Corporation had maintained for many years, however inadequately, had checked the profit-greedy activities of private mudalalis up to a point? That today the Fisheries Corporation's distribution has virtually collapsed? That it would be more correct to say that it has been dismantled to further the interests of the private sector

in the fishing industry—local as well as foreign? That there are loud proclamations over the SLBC from time to time that the Corporations vans would bring fish to every electorate regularly? That these vans are invisible and non-existent so far as the overwhelming majority of electorates are concerned? That the quip in political circles is that the only electorate where the Corporation vans is regularly seen is in Wennappuwa, the Minister's electorate? That this may well be a canard (and the Minister will do well to issue a statement of denial over the SLBC and which *Tribune* will be happy to publish), but the prevalence of this kind of talk only shows the frustration and disillusionment that has begun to grip the people? That, in whispers, the story is spread that in order to avoid "talk", the fish for the Minister's electorate is first taken to a store in Mattakuliya from the central fisheries depot in the Pettah? That it is from Mattakuliya that a van takes the fish to Wennappuwa? That ordinary people—who had voted UNP in 1977—are in such a mood of despair that they cannot help believing such stories? That in any case, Wennappuwa is a fishing area where a large amount of sea fish is normally caught every day but there are other areas which are non-fishing to which the Corporations vans should really be sent? That the opinion has gained ground that the big shots in the Fisheries Ministry and Corporation are only concerned with the export of our sea foods (especially the exotic and expensive varieties like tuna, prawns, crabs and lobsters) and that they do not seem to be in the least concerned with satisfying the needs of the local consumers? That the more anyone thinks about our fishing industry the more depressed and downcast one becomes?

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—Jawaharlal Nehru

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