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Letter From The Editor

THE RAINS CAME DOWN in torrents and many parts of the country experienced minor floods during the last fortnight. A landslide in Gampola took over thirty lives. The Meteorological Department issued warnings that the low-pressure depression that had settled over the country might prove dangerous, but it decided to move out. Many wondered whether the 10-year cycle of floods had materialised once again! There are still two months to go before the year and Sri Lanka may yet witness another major flood. Many parts of South India have suffered major flood damage. *THE YOUNG LADY ON THE COVER THIS WEEK* seems a little afraid to step into the usually placid and sluggish stream in which she bathes every day—now that it is swollen with flood water. With the rains and the floods, armed youths continue to rob private homes, rural banks, co-operative stores, schools and railway stations. Myopic pundits slipping into a verbose dotage refuse to accept that the youth in Jaffna were suffering from a dangerous *malaise*. Others in the South seek to brand armed youth who rob banks as political firebrands out to overthrow the Establishment. While Elders do nothing to inculcate the ethical values essential for any stable society, Prime Minister Jayawardene and some of his colleagues have drawn up a tentative *CODE OF CONDUCT* for Parliamentarians. It is always good to begin at the top, and if the elected representatives of the people, who are the virtual rulers of the land, set the example, it can be said to be a good beginning. There are many things on which we do not agree with President Carter but we endorse every word he has recently said about bringing greater morally ethical conduct to bear on national and international affairs. In his speech to the UN General Assembly on October 4, he said ".....Violence, terrorism, assassination, undeclared wars—all threaten to destroy the restraint and moderation that must become the dominant characteristic of our age. Unless we establish a code of international behaviour in which the resort to violence becomes increasingly irrelevant to the pursuit of national interests, we will crush the world's dreams for human development and the full flowering of human freedom. We have already become a global community—but only in the sense that we face common problems and share, for good or ill, a common future. In this community, power to solve the world's problems—particularly economic and political power—no longer lies solely in the hands of a few nations. Power is now widely shared among many nations with different cultures, histories and aspirations. The question is whether we will allow our differences to defeat us or whether we will work together to realize our common hopes for peace. Today, I want to address the major dimensions of peace, and the role the United States intends to play in limiting and reducing all armaments, controlling nuclear technology, restricting the arms trade, and settling disputes by peaceful means.....Peace will not be assured until the weapons of war are finally put away. While we work toward that goal, nations will want sufficient arms to preserve their security. The United States' purpose is to ensure peace." President Carter speaks of a *Code of International Behaviour*. This is something the world needs very badly. Nearer home, Prime Minister Jayawardene speaks of a Just Society, a Dharmista Society. To his credit it must be said that every major speech he has made in the NSA and outside after he became Prime Minister, is a landmark in the political history of the island. In the past, *Tribune* was not enamoured of what was regarded as the politics of J. R. Jayawardene, but as we have repeatedly said in recent weeks, his performance after he became Prime Minister has made us change our views. In the quest after the truth about J. R. Jayawardene, we have been able to lay our hands on an article written by him in 1939—nearly thirty eight years ago—in the *Wesak Supplement* of the *Ceylon Daily News* entitled *THE IDEAL STATE, BUDDHISM AND POLITICS*. It is a revealing exposition. It shows the way J. R. Jayawardene's mind has started working. He had come to accept Buddhism only a short time before. His public acceptance of Buddhism was regarded in many quarters with suspicion. In that decade, there were many who disowned Christianity and proclaimed themselves as Buddhists. They were known as Donoughmore Buddhists. It was only natural that quips should be made about J.R., born a Christian, accepting the teachings of the Buddha. In retrospect now, and in the light of what he has said and done after he became Prime Minister, there is no doubt that teachings of the Buddha had begun to take root in his mind and personality as a matter of conscience and conviction from the early thirties. Elsewhere in this issue we have published that article. Readers will find in it an intellectual exercise of a high order coupled with a great yearning for the ideal.

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EDITOR'S NOTEBOOK

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The PM's speech at Panduwasnuwara at the "Vap Magula" (ploughing ceremony) had the same fireside chat quality that has characterised all his more important speeches so far. In a broadcast to the nation he said: "I am participating in a Vap Magul ceremony after 25 years. In 1953, I, as the Minister of Agriculture, thought it a good thing if the Governor-General and I could participate in such a ceremony according to the traditional customs. Today I am participating in this ceremony as the Prime Minister of this country, chosen by the people. In ancient times, people lived by hunting. They lived like animals. As time went on, they began to live as civilised people. In groups or communities. They also started to plant grain and other pulses. More than 2500 years ago the Indian monarch Suddhodana too participated in Vap Magul ceremonies. With the coming of Vijaya and the founding of the Sinhala nation those traditions were brought to Sri Lanka. His Minister Upatissa founded Panduwasnuwara. It was King Panduwas Deva who started the building of tanks in the country. The first tank to be built in this country was Panduwas Wewa. It was after this that the construction of canals and irrigation systems was started. All these were built without the use of machinery or tractor or bulldozers. The Parakrama Samudra and the Kalawewa were constructed by manual labour. Five hundred years of foreign rule made us gradually forget our traditions and we began to be dependent on imports. Our needs, like rice, were imported. Large sums of money have gone abroad for the import of our food. All of us have tried to stop this drain of our precious resources. We do not import things like onions and potatoes and our cultivators are able to use this money. Through the years we have tried to be self-sufficient. This government's declared policy

is to make the country self-sufficient in rice within the next five years. There will be jobs for our youths. The Mahaweli project was to be completed in 30 years. We have decided to complete all three phases of the Mahaweli project in six years. This will provide jobs for 100,000 youths. There is the need for all of us to get together. We will have to sink whatever differences we may have and work towards achieving prosperity for our people. Ministers and Members of Parliament should make this type of Vap Magula part of a national programme. This is not a mere ceremony. It is the starting of a national project to make our people self-sufficient. We have no royalty today. There are no big families whose traditions have to be followed. We only have the common people and I as the chosen leader of this people and the country take great pride in participating in this historic Vap Magula."

He stressed that the target was to make the country self-sufficient in rice in five years. This is certainly an easily realisable objective. The PM avoided the self-assured boasting of bureaucrats and others associated with the government who claimed that the country could be self-sufficient in a year. *Tribune* believes that if the paper plans are implemented even 60 to 70 percent of the possible, Sri Lanka should be self-sufficient not only in rice but also in most food items in three years. But, making allowances for the usual gap between plans and fulfilment, five years is an outside limit.

The Prime Minister performed his little show gracefully, in village goviya costume (sarong tucked up and a turban-headgear) and the fact that he did the ploughing like a buffalo and an ancient version of plough had significance of its own. It had a rural appeal of its own and also indicated that the country was still in the buffalo ploughing era. The use of a tractor would have been inappropriate. The greater part of our "paddy lands" are small and fragmentary and the buffalo and the bullock are still the best means of ploughing these lands. Though four-wheel tractors can be used on them, they produce more economic results on larger holdings.

While the Prime Minister's part of the ceremony did not make

it what common people regard as a "tamasha" (his costume caused eyebrows to be raised among cosmopolitanised and sophisticated folk), the rest of the performance at Panduwasnuwara was without doubt an expensive "tamasha." Elsewhere in this issue, in one of our regular columns, there are some critical comments about the "tamasha" part of the ceremony. *Tribune* was surprised that the J. R. Jayawardene government should slip into this expensive "tamasha" so early in its life.

Wild stories are being circulated as to the amount of money spent on this performance. The sum mentioned is over a million rupees. The rumour and gossip circuit in Sri Lanka is fast circulating this story in every corner of the island. It is pointed out that the UNP had criticised the SLFP for spending vast sums of money on "tamashas" and that the UNP had already started to follow in the footsteps of the SLFP. If the Rs. one million is an exaggeration the Government should furnish the correct amount spent. There should be no "hiding" or making invisible some of the expenditure under different heads as in the past.

THE BUDGET SPEECH will be made on Tuesday, November 15. But, daily there are disclosures and revelations about the Budget to come. The Appropriation Bill for the financial year 1978 has been gazetted last week. The *Daily News* report, 29/10/77, by Latheef Farouk, provided an excellent summary: "According to the Bill the Government's estimated total expenditure for the financial year 1978 is Rs. 8,316 million. According to these figures the highest increase in the estimated capital expenditure has been allocated to the Ministry of Irrigation, Power and Highways. During the current year the estimated capital expenditure to this ministry was Rs. 463 million and for the year 1978 this has been increased to Rs. 694 millions which shows an increase of 231 millions. The estimated capital expenditure for the Transport Ministry for the year 1978 is Rs. 271 millions while it was Rs. 230 million for the current year. The estimated capital expenditure for the Education Ministry for the year 1978

Refloating The Economy

will be Rs. 64 million while it was Rs. 56.3 million for the current year. A sum of Rs. 12 million has been allocated as capital expenditure for the year 1978 which shows a decrease of 8 million compared to current year's figures for the Ministry of Trade. The estimated capital expenditure for the Ministry of Shipping, Aviation and Tourism is Rs. 19 million for the next financial year. The estimated capital expenditure of the Ministry of Industries and Scientific Affairs has been reduced from Rs. 591 million for the current year to Rs. 539 million for the next financial year. The estimated capital expenditure for the Ministry of Agriculture and Lands too has been reduced from Rs. 212 million for the current year to Rs. 168 million for the next financial year while this has been increased for the Ministry of Fisheries from Rs. 47 million for the current year to Rs. 115 million for the next financial year. Ministry of Local Government, Housing and Construction is given an estimated capital expenditure of Rs. 313 million for the next financial year. Although the recurrent expenditure for the promotion and development of minor export crops was Rs. 2,010,000 it has been allocated with an estimated capital expenditure of Rs. 4,005,510 for the next financial year. A sum of Rs. 8 million has been allocated as the estimated capital expenditure for the Ministry of Textile Industries. But the recurrent expenditure for the promotion and development of textile industries Rs. 647,500 has been allocated with a capital expenditure of Rs. 5,400,010."

In the world of corridor gossip in Colombo, it was whispered that Ronnie de Mel had managed to collect US \$ 500 to 600 million in cash credits for Sri Lanka for 1978 and for two years after that. This is the period (3 years) that experts feel is required for Sri Lanka to get on its feet as a mini-Singapore in order to start generating foreign exchange earnings on its own and also to stabilise itself as a model little outpost of private enterprise in what is left of global capitalism in the complex world of today.

Mr. Ronnie de Mel has not officially disclosed what he had collected in his begging bowl, but his

press statements and speeches after his return have given an indication of what is in the air. In his speech at the Central Bank Auditorium, on October 28, to a gathering of Bank heads and Corporation Chairmen under the Ministry of Finance, Mr. Ronnie de Mel had, according to a report (Ajith Samaranyake reporting) in the *Observer*, 28/10/77, had stated: "1978 should be observed as a year of production and employment and asked Bank heads and Corporation Chairmen coming under his purview to devote the coming six months to reorganisation so that the effects of the chaotic legacy left behind by the last government could be overcome. The Minister appealed to the officials for their co-operation to deliver the goods 'If we don't our Government will not last six years and the government which will follow will not be so fair you as our Prime Minister has been', Mr. de Mel told his officials. 'You will be treated on Galle Face Green'. In an intensely political speech the Minister said that the Government was determined to avoid the mistakes made

by its predecessor. For that it needed the active co-operation of the bureaucracy. The Minister said that he had returned from a visit to aid-giving countries in the role of a mendicant. He had brought aid but he did not enjoy going with a begging bowl. The Government had decided to establish a free economy in the country. Already he was receiving a sheaf of memoranda from businessmen appealing for the relaxation of various controls. 'But none of these people tell us from where this money is going to come,' he said, adding that in addition to current expenditure, 5,000 to 6,000 million a year was needed for a free economy. This money had to be generated through increased production. The Finance Minister told the officials that the Government, the Prime Minister and he personally had great confidence in them. That was why they had been appointed. He appealed to them to carry out their duties in such a way that confidence would not be impaired. Mr. de Mel said that the Government was determined to avoid the mistakes of the previous regime. In

BOUQUETS

***RAJU COOMARASWAMY.** Not many developing (or even developed) countries have opportunities of having the services of an experienced and able administrator like ("Roving") Raju Coomaraswamy to be the adviser to the Prime Minister and the Government on international financial matters. Raju, after a distinguished career in the Ceylon Civil Service, (*Tribune*, had then occasionally criticised him on matters he did not merit censure—but *Tribune* was, at that time, on the crest of a hyper-critical stage of its evolution), went over to the U.N. to join the UNDP. Raju became an international civil servant of great repute. If there is one thing Raju must be familiar with, it is about the labyrinthine intricacies and mystique about the IMF, IBRD and the international monetary system. His angle of vision may have so far been from an official point of view but Raju has the perception to know the system from inside and also to be able to help his mother country to get the best out of many worlds—First, Second and the Third. The Prime Minister must be offered a bouquet for making this appointment at this critical stage of our history. He will have someone who can give him the "dope" on many intricate matters of international monetary and fiscal importance.

***FOOD DRIVE.** A bouquet must also be handed out to the Government for the early start on the Food Drive. The symbolic inauguration at Panduwasnuwara in the NWP on October 27, augurs well for the country. This is a part of the country where the Sarvodaya (and one of its indefatigable workers, Upali Senanayake), have prepared the ground for a flying start in pushing the Food Drive. *Tribune* has emphasised, during the entirety of the two-decades from its inception, the importance of Food Production. There is no doubt that Sri Lanka can be totally self-sufficient in food: and it can also export vast quantities of cereals, pulses, fruits, vegetables, meat, fish, eggs and a whole range of other food items. With agro-industries Sri Lanka can export processed food as well. But, it is necessary that people should work at least 8 hours a day. In fact, they should be induced to work 12 hours—they will, if the proper incentives and returns are made available.

Sri Lanka there was a population with an acute political consciousness. They could not be fooled. They were already critical of the Government not only here but also abroad as he had discovered on his recent visit.

"The Minister said that under the last government corruption and family bandyism had thrived. Official vehicles had been misused. He had received complaints that even after the UNP had come to power officials under his Ministry had misused official vehicles. This had to stop. The Minister told his officials that hereafter appointments to institutions under his purview should be strictly on merit. The last Government had abused this. It had also given tenders and contracts through improper means. The highest in the land had been involved in this. If any improper appointments are made hereafter he would immediately abolish them, Mr. de Mel said. Under the last government the People's Bank had been misused. Loans to the tune of 20 to 30 million had been given on the strength of a single phone call. He knew that there were people in the UNP too who were waiting to step into the shoes of such corrupt persons. He wished to warn them at this stage. In a straight from the shoulder speech, Mr. de Mel, told the officials, that he was against conspicuous expenditure. 'Please don't suggest buying new buildings or airconditioning your office,' he said 'I am not in favour of any attempt on your part to expand your empires.' He was prohibiting either the buying or construction of new buildings in the city. On the other hand he would welcome proposals aimed at increasing production saving and investment, the Minister, said....."

The Daily Mirror, October 29, carried a frontpage banner headline IMF TO FINANCE EXCHANGE DEFICIT. The report (by S. A. Gilbert Dias) stated: "The International Monetary Fund, the Daily Mirror learns, has agreed to finance the foreign exchange budget deficit next year. The IMF team led by Mr. Douglas Scott left last Tuesday after negotiations with the Prime Minister, Mr. J. R. Jayawardene, Minister of Finance, Mr. Ronnie de Mel, and other Ministers and officials. The IMF decision, the first of its kind will help the Government's economic recovery pro-

gramme, according to financial circles. Meanwhile the Minister of Finance and his officials are working on the Budget to be presented in the National State Assembly on November 15. According to informed sources there is likely to be a relaxation of exchange control regulations governing imports and exports and foreign travel. There is a possibility of the reduction of the Business Turnover Tax on manufacturing industries and export industries which will result in the prices of local products coming down or being maintained at present levels. However a higher levy of BTT on hotels is likely. The FEECs scheme will also be revised. The current view is that the FEECs scheme will be withdrawn and the parity rate of the Ceylon Rupee increased to offset the loss on the 65 per cent FEECs rate. There will be salary increase for public and private sector employees. According to the scheme the increase is likely to be in the region of 25 per cent to 20 per cent with lower income groups receiving bigger increases. The rice and sugar subsidy is likely to be revised. The salary point at which the consumers will not receive subsidies is being studied. Foreign travel will be relaxed. Those who wish to pursue higher education abroad and undergo medical treatment will be provided necessary foreign exchange. Government departments and corporations are to be given permission to import their requirements without formalities of exchange control. They will merely submit documents to the Exchange Controller and Import Controller without awaiting their approval. Rupee tickets for travel abroad on Air Ceylon will also be except from approval by the Exchange Controller. The proposal to lower the income tax ceiling is being considered. The increase in the duty on import of cars is also another step that is being looked into."

The Sun of October 31, confirmed that the amount of 'foreign aid' was in the region of US \$ 630 million: "The Finance Minister, Mr. Ronnie de Mel, has been successful in negotiating aid to the tune of 630 million US dollars, the Sun reliably understands. The aid will come from the International Monetary Fund, member countries of the Air

Sri Lanka Consortium and other international lending agencies with which Mr. de Mel had talks during his recent mission abroad. The Cabinet is now studying details connection with the individual air offers. Final approval is to be given to these matters shortly so that the Minister could finalise the budget proposals due to be presented in the National State Assembly on November 15".

There is also ample evidence that the "socialist" supra-structure and the infra-structure set up by the United Front and SLFP government from 1970 to 1977 is being dismantled. Even the LSSP "capitalist" gimmick of CRA will definitely be thrown overboard. What is likely to emerge in the forthcoming Budget is a blue print for a capitalist economy tempered by controls and regulations to give an infusion of "welfarism" and "social democracy" to enable the UNP to claim that the country was evolving a new kind of "democratic socialism".

At the moment, people do not seem to be concerned about what kind of economy is taking over the island: they are not worried about "socialism" or "democratic socialism" or any other "ism". All they want is a reduction in the cost of living (this has not yet happened in a significant or comprehensive manner), more employment and more consumer goods. If these become available within the next six to nine months, the government will be well away, if not... a new deluge will overtake the country with fatal consequences.

THE SOVIET UNION celebrates the sixtieth anniversary of its founding next week. It has adopted a new Constitution which is claimed to reflect the present stage in the development of the USSR. In Colombo, at a meeting to mark the anniversary at John de Silva Memorial Theatre on October 31, Mr. Gamini Dissanayake, Minister of Irrigation, power and Highways said: "The United National Party government led by the Prime Minister Mr. J. R. Jayawardene would never surrender the sovereignty of the country to any world power, be it the Soviet Union, the United

States, or China or even India, even if any of them were prepared to fill the island with gold. The government would welcome aid from any country, as long as that aid was in keeping with the policy of this government, he said. The Soviet Minister of Fisheries, Mr. N. Vanyayer, had talks with the Prime Minister Mr. J. R. Jayawardene yesterday, said Mr. Dissanayake, where certain policy matters had been clarified, he said. The Prime Minister had explained to the Soviet Minister at the talks that the UNP in its history had not opposed the establishment of diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union. The commonly held belief that it was the late Mr. S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike who had been instrumental in establishing diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union after he came to power in 1956 was wrong, the Minister said. At the time of the 1956 General elections talks were already in progress for the establishment of such relations between Mr. R. S. S. Gunawardene, the Sri Lanka's UN representative and Soviet Union officials. At the talks the Prime Minister had with the Soviet Minister that misconception had been cleared, Mr. Dissanayake said. He said the Soviet Union was today the most powerful nation in the socialist bloc. Its history was inseparably linked with Lenin. Lenin had the distinction of being the founder of the great Soviet Republic. Such people were very rare in history, he added. He thanked the Soviet Union for the assistance given to Sri Lanka so far to improve her economy. In future too he hoped such assistance would be forthcoming."

About the new Constitution, the New Delhi daily, *Patriot* had summed up the virtues of the Constitution in an editorial in the following terms: "The new Soviet Constitution adopted unanimously by the Supreme Soviet of the USSR is now the law of the world's first 'socialist state of the whole people'. It expresses the will not of one or two sections of the people, but the 'will and interests of the workers, peasants and intelligentsia, the working people of all nations and nationalities of the country.' These statements are not a matter of rhetoric often used in the preambles of state documents; they indicate changes in the material and spiritual conditions of life of a

great and powerful nation. Otherwise, definitions of socialist states—dictatorship of the proletariat, a state of workers and peasants and a state of the whole people—would not have raised controversies in the Communist world. The position in this case is that the state of the 'whole people' embodies a system of the economic social and political development since the working people of the Soviet Union came into power and established the world's first socialist state 60 years ago."

"The new Constitution affirms that a developed socialist society has come into existence, which will now advance towards the Communist stage, with abundance of material wealth and a heightened moral consciousness. There are no hostile classes like 'capitalist-roaders' or 'poisonous weeds' in the Soviet Union. All its people are now linked by mutual understanding and practical co-operation. The Communist party, called upon to play an extensive role by the new Constitution, will

not enjoy any new privileges; it will have to perform additional duties in order to hasten the advance to a better life.

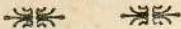
"Apart from material and administrative changes since the triumph of the Great October Revolution—changes which include the end of the civil war and the formation of Asia and other new republics—what calls for special recognition now is the extension of democracy, the association of more and more people in taking and implementing decisions, an end to the cult of personality and repressions associated with it. The discussion of the Constitution involved no less than 140,000,000 men and women, more than 80 per cent of the adult population of the Soviet Union. The draft was discussed at nearly 1.5 million meetings of all sections of people, including musicians and artists, and 400,000 proposals for amendments were received by the Constitution Commission, headed by Mr. Leonid Brezhnev. And all this was not a formality because

BRICKBATS

***EXPENSIVE TAMASHA.** It is a good thing to have a ceremonial opening for the Food Drive. And no better place than Panduwasnuwara could have been chosen. But what was the need to make an expensive tamasha of it? Stories are already circulating in Colombo about the vast sums of money that have been spent on the spectacular gimmicks got up to make a Cecil B. de Mille show of the event. Must all this money be spent on such trappings? Could the money not have been used for more useful purposes in connection with the Food Drive? Many brickbats must be thrown at those responsible for all the tamasha gimmicks and also for inviting the more decorative ladies (and their husbands), of old Colombo vintage, for a fabulous lunch at Panduwasnuwara? Are these the types who will usher in the Dharmista Society? The Government-controlled media has begun to sing the usual praises they had customarily bestowed on such tamashas—in the past. The newspapers don't care, but common people are already saying that the new UNP has already started doing what the old UNP and the SLFP had done—indulge in tamashas! The old UNP was cast down because of the tamashas. Must the new follow the old?

***SMOKING IN BUSES.** The new administration of the CTB, in the first flush of new-broom enthusiasm, had proclaimed that it will end queues, end overloading, end footboard riding and enforce the no-smoking rule. Today, the queues are longer, especially in the outstations as buses have been withdrawn to towns, the over-loading is greater and footboard riding has hit a new high. Smoking in buses has become a greater nuisance than ever—much to the annoyance of passengers. The CTB wants Rs. 140 million to import new buses. Why not repair, service and maintain existing buses? Purchasing new buses means a commission for some one. Who? The proposal to half-denationalise the C.T.B. is welcome—at least to get rid of the bureaucrats at the centre, the districts and the depots. Brickbats must be flung at the C.T.B. bigwigs who say that the old order has been changed. The new, to the ordinary commuter, seems to be worse than the old. A new half-private, half-state bus company is pointless unless there is efficient management. But management will deteriorate if making "commissions", invisibly, abroad, is the sole motivating factor at the higher levels.

the Commission accepted 150 amendments. The manner of the drafting of the Constitution as well as its substance provides the best answer to the virulent campaign run by the West on the question of human rights in the Soviet Union. An honest observer cannot but admit that rights and the freedoms of the people guaranteed under the Soviet Constitution cover a much wider range and are more meaningful and effective than in the so-called Western democracies, where rights are proclaimed without the means to fulfil them."



BETWEEN THE LINES

BY SERENDIB

- Capital
- Lorries
- Loot

*NSA TO ANURADHAPURA.

The Sun of October had a report with the headline: CALL TO MOVE NSA TO ANURADHAPURA. The report read as follows: "Notice of a motion calling for the setting aside of the proposal to shift the National State Assembly to the famed city of Jayawardhanapura, Kotte, has been given in the National State Assembly. The motion asks that instead the NSA be shifted to Anuradhapura, the Capital city of Rajarata where a thousand kings reigned. This motion appears on the Order Paper of the NSA for Wednesday, November 2, and has been moved in the name of Mr. Dayaratne Walagambahu. The reasons he lists are that 'with a view to honouring the policies followed by the Sinhalese kings of the past in their endeavours to establish a righteous law-abiding society and as a remedy to the national problem arising from the attempt to split the country into two as envisaged in the proposal which seeks to assign the area that side of the country from Punawa of Vavuniya District up to the Jaffna Peninsula to the Tamils and this side of the country to the Sinhalese and also as a safeguard against the potential threat to the security embodied in such a division.' He said this step would perpetuate the ideals of nationalism, patriotism and loyalty to the country cherished and held inviolable for well over 2500 years and assure

the rights and heritage of those descendants coming down from the lineage of Maha Parakramabahu the Great."

Bryan de Kretser has been wanting the capital of Sri Lanka to be shifted to Anuradhapura. He has been shouting about this in the wilderness for a long long time. But Bryan's voice has often broken out of the wilderness with great force. His campaign to end the MPs chit system met with great success. One of the first decrees of the JR Government was to disband, denounce and forbid the Chit system.

Then, the new Speaker wanted to shift the NSA to his electorate. A new NSA building has been long over due. But why shift it to Kotte? Why shift it to a suburb simply because a former Sinhalese king had his palace there, in Kotte? Isn't it better that the NSA be retained inside the Municipality of Colombo, the capital of Sri Lanka?

The "decision" to shift the NSA to Kotte has produced a UNP backbencher's reaction from the MP for Mihintale who has taken the opportunity to tag on an anti-Eelam bogey to justify his demand. The Mihintale MP's "call" is really a demand to shift the capital to Anuradhapura because where the NSA is, there the capital is. Many rightly feel that the shifting of the NSA to Kotte (why not Wattala or Dehiwala or Ratmalana?) is only an attempt to shift the hub of the capital to Kotte.

Shifting the NSA to Kotte has other implications in Sri Lanka where every king—after the Anuradhapura era—was never happy unless he built a Capital of his own. And in the best traditions of this island, every Speaker may hereafter want to shift the NSA or the Parliament (nomenclatures may change) to his electorate.

***FOOD DEPT. LORRIES.** A Daily Mirror, (14.10.77), headline stated: ONLY 78 OF 236 FOOD DEPT. LORRIES IN RUNNING ORDER. The news report said: "Out of 236 lorries that are available for the transport of food at the Chalmers Granaries only 78 were in running condition, a spokesman of the Food Department told the Daily Mirror yesterday. He said the transport department of the Food Department was in a mess for the past several years. He said

it was a crime to allow this type of thing to continue as the Department was spending large sums of money on private contractors. He cited one instance where the Department spends about Rs. 850 on one lorry to transport food from Colombo to Anuradhapura. Some of the lorries were beyond repair but a large number of them could be run if repairs were effected. He added that large-scale pilfering was taking place and in one case a dashboard of a lorry was missing."

The Food Department spokesman's moaning will reach up to the high heavens, but it becomes a pointless exercise if nothing is done about it. Everyone knows why the lorries "are not in running order." The vested interests in the Food Department get a "cut" from private lorry owners. Either the corruption has to be eliminated if departmental lorries are to be kept in running order—or, the alternative is abolish the departmental lorry system and hire private lorries on competitive tender rates after allowing nongh lorry-owners to offer keen competition.

But if the Railway is made to work as it should, then more than half the food cargo presently carried by lorries can go in the CGR. And this will make it cheaper for the Food Department and the country!

*MAHARAGAMA POLICE AND LOOT.

The Sun of October 21, under the heading MAHARAGAMA POLICE WERE INVOLVED IN DISPOSAL OF LOOTED GOODS, reported the proceedings before the Supreme Court as follows: "The ASP, Nugegoda, Mr. Hillary Abeygoonasekera, said yesterday that a section of the residents in Maharagama did not like certain activities of the Maharagama Police. He was testifying under cross-examination before a three-member bench of the Supreme Court in the habeas corpus application filed by Mr. Wijepala Wickremasooriya of School Lane, Nugegoda, over the illegal detention of Padmalal Tilakawardena. The petitioner is seeking that Thilakawardena be produced before the Supreme Court and be dealt with according to law. Mr. Abeygoonasekera, in his evidence-in-chief, spoke about the entries made in the Information Book. Under cross-examination, he said

that there had been complaints of assault by the Maharagama Police and a number of complaints were against the second respondent in this case Mr. S. Dharmadasa, OIC Maharagama Police. The Maharagama Police, he said, were working hard to recover goods looted during the recent disturbances. A special squad had been detailed in this connection. Referring to allegations about Police officers in Maharagama being involved in the disposal of looted goods, the ASP said he became aware of this a long time after August 30th. *Court:* Should the second respondent not have brought to your immediate notice that Police officers were suspected of being involved in the disposal of looted goods? *Witness:* Yes. Witness accepted the fact that although he was informed later, he did not take any action. *Mr. Corbett Jayewardene* (senior counsel for the petitioner); Tilakawardena was taken to the OIC's bungalow after he was arrested because certain Police officers of the Maharagama station were themselves suspect. What is the proper procedure? *Witness:* He could have been taken to the Mirihana Police Station, interrogated and put in a cell there. *Mr. Jayawardene:* He was taken to a private doctor to attend to his injuries as soon as he was arrested. Is this correct? *Witness:* No, the normal procedure is to take him before a government doctor. Thereafter Mr. S. Sivarasa, Deputy Director of Public Prosecutions appearing for the two respondents, closed his case and began his address. The case will be resumed today. The Supreme Court bench hearing this case comprises Mr. Justice C. V. Udalgama, Mr. Justice Malcolm Perera and Mr. Justice B. C. S. Ratwatte."

This report does not need any comment. And, as the case is still *sub judice* we cannot comment on the merits of the case.

But, this Maharagama case has taken the lid off police conduct in a big way. A senior officer admitted that members of the Maharagama Police were alleged to be involved in the disposal of loot. Reports on the grapevine reaching *Tribune* indicate that if similar Supreme Court probes are made in places as far flung as Jaffna, Anuradhapura, Galle, Kandy and other places, it will be found that members of the Police in all these places had brought disgrace to in the Uniforms and their Service.

***MALDIVIVE FISH.** The *Sunday Times* had an illuminating piece under the heading **SUBSTITUTE FOR MALDIVIVE FISH.** "A local entrepreneur has made a breakthrough in producing fish powder (which is also claimed to be a substitute for maldivive fish) at low cost and using local technology. His product is protein-rich (61 per cent) and sterile, according to Medical Research Institute laboratory tests. It could be used to savour curries and soups and as a base for sambols and 'lunumiris.'"

"With the Maldivian Republic turning over its catches of tuna to Japanese and other foreign buyers its fish drying and curing industry is on the way out and Sri Lanka will have to do without maldivive fish. The availability of the new product both as a protein food and as a substitute for maldivive fish could result in a saving of foreign exchange in the import of maldivive fish and dry fish. The new product is being marketed in the Pettah in polythene packs".

This *ersatz* maldivive fish is said to be "very good." Those who have been able to get it say so. *Ersatz* or Synthetic Caviar from Russia cannot be distinguished from the genuine under any tests! Honey made synthetically by a well-known multi-national is no different from the real honey of the bee-farms. Pol-sambol and all other Sambols with maldivive fish have already become a thing of the past.

* * *

NEIGHBOURS

● Indonesia ● Philippines
● Arabia ● Iran

by The Recorder

THE SUB-CONTINENT— India, Pakistan, Bangladesh and Nepal—has been relatively quiet this week. Bhutto is arguing his case before the Supreme Court, while General Zia seeks ways and means of stabilising his administration. He is said to have the backing of Saudi Arabia and Iran and has made a trip to Kabul to ensure that the Pathans do not start trouble. The demand for a fresh election grows daily and it is clear that Bhutto has more popular support than Zia (and his backers) had be-

lieved. In India, Mrs. Indira Gandhi is trying to stage a comeback in a pugnacious way and one more mistake by Charan Singh will help her. Prime Minister Morarji Desai has been on a six-day official visit to the USSR to establish that Janata's "genuine" non-alignment did not "tilt" completely to the West. Repression has increased in Bangladesh while Nepal is contending with a serious hashish (narcotics) problem.

In Southeast Asia, there has been a new military coup in Thailand. Even the usually well-informed *Far Eastern Economic Review*, (FEER) 28/10/77, had a eulogistic piece on how "Thailand's Premier Tanin Kraivixien has celebrated a year in office—which may not have come as a surprise to him, but it did to pessimists who gave the right wing lawyer only a few months when he came to power on the heels of a military coup." Bangkok's FEER correspondent, Richard Nations, has an investigative piece in the same issue on "the secret of Tanin's survival". Nations stated: "Bangkok: October 22 marked the first anniversary in office of Thai Prime Minister Tanin Kraivixien. And it was one anniversary far fewer. This expected to witness than Tanin himself may care to admit, for the new premier was given no more than four months when the military first lifted him from the obscurity of right-wing legal circles to head the civilian government following the October 6 coup." But even before this issue of FEER came on the newsstands (the weekly is ready one week ahead), the new military coup had taken place.

But, more than Thailand, Indonesia, has been in the news. **Amnesty International**, the Nobel Prize winning organisation, has called for a worldwide drive to secure the release of political prisoners in Indonesia. The FEER also of 28/10/77 had a five-page report by David Jenkins about conditions in the prison camps. "He chronicles the complaints of the detainees, and analysis 'operation supernatural powers'—the Government's plan to release nearly all its prisoners within the next two years."

Amnesty International in a 150 page booklet sets out the details of the story of political imprisonment in Indonesia. It is a sad and sordid story, and many ask

why President Carter has not said one word about the 100,000 prisoners of conscience in Indonesia. The Introductory Note of the Report states: "The situation of political prisoners in Indonesia is profoundly disturbing. With regard to numbers, time-scale, methods used by the government and the history of mass killings and massive arrests, political imprisonment in Indonesia is without parallel today. More than 55,000 political prisoners are distributed throughout the many islands of the Republic of Indonesia; and the correct figure is probably as many as 100,000.

"Who are these prisoners? Why are there so many? Why are they transported to permanent penal settlements? Why have so few been tried? Why have vast numbers been held without for more than 11 years? These are the questions with which this report is concerned. Amnesty International has consistently pointed out that the Indonesian Government's policy of political imprisonment amounts to persistent and gross violation of human rights.

"The facts are simple and terrible. Tens of thousands of political prisoners in Indonesia are held captive without trial, or used as servants by local military commanders, or exploited as forced labour, or subject to an archaic policy of transportation to penal colonies. They are ill-treated by the authorities. The majority have now been held prisoner for more than 11 years without trial. Men, women and children are held prisoner, arbitrarily and at the discretion of local military commanders. The unconstitutional and illegal treatment of the prisoners is illustrated by the political trials of a relatively small number of prisoners.

"The courts have never been known to acquit a single defendant, and convictions have been based on the merest shreds of evidence. The judges have sentenced prisoners to death or to gross periods of imprisonment. This cynical use of the courts to try prisoners is merely an attempt by the Indonesian Government to present the world with the illusion that they are trying to solve the problem according to established standards of justice. All Indonesian political prisoners are tightly controlled by the military authorities. The prisoners are at the

mercy of local military commanders, who have the power to arrest, interrogate, permit the use of extreme and brutal torture, imprison, use prisoners as servants or forced labour, release and re-arrest them; to act in a completely arbitrary way with regard to people taken captive without charge or trial.

"For the prisoners and their families, what happened after an abortive 'coup' mounted by a small number of middle ranking Army officers in 1965 has been a continuing nightmare. First there was the period of fear and uncertainty when the Indonesian Army conducted a nation-wide 'inquisition' to destroy what they regarded as left-wing elements in Indonesian society. There were sudden arrests, interrogation and torture, followed by the likelihood of a summons to face summary execution, or the possibility of harsh and interminable imprisonment without charge or trial. All this without any reference to constitutional and legal rights, and carried out completely and arbitrarily at the discretion of local military commanders.

"Although there has been growing international concern over the last few years about the plight of political prisoners in Indonesia, governments and ordinary people have been reluctant to express their views because of the complexity of the problem, and because its dimensions often seem incredible.

"The Amnesty International report describes the situation of Indonesian political prisoners; although the problem is complex, the fundamental issue of Indonesian political imprisonment is simple.

"No government has the authority arbitrarily to imprison large numbers of people, unconstitutionally, illegally and contrary to the rule of law. No government should allow political prisoners to be held entirely within a military system of administration which controls all matters concerning political prisoners, and permits local military commanders to exercise complete arbitrary power over political prisoners. No government should transport political prisoners held without trial to permanent penal

settlements, or exploit them as forced labour in a daily struggle for survival to produce all their own food and to provision the military garrison guarding them. Military commanders should not be empowered to decide which prisoners are to be released and which held indefinitely; nor empowered to seize the goods and property of prisoners and their families, and to demand large bribes from the latter as the price for releasing their relatives.

"A number of political commentators have noted with concern that the 'inquisition' in Indonesia has prompted careless speculation elsewhere. When the September 1973 coup in Chile occurred, the words 'Jakarta, Jakarta' were chalked on to walls, apparently to indicate that some of the participants in the coup were hoping for a repetition of what had taken place in Indonesia. And in Turkey, some right-wing groups have debated whether to follow

Civil Rights Movement of Sri Lanka

The CRM welcomes the repeal of the CIC Act. The CRM was amongst the foremost critics of this legislation at the time it was introduced in 1972. The CRM also welcomes the repeal of the provisions of the Exchange Control (Amendment) Act which permitted suspects to be detained for long periods in solitary confinement, and which the CRM has criticised as providing for secret trial in the police station.

Another Act which the CRM had occasion to criticise when it was passed was the Interpretation (Amendment) Act No. 18 of 1972. The CRM urges the government to give its attention to the need to repeal this Act and provisions in various other laws which prevent the citizen from seeking legal redress against abuse of governmental authority.

R. Siriwardene
Secretary.

2.10.77

(Resolution adopted at meeting of the Civil Rights Movement held on 21st October, 1977)

the 'Indonesian example' in order to eradicate the left-wing influence in Turkish politics. In Thailand, following the military coup of October 1976, there has been open speculation among some leading military officers as to whether, if the 'Indonesian example' were followed, the country would be able to eradicate left-wing elements for at least a decade. It is in this context that the facts about political imprisonment and its history in Indonesia must be understood. The terrible 'inquisition' that was conducted in Indonesia, the mass killings and massive scale of political imprisonment, are a warning of the dangers of such speculation.

"AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL considered it its duty over the years to report the facts of Indonesian political imprisonment. This has incurred the displeasure of the Indonesian Government. In a recent speech, General Ali Said, the Indonesian Prosecutor General, was reported to have said that "there cannot be any meeting point between the outlook of the Indonesian Government and Amnesty International. 'For this reason', he said, 'we shall not deal with them' (Sinar Harapan, 6 January 1977).

"Amnesty International believes that Indonesian Government policy towards political prisoners, is an appropriate and proper subject for international concern and for all who care about human rights. Furthermore, that the international community should make clear representations to President Suharto and his Government in order that they realize that only the immediate and unconditional release of all the prisoners held for so long without trial will provide a just solution."

The Introduction to the Amnesty International Report has been reproduced in full to show our readers the meaning and extent of political imprisonment in Indonesia. The full report merits careful reading.

Whilst nearly a 100,000 political prisoners now linger in the prison camps of Indonesia, in the Philippines, the peace negotiations which started on October 10 turned into a massacre when Muslim rebels shot dead an Army general, five Colonels and 27 officers in the

market place in Jolo. The government position is that the rebels had treacherously attacked the 36 man military party which had gone to meet the rebels and the entire number were moved down from behind. The Hindu in an editorial summed up the situation:

"THE CEASEFIRE AGREEMENT in southern Philippines, put into effect last December after several rounds of talks involving Libyan mediation, has now been torn to shreds. Following the massacre on Monday of an unarmed Army General and his 35-member peace party, the Manila Government has swung into action with large ground and naval forces in a major operation against the rebels who owe allegiance to the Moro National Liberation Front which spearheads the separatist demands of the Muslim minority (three millions in a total population of more than 40 millions). The Christian-Muslim conflict has been smouldering for more than four centuries and the current revolt broke out in October 1972 in Mindanao, Philippines' second largest island 500 miles south of Manila, and in the Sulu archipelago further south. The rebels have had the moral backing of Islamic countries in West Asia and North Africa and a compromise was worked out in a conference in Tripoli between Mrs. Imelda Marcos, wife of the President of the Philippines, and Col. Gadafi, Libya's President. President Marcos then announced his willingness to form a 29-member provisional autonomous government for the 13 southern provinces, with 15 seats including the chairmanship to the MNLF. The rebels rejected the ad hoc offer as well as the results of a referendum. The Muslims are in a majority in five of these provinces and the overall result of the poll was an emphatic 'no' to control of the region by the MNLF.

"The widespread clashes since the 1972 uprising have led to the death of 20,000 people (according to official estimates) and a million more have been rendered homeless. There are also numerous communist-led rebellions on other islands. Naturally, in his state-of-the-nation speech on the occasion of the fifth anniversary last month of his launching of the campaign for the New Society, President Marcos made it clear that

the security situation did not permit the lifting of martial law. In August, at the summit meeting of the Association of South-East Asian Nations, Mr. Marcos took a bold diplomatic initiative when he gave up his country's claims (made 15 years ago) to Sabah, the eastern-most State in Malaysia, which is in the big island of Kalimantan (Borneo). Before the election defeat last year of the Sulu-born Sabah Chief Minister, Tun Mustaffa, the Moro rebels were trained openly in Sabah which was also the staging post for supplies of arms and ammunition arriving from sympathetic Islamic countries in West Asia and Africa. The Malaysian Federal Government is prepared to take steps to prevent military aid flowing to the Moro rebels, but neither Manila nor Kuala Lumpur is sufficiently equipped with naval patrol boats to enforce a blockade. The Manila Government has ordered fast armed boats to contain the smuggling of arms. Its efforts will be brought to nought unless the West Asian countries refrain from supplying arms and at the same time press the Muslim rebels to give up their separatist demands and settle for a diluted version of autonomy in which Manila will have sovereign sway over the whole country."

IN THE GULF AREA, the other area of great significance to Sri Lanka, a lone gunman killed a United Arab Emirate Government Minister at Abu Dhabi airport on October 24, during an apparent attempt to assassinate the Syrian Foreign Minister, Abdul Halim Khaddam. The attack was made when the Syrian Minister was about to leave Abu Dhabi for Qatar, whereupon he terminated his visit to the Gulf States and returned to Damascus. There was also an attempt to assassinate Khaddam last December, allegedly by a Palestinian. The suggestion seems to be that a Palestinian from a country inimical to Syria has been used for the assassination attempts: "Syrian Foreign Minister Halim Khaddam today accused another Arab country of plotting an assassination attempt against him in which a United Arab Emirates government Minister died. The Syrian Minister said 'the clique' that tried to kill him had been sent by an Arab capital. He did not say which one. The

clique which this Arab capital has sent to assassinate me fully realises that such an act first serves the Israel enemy," Mr. Khaddam said in an airport arrival statement. "Tough travel restrictions were clamped on people in this island city yesterday as authorities hunted possible accomplices in the murder of Self Bin Ghobash, United Arab Emirates (UAE) Minister of State for Foreign Affairs. Mr. Ghobash 41, died yesterday in a hall of bullets aimed at the Syrian Foreign Minister Abdel-Malim Khaddam in the Abu Dhabi airport passenger lounge. Diplomatic sources said the assassin was a Palestinian and that, after his arrest he had given information which sparked off a large scale search for accomplices. Mr. Ghobash was buried this morning at his birth place of Ras Al-Khaimah, 140 miles northeast of Abu Dhabi. Meanwhile troops guarded all points of departure from Abu Dhabi island, allowing only a trickle of people to go through after proof of urgent need to travel. Instructions were issued that Palestinians, Syrians and Lebanese would not be allowed to leave, but Abu Dhabi airport continued operations. A Palestinian commando leader Khaled Al-Hassan condemned the murder of Mr. Ghobash, the Emirates News Agency (WAM) said. Mr. Hassan who arrived here at the head of a Palestine Liberation Organisation (PLO) delegation said he would inform UAE President Sheikh Zaid Bin Sultan that the PLO leadership deplored such crimes. The killing of Mr. Ghobash is in complete contradiction with the Palestine revolution's principles. Mr. Hassan said, according to the agency. UAE authorities have so far maintained silence about the killer's identity. A Kuwait newspaper, quoting informed sources here, said the assassin was Saleh Mohammed Khaled a Palestinian born in exile in Baghdad who entered Abu Dhabi five months ago carrying Iraqi travel documents."

From the comment in the Kuwait paper it would seem that Iraq is suspect. But there is every likelihood that the assassin was hired as an agent provocateur to compromise the PLO and also to sow seeds of disunity among Arab countries. With PLO representation at the Geneva Conference in the balance, such provocation will help those who do not want the PLO at the Conference.

IN IRAN the Shahanshah's birthday was celebrated on October 26: "Iran's national income," states a report in the Teheran paper *Kayhan* in its weekly international edition, "rose from a mere 13,000 million rials at the beginning of the Shahanshah's reign in 1941 to 5,500,000 million rials today, a 423-fold increase in the 36 years of the Shahanshah's reign. Releasing these figures recently the Ministry of Economic and Finance also said per capita investment, which stood at \$ 27.50 in 1941, has now risen to around \$ 600. The ministry released the figures to mark the 36th anniversary of the Shahanshah's ascent to the throne. The upward trend in these figures has not been steady since 1941. There were brief periods during which there was virtually no progress. The turning point was 1963—the year the Shahanshah's Revolution was launched. The Revolution brought about fundamental changes in Iranian society and provided a sense of purpose for economic development, in social relationship and in methods of production. The gross national product (GNP) registered 14 fold growth during the Revolutionary period since 1963. The figures show that in this time the GNP rose from 340 billion rials to 4,686 billion rials this year. The GNP growth rate 5.6 per cent at constant prices in 1963—rose to 9.4 per cent in 1973 and to 13.8 per cent in 1976. Per capita income during this period rose 10 fold from \$ 190 to \$ 2,000 in 1976 and to \$ 2,200 at present. Of particular significance is the fact that the rapid growth in GNP came about through an increase in national savings and investment which reflects a sound economic foundation. The ratio of national savings to GNP which was 15.5 per cent in 1963 rose to 37.4 per cent in 1976. The ratio of investment to GNP also rose from 13.9 per cent in 1963 to 31.6 per cent in 1976."

"Furthermore, the growth in the industrial sector has risen from 9.5 per cent in the first year of the Revolution to 21 per cent now. During this period the public sector's fixed investments also increased significantly. Public sector investment in agriculture, water, power, industries, mines, transport and communications increased four fold between 1963 and 1976. Investment in education, health,

urban affairs and housing rose five-fold. Total public sector payments on development projects rose from 132 billion rials in 1963 to 632 billion rials in 1976. The survey shows that Government income rose from 102 billion rials in 1963 to 1,744 billion rials in 1976. This tremendous increase was mainly due to Iran's success in restoring national sovereignty. As a result Iran's income from oil and gas, which was 61.8 billion rials in 1968, rose to 1,329.1 billion rials in 1976. At the same time there was an appreciable increase in tax revenues as well—from 52.6 billion rials in 1968 to 330 billion rials in 1976. The survey also indicates that total imports rose from 791 million rials in 1941 to 41.9 billion rials in 1963 and to 903 billion rials in 1976. During this period there was a fundamental change in Iran's foreign economic

HOW CANADA DOES IT TWO CULTURES ONE NATION

Ottawa,

Queen Elizabeth yesterday met Quebec separatist leader Rene Levesque and then gave a nationally - televised address stressing Canada's achievements as a single nation, saying they were a lesson to mankind. The speech believed to have been drafted by the Government of Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau who rejects the independence aim of Mr. Levesque's provincial government, made no direct reference to the separatist squabble. But a recurrent theme of the prepared address, was the ability of Canadians from different cultural backgrounds to work together successfully.

Speaking partly in French and partly in English she declared: All through the years, this has been the story of Canada's development: Joint efforts by French and English-speaking Canadians to build together a better life for both. The Queen, here on a six-day visit to mark her 25 years on the British Throne, said the fact that Canada had two basic traditions, one French and one English, was one of the country's basic assets.

—Ceylon Daily News, 18/10/1977

relations. Today Iran has joint economic commissions with 43 countries."

The state of human rights in Iran, however is something that has received critical attention from Amnesty International.

It is unfortunate that Sri Lanka has not paid adequate attention to the Gulf States and other Arab States in West Asia. They are the most important potential trading partners for this island. Countries in South-east Asia produce nearly everything Sri Lanka does. But in the Gulf and Arab states there is an unlimited market not only for our agricultural produce (fruits, vegetables, eggs, meat, etc., etc.) but also our light manufacturing industries producing consumer goods. Trained manpower too will have ample scope for employment for a long time. And the Gulf and Arab States have the money to pay for what they buy, besides selling us the oil we must import.

In these circumstances, it is necessary to know what is happening in these countries.

* * *

FROM THE FOREIGN PRESS

India, Iraq, Saudi Arabia, Iran, China, Fiji INSANITY FAIR

New Delhi, October 15,

Between Charan Singh and Indira Gandhi, the politics of this country is being fast reduced to a third-class burlesque with chorus girls and clowns galore. Political decorum was long given the go-by by Indira Gandhi's fearsome authoritarian Raj, and now a new tribe that infests the Janata jungle seems to be hell bent on reducing it to the grotesque. The sordid happenings of the last few weeks is a matter of shame and of anger as well. Certainly this country deserves better leaders than these unscrupulous ones.

Indira Gandhi for sometime past has emerged as the only Congress leader engaged in active, public campaigning. Others with less unclean Emergency record have chosen to stay at Home, either lacking the guts to face an uphill prospect after the electoral de-

baile, or lapsing back into their chronic addiction to intrigue and manipulation. The result has been that she has tried desperately to cash in on the shortcomings of the Janata Government—from its dismal failure to check alarming rise in prices and in scarcity of essential commodities, to its growing alienation from forward-looking elements by such obscurantist moves as down-grading science research and talking of a rolling Plan.

All this has been good meat for Indira Gandhi's propaganda in which she has been shedding copious tears for the hapless Harijans, as if they were in idyllic bliss under her own Raj. Slowly, and sometimes not so slowly, she has been injecting into her propaganda that her own Emergency was not so bad after all, and a dose of repression is to be preferred to the Janata laissez-faire.

Mass activity on Indira Gandhi's part was stepped up when loud whispers began to be heard about the desirability of a national coalition minus her. While no authentic corroboration could be had that this move has had the blessing of JP, the impression was gaining ground that in the face of mounting difficulties the more perceptivity within the Janata conglomerate were working for consensus instead of confrontation politics; and in this consensus, neither the RSS with its refusal to dissolve itself nor Indira Gandhi with her refusal to discard her caucus, could be taken. There are quite a few Congress Barkis who have long been willing for such a consensus move.

Faced with such a prospect of being left out in the cold, Indira Gandhi has mounted her counter-offensive. Her hectic tours, meeting the crowds, giving well-timed darshans, all the gimmicks that she has specialised over the years, the gimmicks that come out best whenever she is obsessed with a sense of insecurity, are meant to insure her against being ignored in the leadership tussle of the Congress, and then eventually of national politics, as the possibility of the Janata consolidating itself gets dimmer every week.

If Indira Gandhi's bid to return to limelight is born out of desperation, Charan Singh's stunts are no less so. Despite all the image-building as the strong-man in the Janata Government, Charan Singh's sense of insecurity could be dis-

cerned very soon after the Janata Party came to power. The election-symbol episode brought out isolation inside the Janata leadership, and it was this realisation which led him to strike a deal with the Jana Sangh for the State Assembly elections and the subsequent formation of the Janata

ministries in the States. However, Charan Singh's worries mounted as New Delhi gossips talked more and more of an imminent Cabinet reshuffle: would he be able to retain his Home portfolio with critics within his party gathering in strength?

It was Charan Singh's idea of a counter-offensive that led him to clamour more and more stridently for the arrest and imprisonment of Indira Gandhi. He calculated that this would make him a national hero, having put behind bars the arch-villain of Emergency. He twice tried to get his Cabinet colleagues to agree to it, but he was vetoed by Morarji Desai, who in the last round is reported to have agreed to it, thinking perhaps that if the gamble did not pay off, it would be Charan Singh's funeral and not his own—such being the level of camaraderie within the Janata high command.

The cavalier manner in which the whole operation was conducted—from the serving of the warrant to the CBI performance before the Magistrate and to the filing of the appeal in the High Court—was a godsend for Indira Gandhi. One would be tempted to suspect that her loyal boys in different nooks and corners of the CBI and the police—and a good number of them are still very much there in different Ministries—might have pulled it off as a political highjack for Indira Gandhi. Throughout she made a big melodrama out of it all, using all her histrionics, sometimes mixed with hysterics. What could have been a tragedy for her in the first week of April was sought to be made into a tamasha in the first week of October. How the scenario has changed in six months!

If it has been a windfall for Indira Gandhi, it is the biggest fiasco for Charan Singh, blowing sky high the myth about his great competence: the point of his severest isolation so far in his career at the Centre. But this realisation need not chasten him, he may try

to cover up this loss of face by some other adventurism, though his colleagues do not seem to entertain such fears. At the same time, there is little talk of his being divested of the Home portfolio, largely because the group-alignments are delicately balanced at the Janata top; and presumably also because of the lurking fear that anybody left out of the Janata might turn out to be a fresh asset for Indira Gandhi, such being the norms of political morality in this country today. A significant by-product of the entire episode is that the Jana Sangh leaders more particularly the RSS, have come out criticising Charan Singh.

Link Between Low Wind Over Kenya and Indian Monsoon

Washington,

It may be possible to predict the intensity and timing of the heavy seasonal rains over India by monitoring low-level winds over Kenya, according to scientists. The National Science Foundation said yesterday preliminary results from research it funded indicate the monsoon surges over Western India may be related to wind fluctuation over East Africa. Being able to predict these rain storms would be important to India and the East African countries whose agricultural economies are closely tied to monsoon activity, the Foundation said.

Dr. John Hart, Associate Professor of Astro-Geophysics at the University of Colorado, who headed the project said the results are based upon analysing past wind and rain data and monitoring wind flow last summer. "We do not have an operational forecasting system yet, but there is definitely a potential for one," Dr. Hart said in a telephone interview. Dr. Hart said data indicate humid air originating over the Southern Indian Ocean crosses the Equator in an intense stream that builds up speed and flows along the eastern slopes of the Kenyan highlands up to Somalia.

At this point, the flow turns sharply northeast towards the Indian subcontinent, bringing moisture that later turns to rain.

Politics does not move along straight lines of black and white. Indira Gandhi's re-emergence is accompanied by the fact this time she has unabashedly brought out into the open her entire rogues' gallery of the Emergency days—no room for mistaking now about Dhawan and Yashpal Kapoor being her closest confidants, Dhiren Brahmachari being her soothsayer and Ruksana Sultana her trusted lady in attendance. And with them all, Sanjay Gandhi is trying to lord it over.

With the entire Mafia having surfaced, it is bizarre to find well-meaning Congressmen getting excited about Indira Gandhi's arrest. Some of the so-called progressives have had no qualms of parking at her place, while others who should have known better—like the Youth Congress leaders of West Bengal who had in the past had to bear Sanjay's brunt—suddenly courted arrest as if they were on a holy crusade for their martyred St. Joan. And in between, the crooks are trying to worm their way up as part of a political investment in future.

Such is the politics of toy soldiers and paper tigers in this country today. It is indeed the politics of deception for the masses. Every week will bring out fresh contradictions in both the Janata and the Congress camps. Indira Gandhi's heroics will not unify the Congress, while the squabbles within the Janata will not be solved by Morarji Desai gulping down tumblers of his own fresh urine, a therapy he has so earnestly publicised in London Spectator last week.

The Insanity Fair of Indian politics cannot go on for long.

—Nikil Chakravarty
Mainstream

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The Thirty-second joint annual session of the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank was recently opened in New York. The Iraqi delegation to the session was headed by the Finance Minister, Dr. Fawzi Abdullah, in addition to Dr. Fakhri, Qaddouri, Governor of the Central Bank.

The session agenda includes a discussion of the present world economic affairs, and the ways for dealing with the stagnation and

inflation suffered by the industrial countries, and also the questions connected with the growing size of money inflows of the developing countries. The Iraqi delegation carries a special working paper which reflects Iraq's viewpoint. Moreover, the Arab delegations will hold special meetings of their own with the aim of co-ordinating the Arab stands vis-a-vis the questions under discussion, on the basis of the working paper prepared by the Council of Arab Economic Unity, and which includes a number of proposals for solving the international financial problems. In fact, the agenda of the present session is almost the same as that of the past year, which had failed to achieve any tangible results, although the developing countries had shown more unity and tenacity in defending their rights.

During the present session, the developing countries will naturally demonstrate still greater vigour in following up and defending their aggravating financial and economic problems, due to the continued policies of the present world monetary system in serving basically the interests of the Western industrial countries at the expense of the developing ones. This bias has been chiefly displayed in the shrinking size of credits and money inflows to these countries, while the industrial countries' share of the IMF credits has been redoubled. For instance, Britain has received 4000 million dollars during the first half of this year, and Italy received 350 million dollars during the same period. As for the developing countries, the IMF has taken a decision on reducing their share of credits, as result of the growing deficit in balances of payments of their majority.

In other words, the IMF has continued with the same discriminatory policy which it has followed during the past three decades, by supporting the developed capitalist countries and helping them to solve their economic problems, while ignoring the problems of the developing countries which are in greater need for credits, in view of their growing deficits and debts to the Western countries and multinational companies, and which have already reached 200 billion dollars. It is to be recalled that a few months ago the IMF had set up a special

Saudi, China, Fiji

fund for offering credits to countries suffering from deficits in their balance of payments. However, the greater part of these credits will go to a few developed Western countries, while the rest will be divided among dozens of developing countries.

It should be mentioned that Iraq and a number of oil-producing countries, which are carrying out large development programmes, have refused to participate in the IMF, and have called for a greater share of aid and credits to the developing countries rather than the developed ones. As for the World Bank, it has followed the same policy as that of the IMF. It has been offering generous credits and facilities to those countries which enjoy Western especially US, approval. As for the countries which follow an independent line and are opposed to imperialist policies, the World Bank is very niggardly to them and takes an obstructive attitude to their development projects. Such has been the case with Iraq for instance, who signed an agreement with the World Bank for building a silo project to the value of 40 million dinars. The bank failed to carry out its commitments, thus compelling Iraq to cancel the agreement. Thus, it is obvious that one of the basic causes for the aggravating financial and economic problems of the developing countries is the continuation of the present international monetary system, which has been structured in such a way as to perpetuate imperialist dominance over the developing countries. Hence, the major task of the developing countries is to intensify their struggle for a new world monetary order which would meet their basic interests, especially their equality with the industrial countries in Special Drawing Rights and the running of international financial institutions, which would help to bring greater money inflows to the developing countries, in the form of credits and longrange aid.

—Bagdad Observer

Washington,

The US President, Mr. Jimmy Carter, has added a ninth nation—Saudi Arabia—to his 11-day foreign trip next month, an Administration official said. The addition will enable the President to

meet Crown Prince Fahd Ibn Abdul Aziz and discuss the preparations for reconvening the Geneva conference on peace in West Asia.

Mr. Carter's Air Force One jet will be refuelled during the stop in Jeddah, on his way from Lagos to New Delhi. The President will fly on to New Delhi the same day. So the stopover would not add another day to his journey.

Other stops on Mr. Carter's trip are Venezuela, Brazil, Iran, France, Poland and Belgium. He leaves on November 22.

Tokyo, Sept. 27,

Former chief of the US liaison mission in Peking George Bush said today after a meeting with Chinese Vice-Premier Teng Hsiaping they had "minimal discussion" on the subject of Sino-US normalisation. "I have no reason to feel there is any flexibility in China's position", Mr. Bush told the Associated Press in a telephone interview from Peking. Asked what his own position on normalisation was, following the meeting Mr. Bush said, "I will have to think about that after I digest the information I got today. There was a reiteration of their position. My view is to think very carefully before giving my personal opinion. I don't want to do anything to jeopardise the chances of getting improved relations."

Though his interview with Teng lasted nearly an hour and a half, he said he was unable to give any further comment because of the Chinese ground rules. He described the conference as "very cordial, some of it reminiscent", but added that "generally speaking nothing new came out of it compared to what happened since the comments he made of Mr. Vance." Mr. Teng told a delegation of Associated Press executives and publishers last month that Secretary of State Cyrus Vance's earlier visit to Peking had set back progress toward full Sino-US recognition. He said former President Gerald Ford had promised during his 1975 visit he would sever ties with Taiwan and recognise Peking if he were re-elected. Mr. Bush arrived in China on Sunday as a guest of the Chinese People's Institute of Foreign Affairs. Another American guest of the institute this week

will be former Secretary of State William Rogers, who last visited Peking in 1972 when President Nixon made his first visit there.

—AFP.

Suva, Sept. 25,

Prime Minister Rau Sir Kamiseva Mara's Alliance Party swept to a landslide victory today in Fiji's general election, ending six months of political and racial turmoil among the 550,000 inhabitants of this south Pacific nation. For the 57-year old Fijian leader, whose governing alliance sustained heavy losses in a deadlocked national poll earlier this year and had since ruled as a minority caretaker administration, the result was a vindication of his determination to preserve his country's multi-racial society. When the final results of the eight-day poll were declared, the Alliance Party had won 36 of the 52 seats in the House of Representatives—an overall majority of 20 and the biggest margin of support it has enjoyed since Fiji gained independence from Britain seven years ago.

The Indian-dominated National Federation Party (NFP) suffered a crushing defeat today. In the election, it had 26 parliamentary seats to the alliance's two in the last election six months ago, but was unable to form a Government because it lacked a majority. A

Mao learnt English at 60

The late Chairman Mao Tse-tung began to learn English at the age of 60, the Peking 'People's Daily' reports. Mr. Mao ruled China from the communist takeover in 1949 until his death on 9 September, last year in Peking at the age of 83. The Chinese Communist Party newspaper said Mr. Mao worked and studied very hard despite his advanced age. Observers recall that one of the few foreigners who heard the late Chairman speaking a few words of English was former US Secretary of State Henry Kissinger who met Mr. Mao several times during his China trips.

—AFP.

bitter leadership split in the NFP, which draws its main support from the Indian Communists comprising just over half of the population, ensured victory for the multi-racial alliance. The divided NFP entered two rival lists of candidates. One faction, led by Mr. Jai Ram Reddy, won 12 seats. The other faction, which was led by party's former leader Siddiq Koya, held a bare three seats. Mr. Reddy defeated Mr. Koya in a direct clash for the Indian communal seat at Lautoka, Fiji's second biggest port, and appeared set to become for new leader of the parliamentary Opposition.

—Reuter

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INTRODUCING

Quidnuncs

Not many people are familiar with the word *QUID NUNC*. The Shorter Oxford Dictionary defines *Quidnunc* as "one who is constantly asking 'what now?', 'what is the news?'" hence an inquisitive person, a gossip."

The word comes from the Latin, *Quid* (what) *Nunc* (now)—What now?—and is defined in Webster's dictionary as "one who seeks to know all the latest gossip." One does not need to be a cynic to say that our own era is the *Quidnuncs'* Golden Age.

A well-known nineteenth century journalist, E.L. Bodkin, said: "As soon as in the progress of civilisation as man left the tent, or wigwam, or tribal dwelling, and retreated into private houses, a desire on the part of his neighbours to know what was going on in the private houses sprung up rapidly and has flourished ever since the world over." As an editor, writing in 1890, Bodkin was concerned with the threat to privacy that he perceived in the appearance of "a particular class of newspapers (that) has converted curiosity into what economists call a marketable commodity."

Gossip is a marketable commodity in Sri Lanka as it is in every other country where newspapers are published. Gossip is permissible to the point that Common Law is not violated. But the Common Law does not ensure the right

to privacy completely. The law for instance, cannot prevent, character assassination by gossip and innuendo. The common law has many loopholes which all *Quidnuncs* utilise.

But gossip also has its uses so far as public interest is concerned. As there is usually no smoke without fire, gossip often opens the path for exposures, debate and investigations. Gossip has on many occasions been the starting point for major socio-political upheavals.

In the *QUIDNUNCs* column which will hereafter appear in the *Tribune*, from time to time, gossip which is, in our view, based on a substratum of truth will be aired and made a marketable commodity. There may be comebacks, but gossip is gossip.

Sri Lanka has a legion of *Quidnuncs*, in fact, several generations of them, and *Tribune* is now inundated with the outpourings of *Quidnuncs* from every walk of life. But *Tribune* will use only an infinitesimal fraction of the gossip that comes in. *Tribune* will separate, as far as possible, the chaff from the wheat, but this will not be easy. There will be no malice. The yardstick will be public interest.

WHY?

***WHY** has the Government not contradicted the story going the rounds that the CWE is Rs. 50 million short on the sale of coriander through the Co-ops in the not-so-distant past? If it is not contradicted, the man in the street will take it to be true that Rs. 50 million has gone down the drain—on the coriander account. Rupees Fifty million seems big and unbelievable, but *Quidnuncs* say the amount is correct. The Treasury, it is said, has no money to reimburse the CWE. Or, it probably does not want to!

***WHY** has the Chairman of Consulexpo been out for many weeks? Why has the Produce Manager also gone out for so long? People wonder how the work of buying and (selling) goes on in *CONSULEXPO*. Cinnamon has been bought in large quantities. Who went to the Colombo auctions to buy tea? *Quidnuncs* say that, at least, at ten auctions, lesser (inexperienced) mortals have represented Consul-

expo at the Auctions. Questions are being asked as to whether there is proper supervision and proper accounting. Who is making appointments, if any; and promotions, if any?

***WHY** is it that a small group of bureaucrats (many of whom have discarded the Blue or Red for Green only recently) are allowed to manipulate appointments to all important posts and arrange trips to foreign capitals? Bureaucrats had necessarily to go to Peking with the Minister to exchange rubber for rice. But can't the textile garments quotas in the EEC be fixed up without another set of bureaucrats making a trip to Brussels? And, with so many bureaucrats making mini-global trips, problems have arisen as to who should be "acting". The "acting" problem has been complicated because of the Dharmista rule that no person shall hold two jobs even temporarily. Is that why a Nephew Bureaucrat has been leap-frogged to fill a top post. *Quidnuncs* say that Nephew Bureaucrat was brought in to qualify him for promotion over other deserving cases.

***WHY** have the big shots of the UNP and Dharmista not woken up to this situation where a gaggle of *Green Brains* are well on the way to becoming a new invisible Mafia manipulating all the top jobs in the Administration especially jobs which entail possibilities of world wide travel under various excuses? *Quidnuncs* say that unless the PM (and the new President) takes the hide off these scheming and intriguing bureaucrats—it will be the same old story (and everybody knows what story)!



NEXT WEEK

ECONOMIC

—On Planning

A HOMILY

—The Message Of The Master

POINT OF VIEW

—Rev. Fr. Tissa Balasuriya And Eelam

Oct. 18 — Oct. 23

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

CDN—Ceylon Daily News; CDM—Ceylon Daily Mirror;
 CO—Ceylon Observer; ST—Sunday Times; DM—Dina-
 mina; LD—Lankadipa; VK—Virakesari; ATH—Aththa;
 SM—Silumina; SLD—Sri Lankadipa; JD—Janadina;
 DP—Dinapathi; SU—Sun; DW—Dawasa; CM—Chintha-
 mani; WK—Weekend; RR—Rivirasa; EN—Eelanadu;
 IDPR—Information Department Press Release

TUESDAY, OCTOBER 18: The government has worked out a blueprint for a national insurance scheme to grant monthly financial payments to the estimated 2 million unemployed in the country; the scheme, according to a high official source, will be generally on the same lines as in Britain where a monthly dole is paid to unemployed persons. The PM expressed his government's anxiety to have close and very friendly ties with all Arab and Muslim countries in the world when an Arab delegation met him yesterday. According to the SP Traffic, the existing motor traffic Act needs complete revision if the mounting rate of road accidents in the country is to be curbed. The Criminal Justice Commission Laws pertaining to the April 1971 insurgency and foreign exchange frauds enacted by the previous government will be amended before the end of this year according to the Minister of Justice. The Minister of Public Administration will launch a revolution in rural development and create an entirely new movement beginning at the traditional village. The popular pop singer C. T. Fernando died yesterday at the General Hospital. It has been discovered in the Air Ceylon probe that foreign Air lines, owe Air Ceylon 1 million US-dollars and there is no likelihood of it being recovered—CDN. The government is examining the feasibility of liberalising exchange control regulations relating to imports and exports. The Free Trade Zone and the Export Processing Zone would extend over an area of 200 square miles and go into operation in another six months according to the Minister of Industries and Scientific Affairs. A ship that had brought 2,500 tons of rice for Sri Lanka sprung a leak while being berthed at the Colombo Port resulting in a large quantity of the rice being damaged by sea water. Incessant rains experienced in Colombo and the suburbs during the past few days flooded many roads and low lying areas; according to the Observatory, Colombo recorded the highest with 4.2 inches. Sri Lanka's debt burden would be reduced significantly after decisions taken by Canada and Sweden to write off loans given by them to eight developing countries including Sri Lanka—CDM. The government would not as a matter of policy take over any more ventures under the Business Acquisition Act, the Minister of Industries and Scientific Affairs told a meeting of industrialists yesterday. The government has decided to revoke the Land Betterment Tax Law. The steps that the government is taking to import subsidiary foodcrops like chillies and onions have come under strong criticism by MP's in the North and

members of agricultural councils and farmers. The leader of the CP, Mr. Pieter Keuneman has said that there should be no discrimination between the Tamil and Sinhalese students of the University; he was criticising the opening of a separate campus for the Sinhala students of the Jaffna Campus and other related matters—VK. The second MP for Pottuvil (TULF) Mr. M. Kanagaratnam attended the function afforded by the public to the Samanthurai MP, Mr. Abdul Majeed despite the directive given by the leader of the TULF that members of the party should not attend any such function held to fete Ministers, deputy Ministers etc; he even spoke at the meeting and expressed a wish to join them—DP. The Finance Minister who returned to the island after a successful trip abroad said that he had been successful wherever he went and that the whole world had accepted the government of Mr. J. R. Jayawardene as a stable one, comprising able workers. Record rainfall figures have been recorded by the Department of Meteorology in the past 36 hours; 13" were recorded in the Katunayake area and 9" in Colombo—CO. A loan agreement for a sum of 3.5 million US dollars between the OPEC Special Fund and Sri Lanka was signed on October 6—IDPR.

WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 19: The level of aid Sri Lanka would receive from all international aid giving organisations and from friendly countries would be on a much higher level than ever before said the Finance Minister on his return to the island. The Development Finance Corporation has set up a special cell to assist industrialists especially with foreign currency for the import of machinery to set up new units and to expand or modernise existing ones. The Inland Revenue Department has collected Rs. 1275 million for the nine months ended September 30 this year. The Minister of Public Administration and Home Affairs yesterday decided to limit the period of service of any GA in a district to four years. The Minister of Information and Broadcasting said yesterday that the use of media is of prime importance to tell the truth, and lies and half truths cannot be permitted. Some public officials are defying the government ban on State and Corporation officials attending public functions such as cocktail parties—CDN. From yesterday Army and Navy personnel were guarding the wreck of the Greek Cargo boat off the Galle coast; this follows the arrest of 46 persons alleged to have been looting. The PM had ordered that there should be no political interference in the Police Service and that all complaints from MP's will be handled personally by the deputy minister of defence. The Minister of Transport has already initiated action to provide relief to CTB employees victimised for political reasons by the previous government—CDM. Joseph Karl Ulrich, the Swiss national arrested by the CID in connection with the theft of three million Swiss francs from the Zurich Post Office will be extradited to Switzerland today. There is an imminent danger of a minor flood in the low lying areas of Colombo as a result of the Kelani Ganga rising. There will be security patrols covering all banks in the Jaffna district from today. Gram dhall, which has been off the ration for the past three years, will be distributed through co-ops from the beginning of next month—SU. Trincomalee is to be developed on a better scale than Colombo as a port; with the opening of the Free Trade Zone three ports are to be developed and since Trinco is the natural harbour and since it can be a strategic point on the Indian Ocean, the government has decided to make

it the most important port—DP. A car which was hijacked last night by four youths in Jaffna town was found 2½ hours later, abandoned at Urumpirai.—EN. The Minister of Health has instructed that information regarding the drug situation, ambulance and transport facilities, staff and maintenance of buildings in government hospitals be furnished to him.—IDPR no. 51. 2,000 new employees are to be recruited to the CGR; applications are now being called to fill these vacancies.—DM. The People's Bank and the Bank of Ceylon have granted Rs. 33 million 90 lakhs as loans to farmers and they have defaulted, so the government is having a problem.—LD. Companies, trusts and other corporate bodies are making large scale withdrawals from their holdings in the National Savings Bank since the new high interest rates on fixed deposits going up to 18% are only payable to individuals; corporate bodies are entitled to 7.5 to 8%—CO.

THURSDAY, OCTOBER 20: The Ceylon Fisheries Corporation will in future act as a buying and selling agency; it will stop its fish catching activities which have so far been an utter failure; last year's total losses according to the Chairman amounted to Rs. 73 lakhs. A 12 member group of leading rubber industrialists from Japan arrive tonight to make a first hand study of the local rubber industry and explore possibilities of joint collaboration. Around six lakhs worth of goods, some of them essential consumer items are stolen daily from the Colombo Port the Minister of Shipping etc revealed yesterday. The Minister of Agriculture and Lands has decided to cut through red tape and speed ahead with the construction of urgently needed paddy stores so that they will be ready to stock the produce of the coming Maha season. CID intelligence reports have revealed that even cross bars of bicycles have been registered as guns during the previous government's period of amnesty for the surrender of guns; this has resulted in licenses being issued for several thousand more guns. The loss suffered by Air Ceylon since it decided to go it alone was Rs. 31.4 million; the loss as a result of the termination of the tie up with UTA was Rs. 14.7 million, the Air Ceylon Commission was told yesterday—CDN. The Minister of Food and Co-operatives has said that he would be seeking Cabinet approval to withdraw the low-grade rice that is now being distributed in some co-ops and to issue better quality rice. The Minister of Local Government etc has instructed the Colombo Municipality to make arrangements to supply 10,000 free meals a day to nearly 3,000 flood victims in the city. At a meeting of the GMOA next Sunday one of the questions that are to be discussed is why the basic qualifications for appointments to teaching hospitals have been changed overnight. The Sri Lanka Independent Trade Union Federation yesterday alleged that nearly 7,000 members of the Federation in the CTB had been victimised by being transferred out of their stations. The government has decided to purchase five brand new ships and world-wide tenders would be invited soon said the Minister of Shipping etc. The water problem of towns south of Colombo will be solved shortly with the completion of Stage II of the Kelani River Augmentation Scheme which would provide 40 million gallons of water a day—CDM. A public and private sector consortium of leading construction and consultant establishments is to be formed shortly to enable these individuals to engage in contracts abroad. The TULF has decided not to invite its President, Mr. S. Thondaman for its Parliament and Executive

Committee meetings. The NSA is likely to sit on Saturdays and Sundays too—SU. There has been a gale in Vellanaï, in the Jaffna district yesterday and many roofs have been blown off; heavy rains are continuing—EN. A revised series of English textbooks are now being prepared for primary school children at the English Unit of the Ministry of Education. Cement production is almost back to normal now with the KKS, Galle and Puttalam factories jointly stepping up their output to 2200 tons a day—CO.

FRIDAY, OCTOBER 21: The government will hold a full inquiry into the activities of the Land Reform Commission during the previous administration; all relevant material is being gathered and the background prepared to hold this inquiry said the Deputy Minister of Agriculture and Lands at the NSA yesterday. The government has decided to convert the CTB into a public company; this proposal which was put forward by the Minister of Transport has received government approval. The Excise Amendment Bill was unanimously passed in the NSA with 138 voting for it. The former Minister of Agriculture and Lands, Mr. Hector Kobbekaduwa was the first to receive compensation from the Land Reform Commission Tribunal. A group of visitors to the NCP have informed the PM that mass slaughter of buffaloes is taking place there and have asked him to take punitive action. The Tobacco Industries Corporation which functioned between 1970 and 77 incurred a total loss of Rs. 250 lakhs said the Minister of Industries and Scientific Affairs. Four candidates will be in the fray for the by-election to the Dehiwala seat which will be held on November 11—CDN. The CTB has requested an outright grant of 140 million rupees from the government to purchase 840 new buses for next year. The PM yesterday tabled the bills to repeal the Criminal Justice Commission Act and the Exchange Control (amendment) bill. Freshers of the Vidyodaya Campus of the University of Sri Lanka began a boycott of lectures following a ministerial directive that students of the UNP union in the campus should also be associated with the Students Council to welcome them—CDM. The government has decided to make further changes in the republican constitution of Sri Lanka. The Defence Ministry has decided to set up a Central Narcotics Intelligence Unit in Colombo. The government has appointed a top ministerial team to examine the question of vesting business establishments taken over by the previous government under the Business Acquisition Act, back with the original owners. Over 96,000 handloom industries and a large number of powerloom industries which have been idling due to the non-availability of yarn will start production again following a new scheme devised by the Minister of Textile Industries—SU. The Minister of Agriculture and Lands has denied reports in certain newspapers that he would drastically reduce the price of chillies; he said he would fix it at a reasonable price which will adversely affect neither the farmers nor the consumers—DP. The General Secretary of the CP of Sri Lanka visited Jaffna and attended a conference; he also investigated into the rift that has arisen within the Party in Jaffna—EN. The Minister of Transport who left for India will hold talks with officials there regarding the possibilities of extending the facilities for travelling right up to North India with tickets bought in Ceylonese currency—IDPR no. 63. The Minister of Fisheries has decided that in view of the acute shortage of fishing gear, which is supposed to be one of the serious cons-

straints hampering fish production, immediate action will be taken to permit imports of fishing gear by the private sector—*IDPR no. 68*. Since there is a shortage of government engineers, the government has decided to use engineers in the private sector to complete the Mahaweli project. On a surprise visit to the Puttalam Cement Factory, the Minister of Industries and Scientific Affairs discovered that 6,000 tons of cement was missing—*LD*. On his recent visit to the Middle East, the Minister of Foreign Affairs was promised jobs for 2 lakhs and 50,000 of our youths, they have also promised to give aid after talks with officials here—*DM*.

SATURDAY, OCTOBER 22: The Bill to repeal the CJC Act, which the PM described as 'a sadistic and obnoxious' piece of legislation and the Exchange Control Act amendment were unanimously passed in the NSA yesterday; members of the SLFP were not in the chamber when the vote was taken; the TULF leader supported the government's contention that it was a draconian law and had been used to harass people. The two political victimisation units currently inquiring into 15,000 applications for redress have recommended the immediate cancellation of over 500 teacher transfers and re-appointment of 23 officers to the Sri Lanka Air Force. The Finance Minister told the NSA yesterday that he is taking action to close all liquor shops opened at the request of MP's of the former government. A special commando unit is to be set up and stationed at the Katunayake Airport to deal with the possibility of international airlines being hijacked. Air Ceylon is to suspend the issue of tickets for international flights from December 1 as the PM has asked the management to do so until the affairs of the national carrier are put into order—*CDM*. The government would soon appoint a commission to probe violation of procedures and excesses by the previous government and other inhuman acts, the PM announced in the NSA yesterday. All ministers, deputy ministers and members of the NSA including the PM should declare their assets to the President of Sri Lanka, according to a recent decision of the government. Directives have been issued by the GA and the Special Commissioner, Nuwara Eliya for the withdrawal of land allocations made arbitrarily during the last regime. Acting on the orders of the Deputy Minister of Defence, and the IGP, the SP Jaffna is making arrangements to open up a technical branch of the police in Jaffna—*SU*. The PM said in the NSA yesterday that he was willing to meet the Tamil youths who are in hiding due to fear of the officials of the last government, and have discussions with them; he also said that the son of the leader of the opposition could come to Ceylon. A committee has been set up to investigate into the actions of 5,000 police recruits of the last government, who are supposed to be the cause for not maintaining law and order during the recent disturbances in the country—*VK*. A gang of five

SUNDAY, OCTOBER 23: The nation's effort to return to self sufficiency, which was eroded by nearly 4½ centuries of colonial rule, will begin on Thursday when the PM will launch the Food Drive of the Government in Panduwashuwara, in the heartland of the NWP. The government has decided to abolish the Ministry of Planning and Economic Affairs which comes within the purview of the PM's portfolio. The government has decided to ban the use of public sector and corporation vehicles for transportation of party supporters for political rallies. The Insurance Corporation has

started a new scheme whereby sports bodies are assured of not losing on gates—*SO*. Out of some 3500 local industries that have been registered with the Ministry of Industries, only about 1,000 are in active operation, according to the Minister of Industries and Scientific Affairs. Sri Lanka's economic policies in the recent past have been described as 'profligate' by the highest official of one of the world's biggest aid agencies according to the Minister of Finance. A Conference of the Presidents of all the Campuses of the University of Sri Lanka meeting in Jaffna, has said that it was proud of the manner in which Sinhala and Tamil students afforded each other protection during the recent disturbances. Logging operations in the 25,000 acre Sinhara forest reserve are to be stopped on the orders of the Minister of Agriculture and Lands—*ST*. The government is to withdraw the rationing scheme and food subsidies to families drawing an income of 400 Rs. per month and above. The World Bank has agreed to release a sum of Rs. 42 million to complete project one of Phase one of the Mahaweli Project. The Department of Social Services es commenced paying compensation to those who were affected by the recent disturbances; families where there had been deaths are being paid a sum of Rs. 3,000. The island-wide organised wave of crime continued unabated despite Police vigilance with an alarming number of gang robberies being reported to police HQ's over the past 24 hours. The government will release a sum of Rs. 22 million to the National Housing Department to be utilised as Housing Loans for the six months period ending January 1978. All Ministers and MP's, Secretaries to Ministries and other government officials who travel by air on official purposes are to be given insurance coverage in future—*WK*.

APOLOGIES TO WHOM?

Tribune has apologized to its readers for giving a wrong number in reference to the percentage of Tamils living outside Eelam. *Tribune* extends the apology also to Father Balasuriya, who used *Tribune* as a source in one of his publications.

Why apologize to Father Balasuriya? He is a scholar with an international reputation, and his reference shelf has all the data available to *Tribune*, and more besides. If he had checked the figures, he would have noticed *Tribune's* error and corrected it. The fact that he simply copied the mistake proves that he did not do his homework.

Father Balasuriya may well apologize to his own readers, but he could not demand an apology from anyone. Even to accept an apology is to confess his own negligence.

I write this in a spirit of good-natured banter, and I expect Father Balasuriya will accept it in the same spirit.

Claude R. Daly S.J.

31, Clifford Place,
Colombo 4.
12 October 1977

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FLASHBACK

The Ideal State

—Buddhism And Politics

by J. R. Jayawardene

THIS IS AN ARTICLE WHICH APPEARED IN THE CEYLON DAILY NEWS VESAK NUMBER IN 1939.

BUDDHISM AND POLITICS may seem to be terms which refer to two distinct and different systems of human thought and activity.

It is said that the Buddha advised members of the Buddhist Sangha not to take part in politics. No one can say that he exhorted politicians not to study or follow Buddhism.

Today, politics enters into every sphere of human activity, and politicians who govern the World, mould the lives of their fellow men. The character of these men and the ideals they stand for, are therefore, of the greatest import.

The Middle Path. The study of Buddhism, as the teaching of one of the world's greatest thinkers, may profit those who take an active part in politics. The Buddha worked out his ideas to the ultimate degree of clarity, and as such, his teaching merits close analysis even today.

To my mind, Buddhism does not mean the Buddhist religion or faith which is found in many Eastern countries, and which devout Buddhists profess to follow by building temples, offering flowers, worshipping trees and organizing peraheras and pinkamas.

Buddhism is the teaching of the Buddha, and wherever that teaching is followed, Buddhism is. Some call this teaching a philosophy, others call it a religion, and there are still others who refer to it as an ordinary ethical code. Bhikkhu Nyanatiloka calls it "an ethico-philosophical system."

It is true that modern philosophical and metaphysical ideas are very much in agreement with the Buddha's teaching, and as a system of ethics too, Sir S. Radhakrishnan is of opinion that "the supremacy of the ethical is the clue to the teaching of the Buddha."

Yet Buddhism in its true spirit is none of these.

Correct View. Professor Babbitt, the American humanist, expresses the correct view when he calls it a Path. "In its primary emphasis on will", he says, "the doctrine of the Buddha is not a system in the occidental sense, but a path. A Buddha is one who has trodden this path and can repeat to others what he has found."

The Buddha made this quite clear when he said: "There is a middle path, O Bhikkhus, avoiding the two extremes, discovered by the Thathagatha—a path which opens the eyes, and bestows understanding, which leads to the higher wisdom, to full enlightenment, to Nirvana."

To take the view that Buddhism is a Path to be followed and that the Path leads to a certain realisable goal, is to lay emphasis on an aspect of Buddhism which is forgotten by those whom I have mentioned as being devout Buddhists.

Nibbanz. The goal is Nibbana (Pali) or Nirvana, (Sanskrit).

"Nibbana, Nibbana, so they say, friend Sariputta: what now means Nibbana, friend?" "That which is the vanishing of greed, friend, the vanishing of hate, the vanishing of delusion; that, friend, is called Nibbana."

Thus it was said by the Buddha himself. We need no further definition. Nibbana may also be a state of ecstatic bliss. Only he who has extinguished greed, hatred and delusion alone can say.

"Here and Now". The Buddha not only emphasized the Path, he emphasized the goal as attainable in the "here and now". What a difference it would make to the Buddhists in Ceylon, if they could only be made to understand the importance of "here and now."

The theory of Karma and the doctrine of rebirth have caused immeasurable harm to the correct practice of the Buddha's teaching. Fatalism is the child of Karma and ritual and ceremony the result of belief in the doctrine of rebirth. These evils face us daily in Buddhist Lanka. "We are the victims of our past Karma", say the fatalists; "let us build temples and organise pinkamas so that we may gain merit in future births," say the reincarnationists.

These ideas show Buddhism as expressing an entirely negative view of this life; just as much as "Thy

will be done" expresses a resignation foreign to Christ's teaching.

Buddha's Life. The Buddha's own life, and his constant advice to his followers to put forth spiritual strenuousness and to practise this virtue unceasingly, shew how much he appreciated action in this life. He wanted his disciples to be "vigilant, strenuous and resolute," in working out a way of life that would end in the realisation of the goal, here and now.

The proper practice of Buddhism therefore involves a technique of living, which, while not worrying about Karma or re-birth, would place upon the individual the responsibility of perfecting the art of living, until he has attained in this life, the goal, Nibbana. Neither God nor devil, prayer nor bribe, can help. Man alone is the architect of his future.

Sir Edwin Arnold pays the highest compliment to Buddhism when he says, "it is the proudest assertion ever made of human freedom."

Buddha's Ideal. We know then the Buddha's ideal, "the vanishing of greed, hate and elusion;" and we know that it is attainable here and now. Let us question whether politicians the world over have any other ideal worthy of achievement?

That there is something rotten in the word Politics we know. Lionel Curtis writing of modern politicians says, "Wars and the miseries they bring in their train are a sure indication that in public affairs men have ignored the real end of existence. The tactical steps designed to prevent war should be conceived as means, but only one of the means, to be followed in the effort to attain human welfare. The wider policy needed to attain that end can only be conceived by men who have seen wherein human welfare consists, and do not shrink from saying what they have seen and what they seek. In the last analysis a growth in the disposition of men to serve others than themselves, a constructive unselfishness is the end to be sought."

Ideal Citizen. There is today a remarkable unanimity of opinion, an opinion which began with the Buddha, that the ideal man, the pure citizen, is the unattached man, the man who is not attached to wealth and possessions, to

power and to the object of his desires. He serves others rather than himself.

Such a man can have no greed, hatred or delusion. If that is the ideal man, then surely the ideal state must be composed of such men. Must not the state conform to an ethical ideal?

Has a state no moral character? "The moral character of the state," says Professor Harold Laski, "must be no different from that of any other association;" and again "every state lives upon the character of its citizens."

Ideal State. The ideal state must then be composed of ideal men; men without greed, hatred or ignorance. To attain this end the politician can help. Though no one can purify another, purity and impurity are largely conditioned by environment.

Purity in human beings will grow in so far as the framework in which they live is designed to exercise and promote it. If politics is the administration of public affairs in the interests of the fellowship of men, called the state, the state should be manned by ideal citizens.

The rulers of the state must see to it that there exists nothing which will be inimical to the accomplishment of that ideal.

Modern Environment. The environment which the state provides today, for the building up of the character of its citizens, tends not to the establishment of the ideal but to its destruction. The majority of states, including Ceylon, stand for "the purely industrial and utilitarian view of life, the cult of power and machinery and national comfort."

Public education, financed by the state, equips the young to fit into this same environment. Even religious organisations preach the ideal, but practice the opposite. In the social world, in the professions, in commerce and in politics, we find the struggle to acquire for self as the dominant factor.

The society that comprises the state is a purely acquisitive society, and the sickness of an acquisitive society. A few men may struggle against this environment, and even rise above it. The larger number have not the knowledge nor the power even to question.

The result is that greed for power and possession, and

hatred of fellow humans, are almost the ultimate facts of human nature today.

Moral Goal. The politician in power can change this framework. He can change our environment and he can control and direct education. He can by legislation make it impossible for citizens to control wealth and possessions. He can by public education teach the ideal and mould the young citizen to take his place in a society which is "not acquisitive."

Legislation and education will have a common purpose. The former will seek to change man's nature, by removing from his present environment those conditions which wrongly dominate his mind today; the latter will educate him to work in his new environment, by emphasizing those elements in human nature which cause disharmony, and by teaching man to remove them.

Politicians seeking to attain this ideal will have before them a moral goal; the state they seek to create will conform to an ethical ideal, and it will necessarily have a moral claim to the allegiance of its citizens.

BACKGROUND

Free Trade Zone

by R. Kahawita

The manifesto of the United National Party has stated that Industrial Development through foreign collaborations or direct involvement will be encouraged and promoted by way of a Free Trade Zone, geared to export: (1) to increase employment, (2) to earn foreign exchange, and, (3) obviate the dependence on foreign aid.

Since the idea of a Free Trade Zone was spelled out, there have been several articles, studies, and examples of similar zones publicized in the daily newspapers and periodicals. In some of these reports the number of jobs that may be available has been put at 50,000.

A further decisive step has been taken by nominating a Board to study the "facts and figures" and "whereabouts and implications" of a Free Trade Zone. This is just

to keep the ball rolling. It may be several years before the zone takes form and shape. However much, we are keen and earnest to set up a Trade Zone, there is a time factor to be reconciled with.

Ever since the Party expressed the idea of a Free Trade Zone and job opportunities, there were groups of youths even before the elections, who were talking in terms of employment in the Free Trade Zone and were determined to put the party into power. They have achieved it. Now they are waiting hopefully for jobs in the Zone as if it were round the corner. They are so hopeful of jobs, they are even questioning about the type of training and experience they must have to be eligible for employment in the industries to be set up in the zone.

Very soon training schemes will have to be planned to meet this request. To do this the authorities must have some idea of the type and size of industries that can be attracted to the zone. Local or foreign, with or without collaboration, there must be a catalogue of industries that should be invited to establish and the facilities to be provided by the sponsoring or parent country, i.e. Sri Lanka. All these are pre-requisites to giving shape to the zone. Even to assess the advantages and foreign exchange earning capacity of a Free Trade Zone, we must be clear in our mind about what and who are to be invited to invest in the zone and by investing in our Free Trade Zone, what are the financial advantages to the entrepreneur as well as to ourselves.

A foreign investor will look only into the rupees and cents he can earn by selling the end product in a competitive market. It is the entrepreneur who must make the decision, we can only entice him to come to Sri Lanka by offering the most attractive terms compared to other countries who also want to cash in on the Free Trade Zone idea. Setting up of Free Trade Zones or Free manufacturing zones etc. has become very competitive. There will be many hurdles to be cleared before a "guest manufacturer" will accept our invitation to transfer his capital, his know-how and his management expertise.

The present western industrial countries are rather wary today about the socialist policies of the most developing countries. There are many instances where foreign owned institutions have been nationalized overnight—in some cases even without notice. Our Governments too have acted in this manner on several occasions. To rebuild confidence and trust in a Government will be the most difficult hurdle to clear. It will be necessary to guarantee the security of capital investment and repatriation of capital in such an eventuality.

The other factors that may influence decision making will be, facilities offered by the sponsoring country, in the form of infrastructure facilities such as services, land, power, water, transport, etc. and the cost of these to the entrepreneur. In the field of labour, its quality, variety, discipline, training background and adaptability to new work sense, and wages and wage structure. This last item may be very important from the point of view of the investor because his margin of profit will mainly depend on cheap labour, quality, and output per unit of time. Greater the efficiency greater the margin of profit to the investor. This is the sort of carrot we have to dangle before the entrepreneur to entice him into our Free Trade parlour. It must be a better carrot than what other countries in the area can offer.

When one speaks of Free Trade Zones, every one trots out the success story of Singapore and Hong Kong. These two territories, apart from Government Policies have geographical, historical and physical advantages over the more recent ones. They started as watering points for the great trading routs of an era gone by. Both were established by Britain to maintain their trade in the East and so they grow into Free Trade Zones and the successive Governments, after the Britishers quit, continued and encouraged the Free Trade Zone principles, mainly because they had no alternative if their economy were to float. Trade and industries provided the Government's main sources of revenue.

As regards Hong Kong it is still a colony and the lease is running out. What mainland China is going to do with it remains an enigma to business establishments there

This is why Hong Kong entrepreneurs are interested in other Trade Zones in the East. All this may come to naught if mainland China decides to extend the lease and go along with the present administrative and economic unit. They also benefit by it in no small measure.

To illustrate the Prime Minister's concept of a Free Trade zone, he referred to Singapore as the model for our Free Trade zone, while addressing the Government Agents' conference. He said that out of 24,000 sq. miles of Sri Lanka he wants to carve out 200 sq. miles and plant a Singapore in that 200 sq. miles, where foreign investors can set up factories, may be capitalist countries, may be socialist, may be communist etc. All will be given equal facilities and freedom to establish factories etc. He also said that the siting may be north of Colombo as proximity to harbour and airport facilities are very necessary. He also said that time has come to throw away the begging bowl and generate our own foreign exchange so necessary to maintain our economy.

Free Trade Zone is one other avenue of earning foreign exchange, in addition to the traditional sources of tea, rubber and coconut—these have been destroyed by the Sirimavo Government and it may be sometime before they can get back on to the rails, but by then, we would have lost the markets like the Australian tea market. For this we have to be thankful to the people for putting Mrs. Bandaranaike into power in 1970 and maintaining her for seven years. It is over now and we have to build on the debris—both human and material.

So the Free Trade Zone must earn Foreign exchange as an alternative for the country. The question may be asked how can this be done when it is in a zone outside the fiscal policies of the country? Answer to this is, from what the country earns from the facilities provided to the entrepreneurs to set up their business enterprises. What are they? To answer this let us go into some of the details of the idea of a Free Trade Zone.

In general an investor in the zone is free to import the necessary machinery, equipment, etc.

set up a factory, import all the raw materials etc. process them into a finished product and export to other parts of the world, with the minimum of controls by the host country. In this process what are our earnings? They are: Harbour or airport dues at the point of entry, handling and transport charges paid in "Foreign currency". Export of end product—documentation exit point dues as in the case of imports paid in Foreign currency.

To produce the end product, there may be the use of local materials, packing materials, fuel, power, water etc. which supplies to be paid in Foreign currency. The Host country will have to provide such facilities and services as land, roads, power, water and sewerage systems, buildings and in services, security, customs, banking, administrative services within the zone, maintenance of services etc. all of which will be paid in Foreign currency.

Of all these the most important is labour of various grades who will be paid in equivalent Foreign currency. These are the general avenues of earning foreign exchange from the zone. To quantify the earning potential, say the FOB prices of an end product is 100 sterling pounds which include the cost of raw materials, labour, overheads, profits and financial charges to the manufacturer. What we earn is labour cost, service charges, rentals and administrative charges which in many cases may amount to as much as 50 to 60% of the FOB price. So far every 100 sterling pounds value of goods exported* from the Free Trade zone the country will earn 50 to 60 sterling pounds as the case may be; total income depending on the volume of production.

It may not be very easy to acquire 200 sq. miles close to Colombo Harbour and Airport—It is 128,000 acres much greater than the area of Colombo and its environments. If it is a smaller area around 200 Acs. it is not difficult to locate this extent: Colombo North in Mat-takkuliya area, Ekala adjoining the Industrial area, or further north along Baseline Road, closer to the Airport, or moving south to Rat-malana area, all are potential areas to site a free trade zone. But from a national point of view, there will

be problems of pollution, congestion, pressure on water resources and security problems. These will arise because of the fact only a small area will be included in the Free Zone, whereas in Hongkong and Singapore the whole territory is a Free Zone, in fact a Free Trade country.

If the ambition is to carve out 200 sq. miles, the obvious location is Trincomalee. It has all the advantages of another Hong Kong. Excellent harbour facilities, very good water frontage, abundant land, most of which is owned by the State, abundant water for domestic and industrial use, environment control is no problem, air strip in operation, lends itself to security measures and is open to eastern sea routes. Very few places can offer these advantages.

If it is Trincomalee some heavy primary industries may be attracted to it. Iron ore smelting—ore from Madras, coal from Calcutta. Japanese may set up a unit as they are the largest importers of iron ore from India. With smelting furnaces at Trincomalee they can import pig iron and save on handling and bulk freight, also supply those countries which buy pig iron from Japan. A petro-chemical industry depending on the crude oil of Borneo and Burma, processing of raw wool from Australia and New Zealand and export woolen cloth and garments to the West. A British motor vehicle assembly plant to compete with Japan in the middle and eastern markets, small industries like domestic appliances, fractional electric motors, electric motors, refrigeration and air conditioning equipment, irrigation equipment for agriculture, building hardware, all of which have become far too expensive to the developing countries.

Such items used to be manufactured in the western countries when labour and cost of living were low, and exported to the colonies and developing countries. With galloping inflation everywhere and high cost of labour and living in these industrial countries, such items are beyond the reach of the developing countries. I imagine a simple Garden Hoe selling at 4 sterling pounds in England when the same item could be hand made for Rs. 12/- and cheaper if mass produced. This gives the range

of items that may be produced in the Free Trade zone even for the home market of an entrepreneur. In other words shifting the venue of manufacture from the "Home" to an outside area where the items can be manufactured cheaper for the Home market. Employment problems at Home will adjust itself by a reclassification of industries at Home. This is the advantage of free enterprise compared to controlled enterprise.

These are random items mainly meant to illustrate the scope of industries that may be attracted and accordingly to indicate the scope of a Free Trade zone which description incidentally does not cover the full picture now.

The establishment of a zone is not so difficult a problem once the necessary legislation is passed, to create an area of authority and define the fiscal and administrative Policies that will operate in that area. The difficult part is to attract the investor who really has to make the decision. His questioning will be; shall I transfer my capital to the Free Trade zone in Sri Lanka or elsewhere? If it is Sri Lanka what are the advantages compared to other zones? And where can he harvest the highest profit for his end products, Sri Lanka or elsewhere?

We should not delude ourselves by thinking that the present day entrepreneur will come with the Bible in one hand and cash in the other hand to civilize us and redeem us from our balance of payment problems. Those days are gone. It was practical problems to them then, when they ruled and maintained Political stability to carry out their "nefarious activities", as some would like to describe that period. What the entrepreneur is concerned with today is the political stability of the country. Where he is going to invest, Free Trade or socialist or communist policies that will finally arbitrate about his investment. How safe is his investment against Nationalisation, punitive action of Industrial take-over, and will he be able to repatriate his investments in such a situation.

These will be his primary considerations and will not be motivated by charity to help the Developing countries. The host country must provide the answers to these questions clearly and convincingly;

that irrevocable action has been taken by the host country to pledge the undertaking within "the limits of practical policies in a changing society." It is competitive and our bid to get them to come to Sri Lanka must also be competitive.

Another inducement for a foreign entrepreneur to come to Sri Lanka is cheap labour. When he thinks of labour, his questions will be: Are they disciplined? How efficient and productive are they in their own specialized trades? What is the quality of their training and what are the facilities available for training? How soon can they be trained, *ab initio* or on the job? What are the scales of wages payable to various trades according to experience and grading? How disciplined are they to couple demands and worker rights to their obligations to the employer and quantum of output. What is the machinery available to settle industrial disputes within "the area of Authority" and how soon such disputes can be disposed off? These may be the basic considerations, regards labour and labour management that will enter into decision making. For them, the Host country must be prepared with rules and laws to answer them.

Finally the concept does not mean Free Trade. There is no trading done. What it means is that a Foreign Industrialist can set up a factory or a processing plant in the zone outside the Fiscal and laws of the Host country, bring in all the expertise, know-how, raw materials into the zone, manufacture or process them and export them to any country he desires. He will pay the Host country for all the facilities, utility services, administration, labour and all such other charges he is liable to when he was accepted as a guest entrepreneur in the Zone.

DEVOTION—Concluding part
will appear in next week

LETTERS

Name?

Sir,

I notice that the *Daily News* spells the Prime Minister's name a-e-a-e-e. So does the *Sun*. But in *Tribune* I see a-a-a-e-e. Jayawardene/Jayawardene.

Daly from the dale differs from Daily every day, but both words are in the dictionary. Besides, there are personal or family names spelled Daley and Dailey; and you will notice from the erasure on the envelope that I had put an in singam. The "correct" spelling of a person's name is the way that person spells it.

Seeing in print two different spellings makes me wonder how the Prime Minister does spell his name.

Claude R. Daly, S.J.

"Nirmala",
31, Clifford Place,
Colombo 4.
12.10.77

English

Sir,

My attention has been drawn to a word which occurs in the statement on languages in Canada and published in your journal. It is the word "dignity".

I like the word and it sums up my main concern for the Sinhala language in this country. I want that it should have dignity, it is still to a large extent, alas, a kitchen language.

I have observed a kind of united chorus these days for three languages to be declared official in Sri Lanka. Personally I feel that two will suffice, Tamil and Sinhala.

But the point I want to make is that none of the advocates on three languages make any comment on the need to upgrade Sinhala. Consciously or unconsciously they appear to urge the continuing domination of the nation by the English-speaking elite. None of them seem to be aware of the deep damage done to the psyche of the Sinhala speaking people by this perpetuation of the horrible distinction which is made between these two language groups.

Recently in an article a teacher in a Private school mentioned that

from Grade I English is taught in such schools. Is this to pander to the deep resentment many Sinhala folks feel at having to educate their children in the mother-tongue? Does not this device help to maintain the sociological divide between the elite and the poor benighted natives?

Bryan de Kretzer

Prithipura Infant Home
Hendala - Wattala.

Race?

Sir,

I must take strong objection to Mr. Kahawita's description of "the Blacks of Rhodesia who are demanding majority rule and equality with the minority whites" as "ignorant, illiterate and... just emerging out of the bush" (*Tribune* October 8th). For it is exactly this type of racist argument that the imperialists used to keep us from the right to govern ourselves.

Mr. Kahawita may well be on the side of the angels when he writes on matters Sri Lankan, but if the above is anything to go by his attitude to African peoples would appear to range him alongside the arch-priests of international racism, Messrs. Smith and Vorster.

A. Sivanandan
Director

The Institute of Race Relations,
247/249, Pentonville Road,
London N1 9NG.
17.10.77

Eelam—Is It Viable?

Sir,

Mr. Sivanayagam in his letter published in your issue of 15th October has taken the mickery out of you in intelligent, fastidious and trenchant prose. His letter will open many people's eyes to connections of cause and effect which they had overlooked or wilfully ignored. He has not spared anybody—not even the late Mr. S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike. It is effortless Pelmanism and I must say first class public relations for the TULF. It is the sort of speech the old messianic message—which should have been made in Parliament by the leader of the Opposition.

Even now it is not too late—when an opportunity present itself, the TULF leader is well advised to table this letter in Parliament for purposes of permanent record.

R. Mahendra

78, 1st Cross Street,
Jaffna.
19th October 1977.

Colonisation?

Sir,

In your issue of 24/9/77, a lady from Kandy had written to you regarding the basic concept of the Nayake Thero of Vajirarama regarding colonisation of the Northern and Eastern Provinces. I wonder whether the Reverend is following the path of his Lord and Master, or is he following the footsteps of the "other Thero", who was in his height of power in 1956, and found his demise or so as to say *Nirvana* within the four walls of Welikada. Instead of sending an army of soldiers to the North, he could lead a group of his clergy to the troubled areas and preach the message of peace and love.

May I ask the lady from the Hill Capital, whether her idea of co-existence is a reality, when the security of the Tamils had been shattered by the recent outbreak of violence, resulting in an exodus of the victims migrating to places of safety. Even at ancient times the tribal races lived in groups, for fear of being attacked by rival groups. In modern times we have a Police Force, which in any country maintains law and order; but in our precious isle, they seemed to have gone into a sudden slumber, resulting in a wave of violence perpetuated against a particular community, which was either not checked by the Police or even had their blessing. Surprisingly the Government in power instead of punishing the disloyal elements, commended the head of the force by giving him a further period of extension in service.

The time has come when the Tamils cannot no longer live outside their traditional homelands without being endangered.

A Ceylon Migrant in Australia.
Australia.
12.10.77

Confidentially

Going The S.L.F.P. Way?

IS IT NOT TRUE that the recent disclosures in the NSA about SLFP VIPs becoming "exporters" has only confirmed what has long been known? That the government's strategy seems to be to expose at least one SLFP scandal a week to help the UNP to sustain its image? That these disclosures have been so far confined to the SLFP? That the LSSP hierarchy (it has as many skeletons in its cupboards as the SLFP) has been left out so far? That Keuneman of the CP has had a severe battering for the manner in which he had allotted houses? That this may be because of parochial Colombo Central politicking? That Chandrika Bandaranaike, it was disclosed, had received a car from a Japanese or Chinese firm in Hongkong as a "gift"? That when she protested that it was a legitimate business transaction, it was revealed that Chandrika, while being the boss of Land Reform, had been registered as a gem exporter and that she had in fact exported gems to Hongkong? That even before the ink was dry, it was disclosed that the self-proclaimed "honest saint" Felix Dias Bandaranaike's wife Muthulakshmi (how very Tamil) was a partner in a business venture that among other things exported gems? That this business was carried on whilst she was her husband's Private Secretary? That among the other members of this business, Palm Grove Farm, was her sister who was wife of Gamiñi Wickremnayake, one of Felix's revolving but permanent secretariat? That apart from a couple of "outsiders" the rest of the Palm Grove owners were Wickremnayakes? That the public will no doubt be soon regaled with further disclosures about Palm Grove Farm: about its egg and broiler monopoly, its contracts with the Oils & Fats Corporation, and its dealings with the Marketing Department? That whilst the UNP indulges in this kind of disclosures it must take care that its own Ministers do not start collecting skeletons in their own cupboards? That it may be a comparatively small

"crime" for UNP Ministers and Deputy Ministers to resort to a new "invisible" chit system or victimise persons on the reports of election supporters? That Deputy Minister Abdul Majeed was caught with his pants down by the Janadina, Attha and the Socialist Nation with "photostats" to reveal a glaring instance of such victimisation? That this action by Deputy Minister Abdul Majeed makes a mockery of UNP pledges and the assurances of the Prime Minister? That whilst this may be considered "small crime", Colombo is buzzing with talk about bigger near-Ministerial deals in the import of "essentials"? That the Prime Minister must find out whether any business undertakings (import and export) are registered in the names of the sons or close relations of Ministers? That he must inquire whether any sizeable government tenders have already been given to such firms? That the excuse a particular tender was the "lowest" should not be taken on its face value because Ministerial pressure (as in the SLFP times) can make tenderers with "lower" quotations to back out with the bait of other deals? That if this kind of corrupt gerry-mandering is allowed to develop, the UNP will soon go the SLFP way?

IS IT NOT ALSO TRUE that many big business magnates of the SLFP era have acquired an immunity from exposure that has already set tongues wagging? That Finance Minister, Ronnie de Mel, made a welcome, but a brief reference to these mudalalis, in one of his early statements in the NSA? That thereafter there has been total silence about the mudalalis whilst quips have been made that mudalalis and capitalists who had run behind the last government were now running behind the UNP? That if such running behind will give them immunity, it will only encourage UNP and other capitalists to organise similar (or worse) rackets? That apprehensions have arisen about this silence regarding certain SLFP mudalalis? That it is said that their racketeering will now be done under UNP patronage? That the UNP will not retain its clean image for long if it permits such mudalalis to become a major force in the UNP? That the activities of these mudalalis stink much more than all the wrong-doings of SLFP Ministers and MPs? That

the stupid action of Minister Kobbekaduwa to collect compensation as a priority before anyone else is not as serious a crime as allowing one single mudalali to import in millions for the Government without any tender procedure? That Kobbekaduwa's "crime" vanishes into thin air when considering the activities of the Tobacco Industries (Beedi) Corporation and Minister Sooriyaarachchi? That whilst Kobbekaduwa only received compensation for land he owned (except one small piece in dispute), Sooriyaarachchi spent public funds? That the Rs. 25 million for the Kantalai project is only a fraction of the multi-million frauds in the Beedi business after the government take-over? That readers will remember that this column had carried on a campaign for several months about the activities of Sooriyaarachchi and his henchmen in the Tobacco Industries (Beedi) Corporation? That our exposures were made before the Beedi Rajahs in the Corporation had really got going? That if the SLFP government had, at that time, taken the Tribune exposure seriously and dealt with the Beedi Corporation and had stopped the racketeering in the Beedi Corporation (as it was popularly known), the SLFP would have easily won a few more seats? That it is to be hoped that Prime Minister Jayawardene will see that UNP does not go the SLFP way? That writings on the wall about such a danger have already manifested themselves? That even the SLFP English weekly *The Nation* (of 29/10/77) has thought it fit to have a bash at the new UNP for spending vast sums of money on the goings-on at Panduwasnuwara? That it stated: "...the tamasha cost six and half lakhs of tax-payers' money: as usual all school children were brought into the field: the peasantry under the patronage of the Sangha came in thousands: the full government held court in Panduwasnuwara: for what purpose? for the avowed policy of self-sufficiency a whole nation has been duped into complacent belief in the idiom of the masses... what is the truth?..." That nobody had expected the UNP to go the SLFP way so quickly? That the descent has been so quick that even the SLFP is able to talk about it with its tongue in its cheek? That it is time the Prime Minister takes step to stop the new Government going the SLFP way?

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