

25TH YEAR OF PUBLICATION

# TRIBUNE



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## Role Of The Press

Our society needs an accurate, truthful account of the day's events. We need to know what goes on in our own locality, region, and nation. We need reliable information about all other countries. We need to supply other countries with such information about ourselves. We need a market place for the exchange of comment and criticism regarding public affairs. We need to reproduce on a gigantic scale the open argument which characterised the village gathering two centuries ago. We need to project across all groups, regions, and nations a picture of the constituent elements of the modern world. We need to clarify the aims and ideals of our community and every other.

These needs are not being met. The news is twisted by the emphasis on firstness, on the novel and sensational; by the personal interests of owners; and by pressure groups. Too much of the regular output of the press consists of a miscellaneous succession of stories and images which have no relation to the typical lives of real people anywhere. Too often the result is meaninglessness, flatness, distortion, and the perpetuation of misunderstanding among widely scattered groups whose only contact is through these media.

—*The Commission on Freedom of the Press (U. S. A), University of Chicago Press, 1947.*

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FOR NEWS BEHIND THE NEWS  
EVERY WEEK**



## From Our Desk

THE SPECTRE OF DROUGHT still hangs over many parts of the Island. The failure of normal rainfall during both monsoons in the last two or three years has already caused great hardship to farmers and rural people. The North-east Monsoon 1978-79 was partial in most areas, a total failure in some, and plentiful only in a few. The November 1978 cyclone brought rain to three districts for a few days, but the galespeed winds laid everything low. The 1979 South-west Monsoon was unusually delayed, but even after it arrived the rainfall has been well below normal. Even the usually wet Coconut Triangle has had a dry spell this year. And now, the farmers in the Dry Zone are eagerly waiting the coming of the 1979-80 North-east monsoon with trepidation. Will it come at all? Will the rainbearing clouds blow over Sri Lanka without dropping their moisture? Will the farmers get the rain they have depended on traditionally for countless centuries for their agriculture? Will it rain only by fits and starts in small pockets doing more harm than good for cultivation of the dry zone? Moreover, the rain (conventional) that usually falls in the lean months in the Wannu (from March to September) has been far below normal. This together with the weak 1978-79 North-east monsoon has created near drought conditions in many areas. Most tanks are dry. Birds and beasts have begun to wander in search of water. Elephants desperately seeking water go on the rampage in cultivated areas. Irrigation wells are fast drying up. Drinking water has become scarce in many parts. Unless the North-east Monsoon comes down in plentiful showers soon the prospects for bumper crops in the Wannu, the traditional rice bowl, are gloomy. Monsoon failure has brought fodder scarcity. Distress sale of cattle has begun on a large scale. It is not enough to bemoan the lack of rain or the failure of the Monsoons. It is not enough to preach sermons on conservation of existing forests and the re-forestation of areas denuded of adequate forest cover. Something must be done to cope with the situation. It is a self-defeating academic exercise to speculate on whether the world's weather follows repeated regular cycles. The ordinary person has become disillusioned with such speculative arguments—all he sees is that the weather is unpredictable and that meteorologists are merely content to air various theories. Or predict rain soon. It is possible that the unpredictability of the weather may itself be a sign of a repeating cycle. The evidence for at least one hypothetical cycle, that based on a 200-year period, is strong. Sunspots and volcanic activity seem to follow a 200-year cycle; approximately every 200 years the major planets of the solar system line up to pull on the sun with their combined gravitational forces, like a tug-of-war team. A great deal of research has been done on this 200-year cycle in respect of some parts of the world. So far as temperate regions like Britain are concerned, there was a cold period in the 17th century with severe droughts followed by an improvement until about 1730 when good weather reached a peak. Then into a bad patch around 1870, with an improvement around 1930. "Now in accordance with a 200-year cycle things seem to be getting worse and on the past record we may expect a ready deterioration for the next 100 years." That is the verdict for Britain and other countries in that region. What about Sri Lanka?

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## Model Villages

When *Tribune* was provided facilities to visit two model villages and some of the housing projects initiated and pushed through at great speed by Prime Minister Premadasa, the Editor had taken a few photographs. One a view of the scenically well sited Udaragama, had appeared on the cover of *Tribune* on July 14 (Vol. 24 No. 1) The picture on the cover this week was taken during the course of the same trip. It shows some of the officials the Editor met on this trip and whatever the merits and demerits of the model villages and housing schemes, there is no doubt that Prime Minister Premadasa has got together a band of enthusiastic workers (engineers, bureaucrats, supervisors and the like) who ungrudgingly work round the clock. And there is no doubt that they have got things done. And in many places, the female of the species seem to be doing a far better job of work—seeing that jobs are done and finished—than the mere male, many of whom still have a predilection for talk more than work.

It is wrong to generalise, but after seeing some of the sites and the work completed one cannot resist the temptation to conclude that if more women were entrusted with supervisory and executive positions, the government may be able to overcome the bureaucratic lethargy that has in recent years brought the administrative machine to a grinding halt. Of course there are many women who are total misfits in the jobs they hold. One notorious case comes to mind: the case of a Government lady veterinary surgeon (or doctor) in an outstation town—provided with a jeep and a travelling allowance—who never went out of her office even to visit a farm threatened with an epidemic of hoof and mouth disease. When poor peasants went to her with tales of sick animals, she would tell them to bring the animals to her office in spite of the fact that they come from remote areas which could easily be reached by jeep but which had no facilities to transport sick animals. The only comforting thought is that there are male veterinary surgeons who are worse.

To come back to Premadasa's model villages, Udaragama in the Mawathagama elec-

torate with 44 self-help housing units, was built in a record time of 41 days on a voluntary basis under the leadership of Mr. G. M. Premachandra, MP for Mawathagama. In addition to these the housing units, common amenities such as common wells for drinking and bathing, internal roads, a pre-school and a pottery centre have been provided. Electricity has also been supplied to this village.

There is no doubt that every prospect at the moment at Udaragama is pleasing. It is a model village that housed the over-flow from a community of potters living in a traditional village not far away. Udaragama is a show-piece. But except for small home gardens, agriculture as an economically viable occupation is not a possibility for the builders of the Udaragama. A few have made a start on their traditional occupation of pottery, but unless they are able to find clay and more importantly firewood close to the model village the new residents of Udaragama will find it difficult to make ends meet by pursuing their traditional craft on a self-employed basis. Unless the government or some private entrepreneur is able to create facilities for productive employment, in the immediate neighbourhood, the residents of Udaragama will soon have to drift to far places to obtain employment. The coconut and other estates in the neighbourhood are already saturated with excess labour and if the political pressure is used to put them on the checkroll, these estates will register more losses than they do now.

The situation at Arunodagama in the Dodangaslanda electorate, with its 55 aided self units, constructed under the guidance of the MP Mr. Alawathugoda, appeared to be worse. The village was sited up in the hills in an abandoned rubber estate. It was steep and the top soil and even subsoil had eroded through decades of wanton neglect. The self-help house-builders of Arunodagama were houseless families chosen from an agricultural village in the flat lowland below the hills on which the model village is sited.

At the time of our visit, the water supply had failed. Those who picked on the site had believed that a spring higher up the mountains which came down in a rivulet to Arunodagama was perennial. The partial failure of the South-west Monsoon, on which this region



depends for its water had dried up the spring. It was obvious that somebody had made a mistake. And nobody seems to have taken into consideration the fact that no kind of profitable and viable agriculture was possible the steep eroded hillsides. Without adequate supplies of water no other form of productive economic activity was even possible.

We do not know whether those responsible for the welfare of Arunodagama have now been able to solve the problem of water. Rain may have provided temporary relief for a few days or weeks—but that is all. We dread to think of the future of those who laboured to build themselves self-help housing units in Arunodagama. The Government has to launch an *Operation Rescue* soon—if it has not already done so. It is one thing to build model villages. It is another thing to site them in places where its residents can be self-employed or otherwise employed nearby. It is even more important to ensure a steady supply of water and a soil that can be profitably cultivated even on a home garden basis.

We will deal with the urban housing schemes we visited in a separate cover story.

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#### BELIEVE IT OR NOT

### ● Foreign ● NTC ● Tenders

**\*DISILLUSIONED.** *Believe it or Not*, a short while ago a new foreign bank was permitted to start business in Colombo. It was all petrodollars with the brains from a little East (of the oil). Fancy salaries were offered and many top local banking executives dropped good jobs and rushed to grab jobs in the new bank. Everybody was promised a ride to the moon, but no hard and fast contracts were signed; the bank had no schedules of salaries; or incremental scales. The efficient and the hardworking would be rewarded. The bosses would reward the good and efficient.

Today, six months after, the initial salaries are being reviewed and reduced. Letters of Appointment in the manner valid in the Industrial Law or the Law of Contract of Sri Lanka appear to be unknown to this Bank. The

bright boys who quit good jobs do not know what to do. Can they say they were victimised? They had agreed to climb the greasy pole—on promises of high salaries and other fringe benefits—and now they are slipping, pushed down by those who had invited them to join the new bank. What next? *Believe it or Not*, there is disillusionment in many high places.

**\*PRIVATE SECTOR BANK.** *Believe it or Not*, there is a belief that private enterprise is efficient and that it is not tainted with the kind of corruption that has brought disrepute to the public sector. But, Colombo town, is today full of tales of inefficiency in the private sector and what is worse, fraud. A private bank is the last place where fraud would be thought possible, but a discrepancy of four million rupees has been discovered in a big branch of one such Bank very close to the Epicentre. Apart from this 4 million rupees fraud, the branch boss is alleged to have recently purchased 4 Peugeot 504's at Rs. 3½ lakhs each at a time when the market price had dragged to about 2 lakhs each. Today it is even less.

*Believe it or Not*, the suspect is saturated in immunity—UNP variety—and nobody can touch him. Not so long ago he had laid hands—physically—on an executive of this bank. But he was so powerful that at a domestic inquiry the victim was adjudged the aggressor. Now the matter is before the LT.

**\*CEMENT TENDERS.** *Believe it or Not*, commercial circles are agog with stories of the unique practice followed by the BMC in opening tenders. Unlike in all other places, where the names of the tenderers and their offer is read out the BMC's Tender chieftains open the sealed envelopes, mention no names, only prices. And this system is followed in spite of protests.

*Believe it or Not*, the non-reading of names makes possible many malpractices and therefore corruption. Ugly rumours have begun to circulate. The least the BMC tender board can do is to follow the universal practice of mentioning the names of the tenderers when the proposals are made.

**\*NATIONAL TEXTILE CORPORATION (NTC).** *Believe it or Not*, the NTC is on the verge of dissolution. Private sector managing agents have taken over most of the mills. The NTC has really no work. But there is plenty



of kick in it. The *Ceylon Daily Mirror* of August 22, 1979 concluded a report on the forthcoming dissolution of the NTC with a staggering revelation: "The *Daily Mirror* reliably learn that the NTC Board of directors is likely to be dissolved shortly. It is also learnt that when a price increase of yarn by the NTC was planned for Monday, August 13, a stock of yarn worth nearly Rs. 2.5 million had been sold from the NTC stock at the old price on Friday August 10; This was against an order given by the NTC that there should be no sales of yarn during the period immediately prior to the price increase."

Who gave the orders to suspend sales and who flouted the orders? And who made the lakhs of kickback commission of this Rs. 2.5 million deal? *Believe it or Not*, the culprits are very high up in the ladder. They are powerful men with lots of pull and influence in high places. That is why everybody believes the story that five of the most notorious Directors of the NTC would be appointed as Competent Authority in charge of the mills now managed by private managing agents. These five men know where the honey is in the pot—and they'll grab it all before the lords of the Sri Lankan firmament wake up.

\***LONESTAR.** *Believe it or Not*, we are back again on Lonestar. Why have some gone to sleep over taking legal action to recover US \$ 10 million on account of the sub-standard raw cotton supplied? Very soon time will run out and the claim will be prescribed, it will be time barred.

*Believe it or Not*, Lonestar, although it has faded out of any known address, had tendered for the Rs. 2.5 million tender which closed on August 15 through dummy associates. The names of these Lonestar "Associates" are known in the trade, but strangely all three of them are from North Carolina. And the three of them had three local agents who are reportedly the associates of the original local agent of Lonestar.

\***NTC AND MANAGING AGENTS.** *Believe it or Not*, three of the five management consultants who are now in charge of our textile mills buy their raw material direct on worldwide tenders. And they have done well to buy from such international reputed firms like—in the cotton world—Palmer and all

and Hongkong Worldwide. Two of the five management specialist companies have permitted the NTC Tender Board to buy for them.

*Believe it or Not*, employees (high level) of the NTC, who quit the NTC not so very long ago have become local agents for big US and Hongkong firms. In one case a former highflyer from the now defunct Weaving Supplies Corporation (where a fire destroyed all books and evidence) is the agent of a foreign supplier who goes by the jolly name of Dolly.

*Believe it or Not*, the Five Musketeers from the NTC seem able to get away even with murder—tenders are only chicken feed.



## WHITHER SRI LANKA

### *Panem et Circines*

—Remember Rome—

by Juvenal

PRIOR TO THE FALL OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE the scene that prevailed in Rome was that of magnificence and plenty. Never had the patricians, in the history of that far flung empire, had it so good. But they nevertheless had the sense to realise the necessity of keeping the plebians amused. So they had a period when bread was available to anyone free and for nothing—not so infrequently as in the case of our annual 'dansalas'. They had in addition plenty of shows, including circuses—with denizens of the far flung empire fighting to the death in the gladiatorial contests, and so on and so forth—again, not occasional shows like the Apollo outfit in Colombo, Kandy and Jaffna, but continuous entertainment for the masses, somewhat more interesting than the night bazaar of Mr. Premadasa.

And so, the Latin tag came into vogue '*Panem et circines*', a phrase which has never lost its pristine sting or its profundity of meaning. Whilst keeping the plebians amused, the patricians soon found that amusements like the gladiatorial contests, bull fights in the periphery of the empire, as in Spain, or the usual sexual cover-indulgence failed to titillate their jaded appetites. They used their ingenuity to discover new amusements—and



one of these was the continuous feasting and revelry by night with the aid of "vomitoria". They ate and they brought out what they ate several times over.

This waste and indulgence brought in its train national degeneration, until the final curtain opened on the last scene of the last Act—eruption of the barbarians into imperial Rome and the end of Rome as an Imperial Power. Historians recorded that the barbarians were so easily able to overwhelm the once invincible legions because Rome had reached the last stages of corruption and was already undermined from within.

WE SEEM TO BE WITNESSING scenes similar to those of the last days of the Roman Empire, now in Sri Lanka. The scene shifts to a hill country town which was famous for its flavoured tea. The scenes enacted are less lurid, though equally reprehensible. The estates are now run at a considerable loss to the State. Where formerly at a gathering of planters the 'talking point' was the profits that were made by the neighbouring estates, the lugubrious discussion in modern times is which estate in this district made the "least loss" for last year! Estates that were reputed to be 'top' ones in the days of yore, have now lost their glitter and have become just estates that have ceased to be viable and are now a burden to the taxpayer!

But has this sense of impending disaster found its way up to the 'think' tanks of the Plantation Ministry and its numerous minions? Alas, ...No! There was enacted recently in this little town a Sports meet, organised by the State Plantations Corporation. Three to four days of preparation, prior to the meet, with estate lorries travelling to and from their respective estates bringing the paraphernalia to put up the 'big tent'. Superintendents and their Assistants were noticed directing the various operations; estate cars and motor bikes were all mobilised to assist in the success of this great event—and then three days of sports were witnessed in the arena, where Perla dorais, sinna dorais and workers all participated in questionable pursuits.

Pandals were erected to welcome the mighty Ministers and their panjandrams from Colombo. The Ministers were with their good ladies; the Directors of this Corporation were there with their good ladies; the Regional

Manager, the Superintendents, their Assistants and their women folk; Ramaswamy and Letchumy were there—all being transported daily at estate expense, to and fro from the 'big tent', for three days. The prizes that were distributed were handsome ones and truly glittering! Much jollification during and after the big event prevailed—and then break up and returning the paraphernalia to the various estates.

But did one of these mighty patricians pause to think and ask himself, was this circus necessary at this juncture? Was all this consumption of petrol, diesel oil and wastage of tyres justified when on the one hand the estates are run at a considerable loss and on the other hand could this country afford this unconscionable drain of foreign exchange incurred by this wanton use of petrol and

#### Nicaragua requests admission to Non-Aligned Movement

ON JULY 27, Nicaragua applied to the Co-ordinating Bureau of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries to be admitted as full member of the Movement at the 6th Summit Conference of Heads of State and Government to be held in Havana in September.

The request was made in a letter sent to the president of the Co-ordinating Bureau of the Movement, Foreign Minister Abdul C. Hameed of Sri Lanka by Nicaragua's Foreign Minister Miguel D'Escoto, who said that the Government of National Reconstruction is determined to maintain a foreign policy consistent with the principles of non-alignment.

"Our policy", explained D'Escoto, "is aimed at struggling to bring about a world based on justice and freedom and to establish an international order in which peace, equality and co-operation will prevail."

"It will be marked by the struggle against imperialism, colonialism, neo-colonialism, apartheid, racism, including Zionism and all forms of occupation, domination, interference and foreign hegemony, as well as all forms of pressure, be they economic, political, military or cultural in the field of international relations."



diesel oil? It would be interesting to ascertain as to how many cars came up from Colombo especially for this circus. We read of orders and exhortations being given down the line by the Minister and his satraps as regards the necessity for conserving fuel and saving on foreign exchange, etc as there is a National crisis, prevailing not only in Sri Lanka but all over the world.

But to judge by the spectacle that was enacted in this little provincial town recently, who says there is a National crisis in Sri Lanka! We dare say, "all work and no play, makes Jack a dull boy." There is certainly every reason that one should encourage sport-but could not these 'think tanks' organise in their own estates or a group of estates, sports activities on a less ambitious scale? One remembers the former days when European and Ceylonese planters organised similar events on a parochial basis—these were satisfying events although they were certainly less spectacular. Cross country races; climbing the greasy pole; flat races; swimming events and similar limb loosening exercises at hardly any cost to the estates. No V.I.P. from Colombo turned up for these delightful and simple functions. No estate lorries were used to transport paraphernalia or workers. These functions were local, intimate engagements planned with absolutely no thought of ostentation or eulogy, in the minds of the organisers.

One wonders whether a similar species of the same malaise that affected the ancient Romans in their decline is beginning to gnaw at the vitals of our own body politic. However much we may commend the straightforwardness of one Man—the President himself, he is after all with all his invested powers a single individual and can fail to usher in the just and righteous society if those who have jockeyed themselves into positions of power and influence show signs of venality.

*Tailpiece.* A petrol driven lorry belonging to an estate run by one of the Plantation management bodies in Uva was sent to town on 8/8/79, for the purpose of collecting 5 pounds beef and 6 bottles beer for the Superintendent's bungalow—a distance of 20 miles from a very high elevation!

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## PROSPECT OF AN ACCELERATED MAHAWELI —I

### A Long Long Way To Go

by R. Kahavita

AT PRESENT grave doubts are being expressed about the Mahaweli project being completed in six years. In some quarters even the very success of the scheme is doubted. Thus the powers that be, often refer to saboteurs, anti-Mahaweli elements in and out of the services. In fact these rumours were so much on every one's lips that the Minister for Mahaweli had a Public meeting in early May to allay such fears at Teldeniya area where the rumours started.

The news media too picked up some points from these rumours. The *Tribune* had devoted a few pages on the subject. This was followed by the *Independent News* paper group sending a team to investigate the allegations on the spot. Their findings were reported as front page news in two successive issues of the *Dawasa*. Their reporting was complete with interrogation of workers, officers, "villagers", and supported by photographs.

The publicity given to the short comings rattled the Government. So a Helicopter visit was made by the acting Minister and some officials. They took a bird's eye view of the situation and on their return to earth a radio talk was given, explaining the work that was being done. It admitted that progress was slow but an enormous amount of work was being done "on the drawing Boards", by various local and foreign Agencies. The reply to this by some of the Radio listeners was—"If so much of paper work is yet to be done before the project can truly take off, why was this six year commitment offered to the people? Is it because the officials talked out of turn or were they frightened to tell the truth lest orders to retreat be given?"

All this means that the Government is losing its credibility. Whatever the truth may be, Mahaweli is a National undertaking and the magnitude of the undertaking is such, it is not a five year project, it is a project for a life time. Those who believed that everything would be completed in five or six years,



and then sit back and admire the scene are over-gullible and are Simple Simons as the rhyme goes. It is going to be damned bloody hard work, even to complete all the stages in thirty years. If we do not work hard and in earnest now, in five years we may have to repent for the mess we created and gaze on the debris that mar the once beautiful scene.

We have deleted the words "hard work" from our thinking, nor do we realise that achievement is the reward of hard work. Only the Foreigners who have agreed to give us the money to develop the project seem to understand what hard work is and how long one must work hard to produce the results. It may be, we lost the initiative because of the outside competition. The foreign Agencies certainly have a stake in the pie—a job, comfortable living, VIP treatment, their money at our expense. We prefer to sit and watch, the elephants pass by as in a "Perahera" So what matters as long as the elephants' pass by to entertain us. This is what is wrong with us, we like to take a look from above like the Helicopter ride over the disaster area.

*We are not prepared to examine within and find out what is wrong and the reasons for earning such devastating publicity from the press. Is it bad policy? Is it wrong advice? Is it bad planning? Is it bad management? Is it incompetent organisation? Is it incompetent staffing? Is it incomplete technical studies? Is it that the work was started without knowing what we wanted? These are searching questions, for which the answers are to be found within, and remedial measures adopted to save Mahaweli crashing before it has even got on to the runway.*

IT IS TIME that everyone realises that Mahaweli means hard work. It cannot be worked in the fashion of a picnic; train and bus loads of picnickers in the guise of shramadana workers going to work sites for a couple of weeks and thereafter taking it easy. It is twenty four hour work—sunshine or rain—before the targets are sited. The levity of our thinking is reflected in speeches we hear and read when a group of shramadana workers are given a send off at a bus-stand or at a railway station. It is like seeing friends and relations off on a Poson Pilgrimage to Mihintale—in this spirit do we believe we can complete Mahaweli in five years?

*Tell that to the marines.*

But it is up to all of us to see that this national undertaking is brought back on to the runway and put in the maximum effort to see how far we can go in five years. If we just say, "It cannot be done" and sit back, where do we go from there. "It can be done" may not be realistic. All the same we are making a start and let us see how far we can go in five years. That is the challenge.

The Foreigners who are now involved in it will not strive nor put that effort to cut short the time. It is up to us to slave day and night "to clear the clouds till the targets are sited." The way we are going about the job today, the clouds will not be cleared. They gather faster than we clear them. Why I say this, let me go back to the beginning.

Mahaweli studies were taken on to the boards in 1946 as a project study. Collection of hydrological data, establishment of flow and rainfall measurement stations, physical planning of the whole catchment and the adjoining river basins, locating of potential development sites and the collection of hydrological data at such sites, preliminary site inspections and surveys, information on materials for construction, hydro-power development with storage and run-of-the river flow were continued towards 1956. A whole wing manned by officers competent to deal with each specialised subject was set up within the Irrigation Department. The result of these studies were reproduced on a scalar model for the better illustration and the understanding of the magnitude of the project. The model was publicly exhibited in 1952.

The investigations and studies continued through 1956 and as fresh data were collected, the studies developed into more sophisticated technology. USOM was requested to come in 1958 to 1961 to co-partner the I.D. studies. At the same time the Hunting Survey Corporation Ltd.—in collaboration with the Survey Dept—undertook a comprehensive aerial survey of Agricultural Land and water resources of the Mahaweli and adjoining regions, a faster method of assessing the resources than the traditional ground Surveys. This work was completed in 1962 and were incorporated in a report which formed the basis of a study by the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development in 1962. At the end of their studies and on their recommendation the



Government made a request in 1963 to the United Nations Development Programme Special Fund to undertake the study and planning for the exploration of all the natural resources of Mahaweli Basin. This study was handed over (as a joint study) to the Irrigation Department and to the United Nations Food and Agricultural Organisation. Thereafter the work was continued through 1965 to 68—and a partial report was available in 1969.

It was in two parts. Part One covered the overall study of the resources potential of the region and a Master-plan outlining the points of development and further studies. Part Two covered the study of phase I in greater detail for implementation of the Polgolla diversion in 1970 as a political expediency. At that stage, studies and designs, as understood in the Engineering profession were not in any way near completion. It produced The Master-plan, which should be the bible for the present planners, Engineers, Consultants and others who have poked a finger in the pie. *In general the plan envisaged the utilization of about six million acre. feet of water to irrigate 900,000 acres of agricultural land and the generation of about 2500 million kilowatt hours of firm power annually. Indirectly it catered for flood protection, soil and water conservation, development of forest resources, environmental control and preservation of eco-systems of the regions. The estimated cost then was in the region of 5.6 billion rupees, to be spread over 30 years. Today, with the devalued rupee and international inflation it is in the region of 15 to 20 billion rupees, now to be spent in five to six years.*

THE BEGINNING OF THE STUDIES, we said, was in 1946. At the end of 1970—24 years after—the Master-Plan and a skeletal construction plan for project I—Polgolla Diversion—were only ready. From 1970 to 1977 work on the diversion structure and the complementary works to take water to NCP were continued.

**The developmental studies to take the Master-plan to the next stage, i.e. construction plans for the other units of the Master-plan, were not continued. These are the studies and designs back-log that have to be cleared before committing the various engineering works for construction. It is the clearance of this back-log that was referred to by the**

**Authorities as “an enormous amount of work is being done on the Drawing Boards.”**

**Without such final plans the work cannot be undertaken. This is why the present target dates are doubted. To control the water resources of the Region, there are some 49 structures, minor and major, to be investigated, studied and designed before giving out for construction. By the time they are ready for construction, the present estimates may be doubled. If we try to spend this money in six years, your plate of rice will cost Rs. 300/—. Do not be frightened—we can never spend this even if we had the money.**

The aid giving countries too cannot stomach it. Like ourselves they do not have ready money to pluck off an apple tree. But it just illustrates how gullible our planners etc. are, and how misleading their statements are. It may be thirty years before we complete the studies or take them off the boards. The thirty year programme had other reasons. Beside technical difficulties, it was a phased programme to match production and income with expenditure to keep the plate of rice within the reach of the average man and not at Rs. 300/— a piece.

*It will be at least five years before an acre of land supplied with Mahaweli water, can go into full production. Whatever the effort, however much money we put into the acre—it will be five years before a full harvest can be gathered. If it could be done in five years it is an excellent performance.*

Our present thinking is not centred on productive development. We are concentrating on “Technical Development” and that too covers only a part of it. These studies will have to be continued before many of the structures are brought to the construction stage. In the early stages there was a break in the studies. When the Bandaranaike Government passed legislation to take over the petroleum business from the American operators the USOM closed shop and moved out. If not for this break the studies would have been continued but with varying degrees of concentration and application.

(To Be Continued)



Aug. 15 — Aug. 22

DIARY OF EVENTS IN SRI LANKA AND THE  
WORLD COMPILED FROM DAILY NEWS-  
PAPERS PUBLISHED IN COLOMBO.

CDN—Ceylon Daily News; CDM—Ceylon Daily Mirror; CO—Ceylon Observer; ST—Sunday Times; SO—Sunday Observer; DM—Dinamina; LD—Lankadipa; VK—Virakesari; ATH—Aththa; SM—Silumina; SLDP—Sri Lanka-dipa; JD—Janadina; SU—Sun; DV—Davasa; DP—Dinapathi; CM—Chinthamani; WK—Weekend; RR—Riviresa; DK—Dinakara; EN—Eelanadu; IDPR—Information Dept. Press Release.

**WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 15:** The Tamil United Liberation Front (TULF) expects President J. R. Jayewardene to solve the Tamil problem soon, Leader of the Opposition and General Secretary of the TULF Appapillai Amirthalingam told the visiting American Congressmen here yesterday. The government will today examine a proposal to increase the income ceiling of families becoming eligible for food stamps from September 1; according to reliable sources there is a strong lobby favouring an increase from the present Rs. 300 a month income ceiling to Rs. 450. Chinese Vice-Premier Li Zian-nian and the Sri Lanka Prime Minister Ranasinghe Premadasa began their talks on Monday afternoon. Central Bank's governor, Dr. Warnasena Rasaputram said yesterday that dynamite export financing policies and practices were urgently needed to solve Sri Lanka's balance of payments; in view of the rising import demands, Sri Lanka would have either to export or perish he said. Mr. Lester Wolff Democrat from New York, who is leading a US Congressional team said last night, "it is very unfortunate" that Cuba would be the next Chairman of the Non-Aligned Movement; he condemned Cuba's connections with the Soviet Union—CDN. A team of visiting US Congressmen who came to Sri Lanka to examine the progress made in development projects in the country have expressed absolute satisfaction—CDM. The Mahaveli Development Ministry is examining the possibility of engaging the private

sector to develop the separate systems of the accelerated Mahaveli Development project; according to authoritative sources, private sector firms will be asked to undertake the overall development of individual systems on contract basis. A World Bank expert yesterday described the state-run bus service in Sri Lanka as one of the best in South East Asia. The United States Congressional Sub-Committee on International Organisations is reported to have turned down a request by the Eelam Association of Sri Lanka to be granted a hearing on the human rights situation in the island—SU full time secretaries are being appointed to all ministries from the UNP Executive Committee; this step has been taken because government administration and development plans have failed even though number of new ministers such as District Ministers were appointed—ATH. The Minister of Food and Co-operatives has decided to set up a separate auditing team to check co-operative bill books. The Japanese government has agreed to provide a loan of Rs. 45 million to develop the Fisheries industries in the country—DM. A Ministerial Committee has been appointed to report back in one month on corruption and irregularities and mismanagement in co-operatives—DV.

**THURSDAY, AUGUST 16:** Sri Lanka, India, Bangladesh and Kenya must set up a massive multi-national corporation to produce and market their teas to stop the exploitation of their tea market by Western buyers, the world conference sponsored by the Society for International Development (SID) was told yesterday; the call for the setting up of the corporation came from Mahbub Ul Haq of Pakistan, Director of the Policy Planning and Programme Review Department of the World Bank at the concluding session of the three-day world conference here. The Boeing 707, piloted by Chairman of Air Lanka, Mr. Rakkitha Wickramanayake, arrived at the Katunayake International Airport at 11.55 a.m. yesterday. Large crowds thronged the Borella residence of Dr. N. M. Perera shortly after his remains were brought there around 11 a.m. yesterday; the body of the Samasamajist leader will lie in state in Parliament from Friday to Monday—CDN. The funeral procession of the late LSSP leader, Dr. N. M. Perera, will leave the premises of Parliament at 1 p.m.



on Monday, August 20, for Independence Square where the body will be cremated. The Rev. Mathew Peiris, former vicar of St. Paul's church, Kynsey Road, Borella and Mrs. Dalreen Ingram were further remanded by the Colombo Chief Magistrate, Mr. D. B. Ellapola till August 29—CDM. The Cabinet yesterday decided not to proceed with one of the country's largest projects—the 1,600 million-rupee hydro-cracker complex. The Cabinet yesterday decided to monitor through special legislation the whole process of foreign funding for scholarships, visits and various courses offered to foreign governments. Sri Lanka Prime Minister Ranasinghe Premadasa exchanged views on furthering bilateral relations and on international issues when he met Chinese Premier Hua Guofeng at the Great Hall of the People in Beijing today. Sales of confiscated items conducted by Customs during August fetched a record revenue of Rs. 990,245 a Customs spokesman said yesterday—SU. All government officers who were retrenched due to lack of language proficiency after June 20 will be reinstated and those whose increments were stopped will receive them; this was decided by the Cabinet yesterday—DP. The State Mining and Mineral Sands Development Corporation has launched a scheme to conduct exploration throughout the island with foreign help to find out whether cobalt, uranium and nickel deposits exist in large quantities in the island. Preliminary explorations have revealed that such deposits exist; the Corporation will get help from the USA, Netherlands, India and the International Nuclear power center—LD. Insecticides can only be sold and be kept by those who have permits; these permits are to be issued soon and those who sell or keep these items without permits are to be punished. The President has decided not to permit private TV stations in the country till 1981 when the State TV Network will start its transmission—DV. The government has decided to allow science, maths, and English teachers who are in good physical condition to teach till they are 65 years of age—DM.

**FRIDAY, AUGUST 17:** Health Minister, Gamini Jayasuriya yesterday appealed to the Government Medical Officers' Association which is planning to resort to a strike or a go-slow to press their demands, not to disrupt the medical services and cause inconvenience

to the people, even placing their lives in jeopardy. Tea production during the first six months of this year showed an increase of one million Kg. over the figure for the same period in 1978 according to the performance Report of the Ministry of Plan Implementation. Sri Lanka and China last night signed a cultural agreement allowing for greater exchanges between the two countries in the field of culture, arts, education, sports and journalism, the new China News Agency said. Sub-standard food items unfit for human consumption are being imported in increasing quantities into Sri Lanka by private traders a Colombo Municipal Council (CMC) Public Health Department spokesman said. The government of Netherlands has agreed to finance the setting up of six modern vocational training centres in Sri Lanka; the estimated cost of this project is Rs. 10 million—CDN. The Special Presidential Commission headed by Justice J. G. T. Weeraratne has served 16 charges on Mr. Felix R. Dias Bandaranaike, former Minister of Justice; it is reliably understood that the Commission has asked Mr. Bandaranaike to file answer before the Commission next Monday. The State Film Corporation has approved the construction of one hundred and six new cinema halls outside the Colombo area, said Mr. Anton Wickramasinghe, Chairman of the SFC—CDM. A senior bank employee who allegedly misappropriated Rs. 225,000 and gambled the money away was arrested by the Criminal Investigation Department on Tuesday. The body of the LSSP leader N. M. Perera was brought to his party headquarters at Union Place yesterday afternoon. Government will require all lands returned to victimised owners of such lands which are subsequently fragmented by them; this decision has been taken by Cabinet following recommendations made by Lands and Land Development Minister Gamini Dissanayake. Government yesterday abolished the import duty on cement with a view to reducing the price of cement and other building materials—SU. The government is taking steps to build flats in villages similar to the flats built in towns—DP. In order to promote the production of colour films locally, a colour research unit is to be established next year and bank loans up to 5 lakhs will be provided to those engaged in producing coloured films said the Chairman.



of the Film Corporation—VK. The Finance Minister is due to meet World Bank leaders to get world bank assistance to fill the budget gap. Over 50,000 people paid their last respects to Dr. N. M. Perera the leader of the LSSP by last night at the LSSP headquarters—JD. The President has given permission to all corporations to import their own cement for their needs—LD. The Ministry of Public Administration and Home Affairs thinks that there are over 20 lakhs of government employees who are not doing any work at all—DM.

**SATURDAY, AUGUST 18:** The Presidential Commission on Development Councils yesterday invited written representations from the public or organisations. Trade circles here predict a possible adverse effect on the world rubber market because of widescale shut-downs and lay-offs in America's two largest tyre manufacturers, Goodrich and Firestone. The services of public officers, local government and other public sector employees may be extended beyond the fifty-eighth year up to 60 years on an extension given by the respective Ministers in charge of Ministries, departments and corporations. The Sri Lanka National Freedom from Hunger Campaign Board has agreed to finance and assist the revitalisation of the ancient small vewa (tanks) cultivation system which had survived for four hundred years despite neglect. Agricultural Research Minister Mr. E. L. Senanayake said yesterday. Finance and Planning Minister Ronnie de Mel yesterday expressed optimism that Canadian aid for the Maduru Oya project would be confirmed next November—CDN. The TULF Parliamentarians will continue to boycott sittings of Parliament when it meets again on Monday, August 20, according to informed political sources—CDM. Government will not restore the original boundaries of the Vavuniya district. President J. R. Jayewardene has told his Ministers. Government has suspended the new basis of university admission worked out by a Ministerial Sub-Committee for next year; according to authoritative sources, Government has decided to await the report of the new Special Presidential Commission which is expected to clarify certain issues in regard to university admissions. A 60-member delegation of leading businessmen from Japan is due to arrive in Sri Lanka on August 24; this

mission has undertaken to reciprocate the visit of the Sri Lanka delegation of businessmen to Japan, the Japanese Embassy announced yesterday. The corridors of Sri Lanka's highest legislative assembly where for forty continuous years was heard the voice of a country's respected and recognised statesman was yesterday replaced by the muffled sobs of a people who loved him; the red flag draped coffin with the body of the late Dr. N. M. Perera reached Parliament by 3.15 p.m. and it was received at the entrance by the Speaker Beker A. Markar, Minister and MPs—SU. The Sri Lanka Port Authority has decided to withdraw all state service privileges such as free medical reports, pension etc., from Colombo Port Commission employees from September 1—ATH. DIG Sunderalingam is taking steps to protect goods brought by those who have gone to the Middle East; on the advice of the IGP the DIG has requested such persons to

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

Reference No. LD/A 469

It is intended to acquire the land described in the Schedule below for a public purpose. For further particulars please see the Gazette of the Democratic Socialist Republic of Sri Lanka No. 51 of 24/08/79 (Part III).

**K. B. Wijekone**

Assistant Government Agent,  
District Land Officer,  
Kandy District.

The Kachcheri,  
Kandy.  
31 July 1979

**Schedule**

**Situation:**— Wattegama (part) village, Ward No. 7 Delgahapilla within U.C. Limits of Wattegama, Pata Dumbara D.R.O.'s Division, Kandy District.

**Name of land:**— Frankland Estate Assmt. Nos. 23, 25, 27, 28 & 29 Nuwaratenne Road.

**Plan and Lot Nos.:**— Lot 1 in P.P. Maha 1869



write down serial numbers of those expensive goods and give respective Police Stations a copy of the list. Rural protection societies are to be formed to protect people from thefts—LD.

**SUNDAY, AUGUST 19:** The government is likely to adopt a tough line against Government Medical Officers threatening trade union action including a strike or go-slow: authoritative official sources yesterday did not rule out the possibility of the medical services being declared "essential" to ensure that the public, particularly the sick, were not inconvenienced or hurt by a demonstration of medical trade union muscle. President Jayewardene sounded a note of stern warning to communal rabble rousers and trade unionists attempting to incite workers to strike when he addressed a mass meeting following the laying of the foundation stone yesterday for a Rs. eight million modern tea factory at Neluwa in the Hiniduma electorate. A Plan Implementation Ministry survey on private sector employment growth last year estimates that about 25,000 new jobs had been created outside the FTZ in 1978—SO. The government of the United Kingdom through the British Council, has decided to establish English teaching centres in the country at its own expense. The government will safeguard the rights of the minority communities and never allow anyone to promote communalism, said the President Mr. J. R. Jayewardene addressing a massive crowd at a public meeting held at Madegama, Neluwa in the Hiniduma electorate—ST. France is to assist Sri Lanka in exploiting the vast potential of atomic energy in the country for development purposes; in this connection, Sri Lanka will sign an agreement with France for collaboration in the field of peaceful uses of nuclear energy. The Colombo Port will shortly have a duty-free shopping centre to serve the increasing numbers of crews and passengers of ships calling here—WK. Those government employees who do not know Tamil or English but only Sinhala will be transferred from the Northern and Eastern provinces; Government high officials have made a decision in this connection on principle and this decision will be implemented with Cabinet approval from next January—CM. The government has taken steps to provide economic opportunities to those who are settled under

"Udagama" project; these persons will get the opportunity to set up their own companies and take on contracts for construction work in those areas—SLDP. The Income Tax Department thinks that the government loses a minimum of Rs. 100 million a year because gem merchants do not reveal their correct income from gem sales; they use a number of tricks to mislead the income tax Department SM. The World Bank has come forward to supply 50,000 modern machines to women who do handloom work to improve the quality of handlooms and to find buyers for these products—RR.

**MONDAY, AUGUST 20:** The Cuban government has issued visas for representatives from both the rival regimes vying to represent Kampuchea in the Non-aligned Movement to go to Havana during the Non-aligned Summit next month official sources said yesterday. The funeral of the late Dr. N. M. Perera, leader of the LSSP will take place this afternoon at the Independence Square, his body will be taken at 1.30 p.m. from Parliament House where it has been lying in state to Independence Square—CDN. The Government Medical Officers' Association has now appealed to the President, Mr. J. R. Jayewardene to intervene in their dispute with the Ministry of Health. This Government could not be toppled by any force; only an earthquake or a sudden gale can topple it said the President, Mr. J. R. Jayewardene when he addressed a mass rally at the Ananda Madya Maha Vidyalaya grounds, Elpitiya yesterday—CDM. For the first time in Sri Lanka, legislation will shortly be introduced by the Ministry of Lands and Land Development to regularise the use and exploitation of water in the country; Ministry Secretary Nanda Abeywickrama yesterday said that a new Water Resources Act would make it an offence for any person to use, exploit or tap water in excess of the quantity that would be authorised by regulation. The setting up of the Open University in Sri Lanka will be delayed by another year; the main reason is a lack of funds with the Ministry of Higher Education to get this university functioning in full capacity—SU. Police officers who were suspended from service on grounds of disciplinary action will be under strict surveillance as they are trying to create trouble for the government—DP. The Minister of Education has decided to



give students a meal worth 75 cents every day. The International Development Society has provided Sri Lanka Rs. 460 million loan to expand local agricultural sale sections—LD.

**TUESDAY, AUGUST 21:** The sixth Conference of members of the Law Association for Asia and the Western Pacific (Lawasia) will take place in Colombo from August 27 to 31 at the invitation of The Bar Association of Sri Lanka. Sri Lankan Prime Minister Ranasinghe Premadasa left the southern Chinese city of Canton by train for Hong Kong yesterday at the end of his eight-day official visit to China, the New China News Agency said. The People's Republic of China is granting an interest-free loan of approximately Rs. 500 million (equivalent to 50 million Yuans in Chinese currency) to Sri Lanka, repayable in 20 years—CDN. In the presence of a mammoth crowd numbering several lakhs, the body of Dr. N. M. Perera, elder statesman of Sri Lanka, economist and political scientist of world renown and universally acknowledged as the greatest socialist leader in this country's history—was consigned to the flames at 6.50 p.m. yesterday at the Sports Ministry grounds at Independence Square. Indian Premier Charan Singh resigned after only 24 days in office and President Sanjiva Reddy said he would consider the bid by Opposition leader Jagjivan Ram to form a new government—CDM. The government will increase allocations under the decentralised budget for the electorates from next year, President J. R. Jayewardene told the Government Parliamentary Group yesterday—SU. There are over Rs. 4 million worth of unsold locally produced textiles in Matara alone; they have not been able to sell them because of the imported textiles—LD. The government is to provide food stamps to those who earn less than Rs. 500/-; at first those who earn less than Rs. 300/- will be given the food stamps and after that those who earn less than Rs. 500 too will get them after the government holds a survey to ascertain the amount they have to spend on this—DV.

**WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 22:** The ten-member Committee on Public Enterprises (COPE) comprising both Government and Opposition MPs has begun a searching study of this year's performance of 179 Corporations in which Government and banking investments exceed Rs. 16,000 million—more than double

the money invested in private sector companies. The Transport Board has reduced drastically the early requirement of three years' experience for bus drivers to six months now in order to be able to maintain a satisfactory service; the service now is badly hit by at least fifty drivers a month on an average going abroad for more lucrative employment. The International Conference of Parliamentarians on Population and Development which begins here on August 28, will adopt a proposed plan for population and development prepared by the conference secretariat; its accent will be on community participation in planning, design and operation on projects. The government has directed the Ministry of Lands and Land Development and Mahaweli Development to conduct a survey to regularise encroachments on state lands—CDN. It is reliably understood that the employment of State corporations would be given a salary increase of Rs. 75; an allowance of Rs. 50 will be paid from next month and a further Rs. 25 after the Budget from January onwards—DP. Police

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

Reference No. 9/2/1231

It is intended to acquire the land described in the schedule below. For further particulars, please see the Gazette of the Democratic Socialist Republic of Sri Lanka No. 51 (Part III) of 24/08/79.

**Schedule**

Name of Village:— Kanahela (Part)  
Name of land:— Gonakelle Estate  
Lot & Plan No.:— Village Plan No. 544  
Extract No. 17 Lot No. 619

in Kanahela North Grama Sevaka Division, in the Divisional Revenue Officer's Division of Passara, Badulla District, Uva Province.

**S. K. Chandrasoma**  
Acquiring Officer,  
Badulla District.

The Kachcheri,  
Badulla.  
02.08.1979



investigations have revealed that top officials of the customs and the port are behind million rupee robberies in the harbour. A massive project costing Rs. 300 million is to be launched to improve the fisheries industry and the lives of fishermen in the Chilaw and Puttalam districts. The SLCTB is taking steps to launch a 3 year programme to improve the bus service with the Rs. 750 million loan from the World Bank; under this programme 1000 buses will be imported annually for the next three years and 30 new bus depots will be set up throughout the country—DM.

+ + +

## THE GOLDEN AGE

### Of Zimbabwe—Rhodesia

by Francoise de la Cerisaie

Between the years of 1860 and 1870 a small gold rush took place towards the hinterland of southern Africa after men returned from the Ruins with stories of their magnificence and the gold objects to be found lying about. Archaeologists also visited the site and soon declared that they could not possibly have been the work of the local populations. Some attributed it to a race from overseas, others that this was where the Queen of Sheba found the gold she had taken to King Solomon, while others said they were the work of the Phoenicians. But now it has been proved that they were indeed built by local inhabitants.....

"In the heart of the country is a square fortress made of large stones, the one piled on top of the other with not an inch of mortar in between. The wall is of a thickness of 25 spans and its height is not considerable considering its size. Above its door is an inscription which visiting Moor traders could not decipher or identify. This fortress is almost completely surrounded by hills on which similar structures stand. One of these is a tower which measures more than ten fathoms high".

"This is how the Portuguese explorer Joan de Barros described the Great Zimbabwe

Ruins in 1562. The Ruins which stretch over an area of 50 acres south-west of the modern town of Fort Victoria was discovered by South African hunters and prospectors.

A MYTH. Two of its buildings stand out from the rest. One, known as the "Acropolis" is on top of a hill and looks like a defensive fortress, the other, the 'Temple' lies at the bottom of a valley. Both are of flat granite stone cut from the local hills, and have arched gates, doors of lintel wood, numerous passages and 25 feet high walls.

Between, the years of 1860 and 1870 a small gold rush took place towards the hinterland of southern Africa after men returned from the Ruins with stories of their magnificence and the gold objects to be found lying about.

Archaeologists also visited the site and soon declared that they could not possibly have been the work of the local populations. Some attributed it to a race from overseas, others that this was where the Queen of Sheba found the gold she had taken to King Solomon, while others said they were the work of the Phoenicians. But now it has been proved that they were indeed built by local inhabitants.

In 1905 the British Association for the Advancement of Science sent Egyptologist David Randall-Maclver to study the strange "Phoenician" or "Sabine" ruins in Africa. Maclver came to the conclusion that they dated from the Middle Age or perhaps a later period, and were built by a local people. The ancestors of the Shona people for example. "This architecture", he wrote, be it military or civil, has no trace of any European or Eastern style from any epoch." On the other hand "the interior part of the ruins is undeniably African." The colonials refused to believe him, and a long controversy followed.

In 1929 another team led by Mrs. Gertrude Caton-Thompson was sent out to Rhodesia to study the ruins. After two years Caton-Thompson returned, confirming Maclver's theory. "The study of all evidence", wrote Mrs. Caton-Thompson who is still alive today, "did not reveal even one element to disprove that Zimbabwe was constructed by Bantu builders". She added. "It is impossible for me to agree with the theory so often



expressed that they were the work of autochthons under the supervision of masters of a superior race."

But it was not enough. There were still many who would not believe that a Bantu people had built Zimbabwe. A third exploration team sent out in the 1950's furnished irrefutable proof after Carbon 14 tests. These tests, invented by the American William Libby, allow archaeologists to measure the degree of radioactivity in wood or metal, determining the approximate date of construction.

In the case of Zimbabwe they showed that construction work there was commenced around the year 1100 and ended towards 1450. Other evidence—diaries written by Portuguese during the 15th and 16th centuries, Indian zean pearls, Chinese and Persian pottery—confirmed this conclusion, making it possible to put an exact date to the more than two hundred stone ruins found in Zimbabwe-Rhodesia, Mozambique and the Transvall.

**SHONA ANCESTORS.** Today, most specialists believe that the Great Zimbabwe was built between the 4th and 12th centuries by a people who originated from the region of Katanga, some 500 miles north, who are the ancestors of the present Shona people of Zimbabwe-Rhodesia.

It is believed that as they developed their mining, agricultural and trading activities, they began cultivating a political system. Some of their priests or chiefs became sovereigns and towards the 14th century, all of the region of Zimbabwe passed into the hands of a priest-king whose royal seat was on the site of the Zimbabwe Ruins.

After the 15th century Zimbabwe started to lose its political and economical dominance, but remained a place of worship for the Shona people, as it is still today.

—AFP Feature.



## BACKGROUND

# International Foundation For Development Alternatives

1. The International Foundation for Development Alternatives (IFDA) has been established on the initiative of a number of individuals from both Third World and certain industrialised countries who are committed to, and engaged in, new approaches to development and international co-operation. Three major elements made them feel that the moment had come to launch such an undertaking:

2. **A NEED:** The current international discussion reflects a new concern for the liberation of all men and women from want, exploitation and alienation. This concern is combined with an anxious interrogation on the future of human society. If trends are not to become destiny (Rene Dubos), the future must be investigated now, and be taken into account in current decision-making. There is, therefore, an urgent need for: (a) innovative research, experimentation and action towards *another development*, required by most societies individually and by mankind collectively, and implying the re-ordering of international relations in the directions indicated by the New International Economic Order and the Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States; (b) a greater awareness of the full implications of the *only One Earth* concept and deliberate promotion of that, in particular through an informed North-South dialogue at the level of public opinion as well as of Governments.

3. **A POTENTIAL:** An informal network of individuals and institutions operating at the *interface between action-oriented research and policy-making* has been active over the last few years, from the preparations for the 1972 Stockholm Conference on the Human Environment (including the 1971 Founex seminar on development and environment) to the 1975 Dag Hammerskjold Project on Development and International Co-operation, and beyond. This network, essentially transdisciplinary has connexions in a number of countries, non-



aligned or "like-minded", industrialised or belonging to the Third World (as exemplified by the list of those who contributed to the Dag Hammarskjold Report, which included some 150 persons from 48 countries, 14 United Nations bodies and 24 research and development institutions). It should be expanded and utilised in a much more systematic manner. The establishment of a truly global facility servicing the network and promoting development policy research and dialogue was seen as a means to mobilise more fully the potential of this network.

4. **A DIFFERENCE:** The Foundation is not to be another research institution, but rather *an instrument of promotion, support, organisation and co-operation*. There are many institutions already engaged in development research, most of them however, essentially national entities rooted in the industrialised countries; they should now turn their attention more and more towards the adjustments which another development and the new international order require in the industrialised societies and their economies. At the same time, there are institutions in the Third World which have access only to meagre financing and would benefit from close relations with a global centre, which could provide or channel *support permitting the full participation of Third World institutions and intellectual resources* in an endeavour which cannot be but global. Related to this, finally, is the need of some inter-governmental agencies and at times governmental ones, for an organisation enjoying both the confidence and participation of the Third World which could contribute to their own work. It was indeed this need which pointed up the dearth of such organisations and, in turn, led to the support by some United Nations units of the initiative taken to establish IFDA.

#### A. THE OBJECTIVES OF IFDA

5. The specific objectives of IFDA are essentially to: (a) provide intellectual and analytical under-pinnings for:

(i) development alternatives geared to the satisfaction of human needs—material and non-material—on the basis of self-reliance and of harmony with the environment, as well as with the cultural and social values

and aspirations of each society, whether in the industrialised countries or in the Third World; (ii) a meaningful dialogue conducive to the establishment of a new world system based on equality between nations and societies and recognition of their diversity;

(b) promote a better understanding of development and international co-operation on the part of public opinion, particularly in the industrial countries; (c) stimulate dialogue between those who, because of their political, intellectual, social or economic activities, are aware of the need for development alternatives; undertake or promote research, studies and exchange of information on relevant themes; make available to interested parties, through meetings and papers, the analyses, findings and proposals resulting from work in progress; (d) establish and develop co-operative relations with similar institutions throughout the world and provide support to such institutions, in existence or to be created, in the Third World.

#### B. OUTLINE OF IFDA PROGRAMME OF WORK

6. While IFDA is still in its formative stage, an illustrative list of what it could and should do is provided below. The list reflects both the *functions* which need to be performed in order to make the network operational on a regular basis, and the topics on which a considerable amount of *preliminary work* has already been done (For example in the context of the 1975 Dag Hammarskjold Project). What follows thus represents an outline of a long-term programme of work for IFDA.

##### (i) MUTUAL INFORMATION

7. Under this heading are grouped activities which in themselves provide a *service* to the co-operating institutions and individuals and, in some cases, also constitute preparatory work for projects such as those listed in (ii) below. They are thus the very basis of IFDA work. They include essentially: (a) the preparation and circulation of an *information letter* reporting briefly on activities relevant to the objectives of the Foundation and to serve as a vehicle for discussion of work in progress (a kind of permanent "seminar by correspondence"); (b) the preparation and circulation of *briefing, analytical or discussion*



papers on topics appearing on the agenda of important inter-governmental gatherings whether regular (the UN General Assembly, the ECOSOC, the Trade and Development Board, etc.) or occasional (the major international conferences). This was the idea of the June 1974 Taljoviken Seminar, organised by the Dag Hammarskjöld Foundation in preparation for the 7th Special Session of the United Nations General Assembly, and in which a number of the initiators of IFDA participated;

(c) dissemination of *major policy statements* (speeches, articles, or publications) including those made by members of the network, thus facilitating the evolution of the new body of doctrine which gradually emerges from the positions expressed by a number of national and international leaders.

(ii) **PROMOTION OF ACTION - ORIENTED RESEARCH**

8. As already noted, IFDA is not to duplicate what is already being done, or could be better done by existing institutions. First, it is oriented not towards research as such but rather towards the utilisation of the results of research and innovation (i.e. both conceptual and practical work) at the policy-making level through dialogue between policy—and opinion-makers, researchers and operators. Second, it is not designed as an academic institution, but as an instrument keeping the members of the network informed on on-going activities to its aims. Third, it should identify subjects or approaches requiring more or different work and in such cases, promote or facilitate the activities of other institutions, particularly in the Third World (as described in section C below). IFDA will thus initiate action involving either research, preparation of "state of the art" or discussion papers or proposals on a number of themes which could be presented under three broad headings;

(a) **Strategies for transition towards another development**

Activities in this area could focus around five main themes: (1) national case studies of current or recent efforts of selected Third World countries, whether successful or not, to design and carry out development strategies aiming at the satisfaction of human needs, both material and non-material—through self-

reliance, autonomous policy and technological choices, reform of socio-economic structures, popular participation and self-management at various levels; (2) investigation of the basis for, and feasibility of, alternative patterns of consumption and life-styles in industrialised countries capable of improving the quality of life of the masses; (3) examination of specific aspects of the redeployment and adjustment likely to be required in industrialised countries by the establishment of the NIEO; (4) critical examination of conventional ways and means to satisfy needs and preparation of "state of the art" papers on innovative approaches to nutrition, habitat, health and education as well as on popular participation on development, including that of workers, women and youth; (5) analysis of significant eco-development projects under different ecological, socio-economic and political systems.

(b) **Third World collective self-reliance**

10. Three subject-areas could be explored in this connexion: (1) identification of, and groundwork on, specific areas where collective self-reliance would enhance the development potential of Third World countries; for instance joint programmes in agriculture and industry, reinforcing autonomous financial institutions, using within the Third World the financial resources of some of its members, strengthening its autonomous technological capacities, improving the "South-South" communications, etc; (2) identification of, and groundwork on, specific areas where collective self-reliance could increase Third World bargaining position in the specific negotiations leading to the establishment of the NIEO and the implementation of the Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States, including specific instances of action by groups of Third World countries as importers, exporters and "hosts" of Transnational Corporations (Trade Union of the Third World concept); (3) contribution to the preparation of specific international discussions or negotiations, e.g. determination of principles for negotiation between principal creditors and Third World debtors with a view to solving the debt problem.

(c) **Specific aspects of the NIEO at global level**

11. Four principal aspects could be studied: (1) scope and methods of concerned



action between producers and final consumers of commodities and manufactures from the Third World on the basis, among others, of an analysis of the margins between producers' income and cost to the final consumer and of the role of the TNC's in the production, marketing and distribution process (a good example of such an analysis is provided by the UNCTAD "banana study")

(2) specific elements of a new industrial geography of the world providing for a significantly larger share of the transformation of its raw materials (especially to satisfy the needs of its people) the Third World itself, taking into account the problems of the migration of workers and the brain drain as well as the interest of industrialised countries to halt pollution resulting from excessive industrial concentration;

(3) examination of the feasibility of, and preliminary work on, possible long-term pilot agreements between selected industrialised and Third World countries aiming at comprehensive co-operation through mutually beneficial trade, financial, technological and cultural relations;

(4) ways and means of increasing the efficiency and volume of the transfers of real resources in order to facilitate Third World self-reliant development, including in particular (a) a better co-ordination of progressive aid programmes on the basis of exchange of operational experience, concerted action and joint evaluation involving both providers and recipients, (b) the investigation of various forms of automatic mobilisation of resources for such transfers and (c) a re-allocation of resources now spent on armaments.

(To Be Concluded)



## TOPICAL

### Why Oil Prices Are Rising?

by Ruben Andreasyan

WORLD OIL PRICES set since October 1973 by OPEC (the 13-nation Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries) have gone up again. At the recent OPEC conference in Geneva (June 26-28) it was decided to raise

the price to \$ 18-23.5 a barrel (159 litres) or \$132.7-\$179.6 a ton, effective from July 1. Saudi Arabia, which accounts for over a quarter of world oil exports, adopted the lower price, while the higher price was set for top quality oil from fields close to major markets.

So the OPEC ministers were unable to agree on a uniform compromise price. Saudi Arabia, whose oil earnings are way above what it can spend on its own internal needs, would not agree to the average \$20 price proposed by the majority. Hence the two-price formula. AT ITS PREVIOUS SESSION in March, OPEC decided on a basic price of \$14.54 a barrel, or \$107.2 a ton, to become effective from October 1. The present price, adopted in Geneva, represents a 23.8 per cent rise on Saudi oil, and 61.6 per cent on top quality oil. On the average the price which had reached in the long-term contract deliveries \$17 a barrel or \$125.3 a ton before the conference, was raised to \$20 a barrel or \$147.5 a ton, or by 37.6 per cent.

Why this rapid rise in oil prices, especially in recent months?

First, oil accounts for half the world's energy consumption. Moves to reduce consumption usually centre on economizing on domestic uses and increasing somewhat the use of coal and gas for heating. Producing liquid fuel from coal, combustible shale, etc., is still much too expensive and requires the solution of many environmental problems. There are also many obstacles to the wide use of nuclear energy.

Second, the nature of oil as a commodity. Its price is determined by production costs at marginal sources, since fields with better cost-to-performance indicators cannot satisfy the constantly growing demand. Moreover, production costs grow with the expansion of sea-bed extraction (which now accounts for more than 20 per cent of world output), and exploitation of distant Arctic fields, or deep-lying oil strata.

Third, the specific nature of the capitalist world's oil market. It is actually controlled by two forces OPEC, which now accounts for 80 per cent of all deposits, 62 per cent of output, and 90 per cent of exports, and the seven Western oil monopolies that make up the International Oil Cartel. The latter



buy 80 per cent of their oil from OPEC and handle the bulk of wholesale and retail trade in oil products and petrochemicals. Before most foreign oil concessions were nationalised the monopolies controlled the entire process from crude oil to the end product and retail sales. The wide gap between the price of crude oil and oil products yields immense profits. In 1973, however, the OPEC countries put an end to this flagrant plunder of their chief natural resources. They put up the price of oil to accord with production costs and the supply-demand ratio.

**THE INTERNATIONAL OIL CARTEL** passed on the burden of increased purchasing prices to the consumers, and maintained its profits at an even higher level: \$4.6 billion in 1972 and \$9.7 billion in 1978. Yet the monopolies insist that their profits are not growing fast enough. So, to make them grow faster, they jack up prices by holding back oil from the market. That was the method they employed, for instance, in the autumn of 1978 when Iranian oil export declined owing to strikes, and again in the first two months of this year when it stopped altogether.

Another factor contributing to the higher oil prices is the inflation in the capitalist world, which has meant substantial losses for oil-exporting countries. Economic estimates show that the exporting countries' oil revenue always lags behind the inflationary growth of prices of the goods they need to import. At the close of last year, even according to Western estimates, the real price of oil, that is, compared to the prices of other goods, was nearly 17 per cent below the 1974 level. OPEC experts however, believe that the difference is much greater. So the present price rise will, for a time, cancel out the effect of constant inflation.

**THE OPEC COUNTRIES** are resorting more frequently to slowing down production increases or even to keeping production stagnant in order to maintain an advantageous demand-supply situation. With the runaway inflation, oil in the ground is much more valuable than oil on the market. Most OPEC members have decided that it does not make economic sense to go on using up their main irreplaceable natural resources, and last year OPEC output dropped by 5 per cent (true, partly as a result of the events in Iran).

The steady growth of oil prices is largely influenced also by the industrial capitalist countries' policy of building up strategic and commercial reserves against possible cut-backs or stoppages resulting from political crises. Of course, there is nothing wrong with storing strategic goods that have to be imported from faraway countries. In this case, however, it is a matter of two-or three-month reserves against a possible repetition of the 1973 Arab oil embargo. One would think it was not imperialism, that supports Israel's expansionist policy, that compelled the Arabs to use their "oil weapon". One would think it was not imperialism that nurtured the Shah's regime in Iran. Now, brought face to face with the Iranian revolution and the Arab protest against Sadat's separate deal with Begin, and fearing a repetition of the oil embargo, the bellicose faction in the US is threatening to occupy the Persian Gulf oil fields. The imperialists are pursuing a short-sighted policy, refusing to see the danger of playing with such a combustible material as oil.

Measures taken by the industrial capitalist countries to economize on oil have proved singularly ineffective. This applies above all, to the USA, a voracious oil consumer. Its oil monopolies do not really want to increase domestic output, on the plea that prices are government-controlled. Repeal of the controls on the conditions proposed by the Carter Administration would not suit the oil companies. A while ago, the House of Representatives defeated a Presidential proposal that petrol be rationed and taxed.

The USA continues to be the capitalist world's biggest oil importer, though home production, especially now that there is the Alaska pipeline, has been slowly growing. The US imports about 380 million tons of oil and oil products a year to cover more than 40 per cent of its requirements at a cost of around, \$50 billion, which represents more than 30 per cent of total imports. This is one of the main reasons for the big trade deficit and the difficulties of the dollar. Western Europe and Japan are also spending huge sums on oil imports, though their economy measures are more effective.

**THE GENERAL GROWTH** of oil consumption in the industrial capitalist countries, coupled



with the oil monopolies' exploitation of the temporary suspension of Iranian exports, and the Western governments' policy of increasing oil reserves, led to a new flare up of the energy crisis this spring and early summer. The oil companies took advantage of the situation to cut back supplies of petrol on the pretext that deliveries had declined and more oil had to be stored away for the winter. The US Administration reacted by artificially expanding imports of diesel oil and other oil products with a view to refining them into petrol.

In the second half of May, without consulting its partners, Washington instituted a \$5 a barrel subsidy on all additional oil imports. American companies began buying oil products in Rotterdam, which sells from 4 to 5 per cent of the oil not covered by long-term contracts. The monopolies selling the oil jacked up prices to \$35-\$40 a barrel, or double what they had paid OPEC.

This caused a petrol shortage in Western Europe and the NATO countries protested to the US government. Washington replied that the subsidies would last at least until the autumn. Imperialist contradictions over oil intensified sharply.

"The West would be committing collective suicide unless it reined in energy consumption," French Foreign Minister Jean Francois-Poncet said. In May a conference of the International Energy Agency, to which virtually all West European countries except France belong, decided to cut oil consumption in 1979 by 5 per cent, or by 100 million tons a year, to prevent the existing 4 per cent shortage from being carried over into 1980. In June the conference of the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development confirmed its earlier decision to cut back energy production and urged all countries to follow suit, and the US also to repeal the oil import subsidy.

The energy problem dominated the Tokyo top-level conference of the seven capitalist industrial powers held at the end of June, immediately after the OPEC meeting. There was a stormy debate, but no agreed policy resulted. True, it was announced that the EEC countries would maintain the 1978 level of oil imports up to 1985, while the US, Canada and Japan promised not to increase imports in 1980. On balance, the United States, in

defiance of West European opposition, secured acceptance of the present high import levels as the basis. There was unity only in condemning OPEC.

The consequences of the latest OPEC price rise will, of course, be very complex. In particular, it could mean a financial loss for developing countries that have to import oil and, like oil-exporting countries, are hit hard by inflation. OPEC as an organization and its individual members are, however, offering aid to some of these countries, including free grants. At its Geneva conference OPEC decided to give them an additional \$800 million, but the problem of compensation for losses is still the subject of much discussion in the developing countries.

—*New Times*, July 1979.

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#### HAVANA SUMMIT

### Tito's Expectations

*Brioni, August 17,*

President Tito expects the forthcoming Nonaligned Summit Conference in Havana to further affirm the authentic principles of the policy of nonalignment and reinforce the independent and non-bloc role of the movement in international relations. "I expect the Sixth Conference in Havana to be a conference of continuity, but also one of new actions," said the Yugoslav President in a interview to the Belgrade daily *Borba*. The conference in Havana, the President said, should give fresh encouragements to the struggle against colonialism, neo colonialism, imperialism and all forms of domination, for new democratic and more equitable relationships in the world, for the new international economic order. President Tito considers that the conference should further advance democratic relations and develop the democratic spirit of the movement. It will also have to turn to the question of conflicts and disputes which weaken the unity and solidarity of non-aligned countries and diminish their capability for action.

Tito assessed the strengthening of the movement's democratic nature as one of the indispensable tasks facing the movement of



nonalignment. This, he said, implies extensive application of the principle of consensus and mutual consultations, which should make it possible for the interests and role of each country individually and all of them together to find fuller expression, thus strengthening the action capacity of the movement. In particular, President Tito declared, the non-aligned countries must themselves and before all others respect the principles they themselves proclaimed. Tito recalled that the documents of the first non-aligned summit conference, held in Belgrade in 1961, are the source of lasting inspirations and vision. They define the principles and goals of the policy and movement of non-alignment as an independent, non-bloc and global factor in international relations. All subsequent Summit Conferences, irrespective of the international conditions they were held in and the matters they gave priority to, reasserted and further developed this orientation and course. Without such an orientation and consistent implementation of the principles adopted, the Movement and policy of nonalignment would betray their own essence.

Answering a question, President Tito said he considered it essential that the movement of nonalignment pursue, consistently and uncompromisingly, its own course. The movement and policy of nonalignment are not, and cannot be the transmission of any one bloc, Tito said, underlining that the reverse would be incompatible with the essence of the policy of nonalignment. In a reference to disputes and conflicts between non-aligned countries, President Tito spoke in favour of patient building of mutual confidence and for genuine readiness to deal with disputes and conflicts by peaceful means. In such cases, in Tito's view other nonaligned countries must seek the ways of offering effective assistance and this prior to the outbreak of a conflict. "This naturally, would not mean interference in internal affairs, but would constitute an effort of special significance in accordance with the principles of our policy", the Yugoslav President said.

Setting forth the attitude of nonaligned countries towards the bloc groupings in the world, Tito said this was not a matter of equidistance or of a prior condemnation. Non-aligned countries take their attitude to the policies of individual countries belonging to

blocs by assessing whether the particular policy contributes to peace, security and progress, he specified. This does not exclude, but implies bilateral co-operation between non-aligned countries and countries in military-political groupings on the basis of the principles of coexistence. Among the most serious crisis situations in the world the Yugoslav President mentioned the raids on Southern Lebanon by Israel and the raids on the front-line countries in Southern Africa by the racist Smith and Pretoria regimes, as well as the "grave events in South-east Asia in which the fundamental principles of non-interference and non-intervention have been violated.

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#### SOVIET VIEW

### BOAT PEOPLE

by O. Anichin

Moscow, 19/7/79,

In the noisy propaganda drive around the "refugees' problem", launched by Peking and Washington, the press, from time to time, throws light on some aspects of this issue. The facts, cited by newspapers, make one doubt the sincerity of those who are now harping with affected feelings on the tricks of fortune of Indo-Chinese refugees.

No matter how much Chinese propaganda, acting in concert with the imperialist propaganda machinery, accuses Vietnam, it is obvious that both Peking and Washington resort to their traditional double standard tactics vis-a-vis this problem. They now hypocritically cry to bitter tears, now treat the refugees with cynical indifference.

But why did Washington, London and Tokyo not express their protest, to say nothing of condemnation against the Peking authorities' actions with regard to the numerous inhabitants, who fled from China southward to Hongkong, Britain's colony? According to *Reuter* reports some 1000 Chinese daily arrive in Hongkong by all possible routes. This year the city's population has grown by 80,000 due to the flow of Chinese refugees. In the last eighteen months, reports the *New York*



Times about 250,000 Chinese refugees have arrived in Hongkong. Many of them move to other Asian countries. Despite the Peking authorities' repressions, the mass flow of Chinese refugees goes on.

The refugees' problem in the Middle East is also bypassed. East, to please Israel, for several decades now the problem of Palestinian refugees, who for generations camp in Arab countries, has remained unsettled. It is a fact that as a result of Israel's recent aggression against Lebanon, some 600,000 long-suffering refugees escaped from Palestinian camps and south Lebanese towns to the south of Syria. But neither Peking nor Washington condemned Tel Aviv's genocide policies against the Arab people. The fact is that Israel is a US ally and pursues America's anti-Arab policies in the Middle East. Of late China has been vigorously seeking rapprochement with Israel.

The acute problem of refugees in Nicaragua is also by passed. America's patronage of the Somoza regime has cost much to the Nicaraguan people. As a result of the robbery and atrocities committed by the dictator's guardsmen, some 700,000 people, mainly children, women and the aged have lost homes and cannot make a living. Many of them die of hunger and diseases. Many Nicaraguans fled to neighbouring countries to escape the brutal reprisals of the dictatorship. Washington knows that, so long as it gives direct and indirect support to the Somoza regime, rejected and cursed by the people, bloodshed in Nicaragua and its refugees' misfortunes will go on. But those who are so touchingly concerned about the Indo-Chinese refugees, do not care for the tragedy of the Nicaraguan escapees.

Peking is fanning its slanderous anti-Vietnamese campaign in order to cause Vietnam moral, political and economic damage. The Peking hegemonists resent socialist Vietnam's growing prestige and influence in southeast Asia and throughout the world. They would also like the world community to forget their defeat in the recent armed intervention against the Vietnamese people. While fanning its unbridled anti-Vietnamese propaganda ballyhoo, Washington seeks to bury in oblivion the shameful fiasco of America's aggression in Vietnam.

—APN

## AMERICAN VIEW

### Vietnam's Refugees

Washington, 148/79.

One of the stumbling blocks to an improvement in Vietnam's relations with the United States is its still unsolved refugee problem. Despite signs that there are fewer "boat people" risking their lives in fragile craft to flee from Vietnam, the refugee problem remains. There are, for instance, refugees moving from Vietnam by land into Thailand. And US Congressmen visiting Vietnam have been asking their hosts about the large numbers of people—some estimates put the figure above one million—who still want to leave the country. The Vietnamese reply—that they have captured 4,000 trying to flee—is hardly reassuring. It points up Hanoi's inhumane treatment of the people under its rule—the reason for the exodus in the first place.

Hanoi's officials have offered various excuses to explain the refugee problem—including poor economic conditions and the lack of aid from the United States and other countries. In fact, Vietnam in the past has suffered worse conditions—a famine in world war II, its conflict with the French and the recent war with US involvement—all without such an exodus.

The latest flight began toward the end of last year—and all evidence confirms that it was the result of Hanoi's deliberate decision to rid the country of its ethnic Chinese and middle and merchant classes. These people were simply offered the grim choice of forced labour campus or exit by boat—paying for the privilege of a perilous flight. Some of the Chinese who were forced out had been living and working not in South Vietnam, but in Communist North Vietnam, since 1954.

Compounding the situation were Hanoi's attempts to socialize the economy of South Vietnam, and to divert economic resources from development to military aggression in Cambodia—aggression which, of course, has generated more refugees. As for any US connection with the refugee problem, the State Department points out that the last American soldier left Vietnam four years ago.



This new tragedy—the tragedy of the refugees—has nothing to do with the tragedy of war in Vietnam. The United States has interrupted talks about normalizing diplomatic ties with Vietnam precisely because of Vietnam's latest actions. Other nations have curtailed or cut off aid to Vietnam because of fear they have been subsidizing Hanoi's aggression as well as its harsh treatment of its citizens.

At a recent conference on refugees in Geneva, Vietnamese Officials promised to do something to halt the exodus—but their actions so far have not been reassuring. UN Secretary General Kurt Waldheim is preparing a report on what has been done for next month's UN General Assembly. There is also the possibility of a UN Security Council meeting to voice world concern about the situation. It is a stark and tragic picture—one of death, hunger and human suffering—for which Hanoi bears heavy responsibility.

—USICA

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FROM DELHI

## Nepal & India's Troubles

August 15,

TOWARDS THE END OF JUNE this year Nepal erupted into the world headlines. There were dark hints that an Iran-type revolution might sweep into oblivion the monarchy and the old order in the Himalayan state. Sadhan Mukherjee writing in the *New Age* of July 8 said: "There are no volcanoes in the Himalayan ranges. But a political volcano has already come into being — Nepal. The 50-day upsurge of the people in that country stretching to its remotest corner was but the first round of explosion of that political volcano. Its reverberations not only shook and shattered the placid quietness of the Kathmandu valley but set off a chain reaction everywhere bringing into action not merely the student but also peasants, artisans, workers, employees, and other sections of the population. What began as a student action in the form of a procession on April 6 to hold a protest demonstration against Bhutto's execution before the Pakistani embassy, became the catalytic agent for the countrywide mass upsurge

when police sought to suppress the students stir using force and unleashed unheard of violence. Resurgent Nepal today is the glory of its students, the real vehicle of action.

"This correspondent met a fair cross-section of opinion in Kathmandu—from extreme reactionary rightwing leaders to extreme leftists—and on one thing all of them were unanimous. They agreed that the people were highly discontented and it is their 19-year bottled-up fury that has burst out now and there is no way to continue the present system. Nothing short of a democratic changeover will satisfy the people. The sweep of the movement had taken everyone totally unaware and its intensity was beyond the imagination of even the most well-informed sources. Some Nepali Congress leaders try to take credit for this movement. But this is a wrong claim. Some of those persons who have taken part in the 1950-51 upheaval which brought the rule of the Ranas to an end in Nepal restored king Tribhuvan Nath to actual rulership again—a rare case where the king and the people combined to bring about such a change—told me that the present round of mass upsurge was far bigger and wider than anything of the previous period and was largely spontaneous. This time there were over one million people actually taking part in action and another two million actively supporting them. For a country of 13.7 million, this is quite a massive participation. In 1950-51, the king got back the rulership and the people thought they had brought about the end of Rana dictatorship and won real freedom. It is this last hope that did not really materialise.

"Precisely therefore today the people are looking forward to the referendum which king Birendra announced in May asking them to give their verdict whether they want to continue the present panchayati system 'with timely changes' or have a 'multi-party system'. Neither the king nor any authoritative source has explained what exactly is meant by a multi-party system. Is it precursor to a parliamentary form of governance and restoration of legality of all the political parties banned in 1960? Does it mean that if the people opt for a multi-party system, follow up measures like general elections etc., will be taken? Not one political leader seems to be absolutely certain about these things, neither is the



place giving any indication about it. But one thing is certain and that is the people want a change and that must be for democracy and their fundamental rights. They want the panchayati system which has been identified with all sorts of exploitation, corruption, bribery and oppression to go. They want the 19-year-old game of musical chairs to end—of the 135 members of the Rashtriya Parishad (112 indirectly elected and 23 nominated by the king) at least 70 were ministers at the one time or the other. And the system which became wholly undemocratic in practice only helped this select coterie and their hangers-on to amass wealth in all possible means throttling every voice of dissent. The proclamation calling for a referendum was followed by a decree of the kind permitting holding of meetings, pasting of posters, freedom of expression etc. But such freedoms relate only to the subject of the referendum and nothing else. The position in regard to banned political parties or even mass organisations or even things which resemble political activity continues to remain as before. But all democratic and progressive forces have welcomed the referendum because it does mean a positive change towards democracy.....”

Earlier on June 3, the *Link* had stated: “Nepal is on the threshold of change. The Panchayat system, introduced by the late King Mahendra, has been found to be too restrictive. And King Birendra seems convinced that any effort to retain this system, at least in its present form, is fraught with danger. He did not take much time, rather unusual for kings, to grasp the gravity of the situation. He has announced a referendum to decide the fate of the Panchayat system in the wake of the student’s agitation in Kathmandu and in the politically more conscious and volatile terai region of the country. The youthful, Harvard-educated King Birendra of Nepal has adroitly regained the initiative in a situation of major confrontation with students and diverse political groups in the Himalayan kingdom—rocked in recent weeks by an increasingly intense agitation for democratic reforms. The agitation, which was developing into anti-monarchy channels, has now been diverted. The question before the people now is not ‘monarchy versus a republic’ but the panchayat system versus a multi-party system. Monarchy has been kept above the controversy,

at least for the time being. The modalities of the referendum are yet to be announced, but the King has made a major concession to the people that the new Prime Minister, to succeed Kirti Nidhi Bishta, will be chosen by the National Panchayat and will be answerable to it. So far, the Prime Minister was appointed by the King and was responsible to him alone. How far these concessions will satisfy the people and meet their aspirations is yet to be seen. For the present, the situation in the Himalayan Kingdom appears normal. Demonstrations, burning and looting of government property have stopped. There is calm.....Not much effort has so far been made to tap Nepal’s resources, its forests and hills, to expand the State’s industrial base. The increased tax burdens have irked the peasants also because while they are faced with growing pauperisation, about 200 or so families, most of them living in Kathmandu are becoming richer. Accusing fingers are also pointed at some of the close relatives of the King in this regard. It is said that most of the big hotels in Kathmandu with swimming pools and casinos are owned by the King’s relatives with assistance from the State. So is the case with transport. Some recent scandals have exposed many top people in Nepal’s politics and bureaucracy as corrupt. Nepal’s economy which remains agrarian and feudal has not been able to absorb the growing number of educated persons who remain unemployed. Educational avenues are also limited. So far, Nepal does not have a medical or engineering college and its industrial activities are confined to a few rice mills, a cigarette factory, a tannery, a small cement factory and a sugar factory. Yet people in the hills are not so much dissatisfied as in the southern plains. This is perhaps because the hill people still remain educationally backward and they have few chances of intermingling with outsiders.....”.

THERE IS YET ANOTHER ASPECT of the matter which puts Nepal between the devil and the deep sea. Due to its geographical position Nepal is sandwiched between two great neighbours—India and China. It was simple for Nepal to pursue its policy when its neighbours maintained friendly relations. After the armed conflict in the Himalayas in 1962 between China and India, Nepal’s position became extremely difficult; the mountaneous



kingdom became an object of pressure and penetration from two sides, especially from the side of China which needed access to the Indian territory to organise activities through underground parties to bring pressure on the government. To further this objective, the historical and traditional ties between Nepal and India were undermined by providing anti-Indian feelings among politically active sections of the Nepalese population.

Persistent efforts were also made to win over the king and his Anti-Indian feelings were favoured among educated but largely unemployed youth, as well as students politically confused who easily fell victim to Marxist propaganda and to extreme left slogans. Several Maoist partners and groups were formed. In recent times efforts were made to unite these groups in Nepal also to establish close collaboration between them and Indian extremists, the so-called Naxalites.

Political circles in Kathmandu say that the present Chinese leadership, in particular Teng Hsiao-ping, after his visit to Nepal, came to the conclusion that King Birendra could not be depended on to toe a completely pro-Chinese line; and that it was necessary to limit the King's power and establish in the country a multi-party parliamentary system. Within such a system, it was thought that an influential pro-Chinese lobby could be set up which was not thought possible otherwise.

From April 1979, there have been disorders among students and the middle class which reached such a state that the King had to make a statement to the effect that a national referendum about the future political system of Nepal would be held. It is known that local Maoist who have patrons in high circles in Kathmandu took a leading part in provoking the disorders. At any rate in southern Nepal the disorders followed the orthodox Maoist tactics—attacks against police stations, barricades, arson etc.

Propaganda was also carried on that India was pursuing a policy of "regional hegemonism" that would ultimately engulf Nepal. China, it was made out, was ready to render to Nepal all possible assistance in defending its sovereignty. With this backdrop of intimidation about the "Indian threat", the nationalistic sentiments among a section of Nepalese politicians were roused by glorifying the prospects

of a "Greater Nepal" which would include Sikkim (presently a State of India) and a hilly district of Darjeeling (part of the West Bengal State) where the proportion of Nepalese in the population is rather high.

India has, for sometime now, been deeply concerned about the growing tension in Sikkim where a group of Nepalese have begun to mobilise support to struggle for the secession of Sikkim from India and the creation of a confederation with Nepal. Between these people and the Bhotias, the original dwellers of Sikkim, there have been several clashes triggered by the refusal of the Sikkim authorities to reserve a certain amount of openings in the state service for those who came from Nepal. Strangely enough the events, in Darjeeling coincided with disorders in Nepal. It will be recalled that in May, Prime Minister Morarji Desai visited the Darjeeling area and he was greeted with by a *hartal*. This was inspired from outside on the chauvinistic slogan of compelling India to recognise the Nepalese language. During the *hartal* in Darjeeling leaflets were distributed which contained an appeal to fight for the secession of the district from India.

However this separatist strategy has alarmed moderate Nepalese statesmen who understood that conflicts with India would not bring any benefit for that small country. More recently appeals have been publicly made by several parties that it was best to have balanced relations between Nepal and the outside world and also maintain the traditionally friendly relations with India. This welcome trend was set by ex-Prime Minister of Nepal, leader of the Nepal Congress Bishwar Prasad Koirala. Upon his return from an extensive trip across the country he spoke at a Kathmandu meeting where he stated that if his party came to power it would support brotherly relations with India and develop friendly relations with China. This remark was recorded by many as a hint to the Chinese and the Maoist groups not to push the secessionist line too hard and too far.

The wave of disorders in Nepal has begun to subside. Many observers seem inclined to think that these disorders in Nepal, Sikkim, Darjeeling and the Northeastern region of India are only part of the campaign to destabilise the Indian Union.

T.K.P.



## Mid-Term Polls

by R. Varadachari

Press Trust of India Correspondent in Colombo

In a surprise and momentous move, President Neelam Sanjiva Reddy has dissolved the Lok Sabha, the lower house of the Indian Parliament, and ordered fresh mid-term elections as a way out of the unprecedented political crisis which had gripped the largest democracy in the world for nearly two months and has deprived the nation of effective Central Government for another three months till the poll tentatively fixed for November next.

Mr. Reddy's move, which ended the agonising suspense of the last few weeks, came as a bolt from the blue to the Janata Party headed by the Harijan leader, Mr. Jagjivan Ram, who had staked his claim for Prime Ministership after the dramatic exit of Mr. Charan Singh's government an hour before it was to have come before the Lok Sabha for a confidence vote. The Janata Party had commanded a strength of 204 in the house which had an effective strength of 543 and thus was the largest party in the central legislature. As such Mr. Jagjivan Ram had taken almost for granted Mr. Reddy's invitation to him after Mr. Charan Singh's 23 days in office—the shortest spell for any Indian Prime Minister so far. Mr. Reddy won the wrath of the Janata Party by refusing to oblige Mr. Jagjivan Ram.

With the last-minute decision of the Indira Congress not to lend support to Mr. Charan Singh, the latter had no alternative but to resign. But he did not stop at that. While submitting the resignation of his Council of Ministers, Mr. Charan Singh advised the President to dissolve the Lok Sabha and order fresh elections. From Charan Singh's right to advise dissolution of the Lok Sabha was challenged by all the major opposition political parties on the grounds that as a nominated Prime Minister who had no mandate to govern from the elected Parliament, he had no right to tender such an advice. They also argued that the President was not bound by such an advice. Constitutional experts whom Mr. Sanjiva Reddy consulted were divided in their

pointion on the contentious issue. He had to deal with a situation which had no precedent in Indian political history. He had also no specific guidance from the written constitution. If legal luminaries in the country held differing views, political opinions were conditioned by party loyalties and prospects of power. Elder Statesman Jayaprakash Narain chose to be reticent partly due to failing health and partly due to anguish arising out of failure of the Janata experiment of which he was the prime architect. Thus Mr. Reddy was left with a hobson's choice.

After two days of hectic consultations with practically all shades of political opinion and a wide spectrum of constitutional authorities, President Reddy opted for a mid-term poll which, of course, did not please many backbenchers in the Lok Sabha as it has forced them to face the electorate for the second time within three years with an uncertain future before them.

The Janata Party was the bitterest and the only critic of Mr. Reddy's action. Its President, Mr. Chandra Sekar, used unrestrained epithets in denouncing the President, calling him a "murderer of democracy" and a "Liliputian Pührer". He described Mr. Reddy's action "irrational, unjustified and unconstitutional" and said it was a "pre-planned" conspiracy on the part of the President to prevent Mr. Jagjivan Ram from becoming Prime Minister. Some of his followers even went to the extent of calling Mr. Reddy's decision a "calculated plot" to prevent a low-caste untouchable from becoming for the first time the head of the Government in India.

Mr. Jagjivan Ram, as a seasoned and senior politician, was less vitriolic and more cautious in the choice of words but even he did say that Mr. Reddy's conduct was unworthy of the high office he held. He was sure that the nation would not tolerate a person who, he said, was aspiring to combine the functions of the Indian President and those of the President of the United States. This would not be tolerated by the nation and the people would not excuse him for having forced needlessly upon a poor country the expense and luxury of an election, he added.

The Janata Party did not confine its resentment to verbal blasts only. It staged a massive protest demonstration which was stop-



ped by the police about a mile away from the sandstone Presidential mansion known as Rashtrapati Bhavan. It was the first time in the post-Independence history of India that street protestes had been staged against the discretionary action of the President. Janata Members of Parliament also submitted a protest petition to the President which was in the nature of an indictment and a charge sheet. The petition accused him of having exposed the nation to the "risk of instability and chaos." It said, "The nation cannot but conclude that you have allowed yourself to be influenced by considerations extraneous to your duty and unworthy of your high office" and his action was a "political conspiracy" to deprive Mr. Jagjivan Ram of his legitimate right to become the Prime Minister. It bitterly complained that the President had "obviously aligned" himself with "forces" that were "anaethema to the people". "We will not leave you to the judgement of the nation and of future generations. We have accepted your challenge and we are confident that the people will ratify our judgement of you", the protest petition concluded. Mr. Reddy's effigy was also burnt in Hyderabad, the capital of his native state of Andhra Pradesh.

The Janata Party is also exploring the possibility of challenging the President's order in court. If this materialises, it would be one of the most bitterly fought cases in the constitutional history of the country and would throw considerable light on the powers, functions and responsibility of the President and also help clarify many of the unwritten constitutional aspects pertaining to the powers of the President.

Mr. Chandra Sekar has also announced in a fit of anger that his party would move a motion for impeachment of the President in the Rajya Sabha, the upper house of Indian Parliament. The party does not have the requisite two thirds majority for pushing through the motion which has also to be ratified, again with a two thirds majority by the new Lok Sabha. Thus Mr. Chandra Sekar's threat has a hollow ring and one should hope that the party would not seriously pursue the idea even as a political stunt.

All political parties other than the Janata have welcomed the President's action. Mr. Charan Singh who will be caretaker Prime Minister till the elections, is the happiest one.

He has the satisfaction of his advice having been accepted though the President was not influenced solely by his advice. He called the President's action "just and fair" and thanked him for coming to a "correct" decision.

The President's decision to have a mid-term poll was also hailed by the Indira Congress and the two communist parties. But enough to attract the same degree of attention and prominence in the mass media as the vociferous protests of the Janata leaders.

In keeping with the noble traditions of his high office which do not permit him to get involved in political polemic even to counter unfair criticisms and unfounded allegations.

My No. 3/41/301  
Kachcheri, Matale  
9th August, 1979

**Land Acquisition (Chapter 460), As Amended By The Land Acquisition (Amendment) Act, No. 28 Of 1964. Notice Under Section 33.**

I, R. Samarakoon, District Land Officer and Acquiring Officer, Matale District, according to Section 33 of the Land Acquisition Act, (Chapter 460), as amended by the Land Acquisition (Amendment) Act, No. 28 of 1964 do hereby give notice to the members of public that a sum of Rs. 125.00 being compensation and a sum of Rs. 35.80 being interest payable to the land described in the Schedule and that had been taken over by the State for Nilagasa Weaving Centre in Matale District, have been deposited under Dambulla Magistrate Court Case No. 8604 to enable the claimants to prove their title and to draw the said compensation and interest.

**Schedule**

*Situation of the Land:*— Nilagama Village, Kandapalle Korale, Galowela D.R.O.'s Division, Matale District and Central Province.

*Name of the Land:*— Warayaya  
*Extent:*— A.O.R.P. 0004

*Plan and Lot No.:*— V.P. 333-Extract No. 2  
Lot No. 197

**R. Samarakoon**  
District Land Officer and Acquiring Officer  
Matale District.



Mr. Reddy has not chosen to rebutt the accusations of the Janata Party. But it was quite clear from the working of the Rashtrapati Bhavan communique that he had not been guided solely by the advice of Mr. Charan Singh in dissolving the Lok Sabha. The President's reply to the Janata Party would appear to be that more than half the members of the Lok Sabha representing the Janata (Secular), the Swaran Singh Congress, the Indira Congress and the two communist parties had preferred a mid-term poll while the Janta Party which was against dissolution of the Parliament had only 202 members in the 543 member house.

It is also significant that immediately after Mr. Charan Singh's resignation, no political party rallied behind the Janata Party. Perhaps if Mr. Jagjivan Ram had been called upon by the President to try to form a government which will enjoy the confidence of the Lok Sabha, he might have been able to muster a slender majority with the help of defectors from other parties but the President apparently decided against this experiment as the Government thus formed would not have been viable and stable forcing him to order a mid-term poll at a later stage. In his wisdom he had thought that it was better to secure the verdict of the people sooner than later.

Though all parties other than the Janata had preferred a mid-term poll, they are not happy with Mr. Charan Singh continuing as a care-taker Prime Minister. The Indira Congress is most sore about this as it fears that he might wreak vengeance on the party for having let him down at the last minute. The Indira Congress is even prepared to have Mr. Jagjivan Ram as the care-taker Prime Minister but he is reluctant to move into this unenviable and deflated position which would also severely curtail his options to make the President's dissolution of the Lok Sabha as one of the major issues in the election campaign. It should however be said in fairness to the president that he decided to retain Mr. Charan Singh as a caretaker Prime Minister only after he failed in his bid to have an all-party interim coalition government till the elections. He has also secured an assurance from Mr. Charan Singh that his caretaker government would not take any new policy decisions or indulge in major administrative actions, although work of an urgent nature would not be held up

because of these limitations. The President is also willing to consider any other practical alternative or the pre-election interregnum.

The Indian Press was also divided in their announcement of the President's action. The *Hindu*, representing one section of the Indian Press reaction, hailed Mr. Reddy's act as a "fair, unavoidable and statesmanly decision" and summed up its illuminating editorial thus: "A process which originated with the people had been referred back to them in record time and one can only hope that political morality and decency—which have taken nume-

My No. 3/41/488  
Kachcheri, Matale  
9th August, 1979

**Land Acquisition Act (Chapter 460)  
As Amended By The Land Acquisition  
(Amendment) Act, No. 28 Of 1964  
Notice Under Section 33**

I, Ratnasiri Samarakoon, District Land Officer and Acquiring Officer, Matale District, according to Section 33 of the Land Acquisition Act (Chapter 460), as amended by the Land Acquisition (Amendment) Act, No. 28 of 1964 do hereby give notice to the Members of the Public that a sum of Rs. 854.17 being compensation and a sum of Rs. 125.96 being interest payable to 10/72 the share of the land described in the Schedule below and that had been taken over by the State for Rattota Sri Parakrama Vidyalyaya in Matale District, have been deposited under Matale District Court Case No. LA. 2417 to enable the claimants to prove their title and to draw the said compensation and interest.

**Schedule**

*Situation of the Land:*— Rattota Town Village in Ward No. 6 Kuruwawa within the Town Council Limits of Rattota, Rattota D.R.O.'s Division, Matale District and Central Province.

*Name of the Land:*— Longville Estate (Assmt. No. 7 Longville Road)

*Extent:*— A. 2. R. 1. P. 33.0.

*Plan & Lot No:* P.P. Ma. 229 Lot No. 1

**R. Samarakoon**  
District Land Officer and Acquiring Officer  
Matale District.



rous body-blows in recent weeks—will not be further roughed up."

The equally prestigious *Indian Express* swung to the other end of the spectrum and said: "the very fact that the President is being sought to be publicly condemned by a party representing wide sections of the public opinion in this country is enough to saddle on the President the onus for placing his high office in bad odour", and concluded with sarcasm "we wish we could dismiss the President's conduct as no worse than perverse pleasure in play-acting".

The President would have no doubt invited the wrath of one major political party or the other whichever way he decided. He had acted according to the dictates of his conscience. If political motives are to be attached to his thankless task, it would only amount to devaluing the high office he holds!

One should hope that the acrimony generated by his action which after all was a call of duty and done without fear or favour would soon give way to a constructive electioneering campaign which would lead to a stable and strong government at the centre with a clear and unambiguous verdict from the Indian electorate. It is too early to say anything more positive at this delicate and fluid stage in the Indian political history.

—(SLBC talk—25/8/79)

## 25 Years Ago

TRIBUNE, August 21, 1954

### Commie Lie

When the Editor of the *Ceylon Observer* threw out of his office, Mr. Squires, the US Public Relations Officer, for shouting *commie lie* he performed an act of great public significance. Not only did he uphold the sacred principle of the freedom of a paper to publish what its editor thinks fit and proper, but he also registered a protest against the fascist technique of attempting to suppress freedom of thought by raising the cry of *commie lie*. In doing this, the Editor of the *Observer* has also run contrary to the whole tenor of Lake House journalism which in recent times has

increasingly resorted to the McCarthy technique of yelling *commie lie* every time it came up against something it did not like. Lake House, particularly the *Daily News*, still persists in this Geobellian method of meeting criticism and the extract and comments we have published on another page bear ample testimony to this.

If the Lake House press as a whole will take a lesson from the Editor of the *Ceylon Observer* and throw out persons who know no other logic than what is contained in the magic words *commie lie*, the public will begin to look up to Lake House with greater confidence than now. At present, it is no exaggeration to state that anything out of Lake House is suspect. The public is tired of being threatened with the big stick entitled *commie lie*. After the first flush of a little fear and nervousness of this unknown menace conjured up by Lake House, the public pay scant or no respect for the phrase *commie lie*. But public life and politics in this country will be on a higher plane and develop in healthier surroundings if all matters of public interest are discussed on their merits and not be side-tracked by shouts of *commie lie*.

—From An Editorial Comment

X X X

*The Observer*. One of the inexplicable mysteries of Ceylon journalism seems to be the *Ceylon Observer*. Though it more often than not toes the political line of the *Daily News*, at last on the matter of the Americans, *The Observer* has taken a refreshingly independent attitude. The Editor deserves the gratitude of the people of this country for this. The campaign he has carried on against the ban on the Satre film about race relations in the USA allegedly on US Embassy interference, is something to be greatly commended. But even greater is the service rendered by his publishing the series on the Klu Klax Klan. There is no doubt that the US Embassy is unhappy about a Lake House paper behaving in this way. It is for this reason that Mr. Squires seems to have broken into the Editorial sanctum of Mr. Tarzi Wittachi. I must take my hat off, as all other democratically inclined persons must, to Mr. Wittachi, for having thrown out Mr. Squires when this gentleman



became truculent. To have done this in the climate and atmosphere of Lake House deserves congratulations.

In Mr. Squires, the US Embassy seems to have the type of American whose sole political vocabulary seems to be confined to two words "Commie lies". Hitler bred a generation of young and not so young people who explained away everything that did not fit into the fascist scheme as "communist lies". The America of Dulles and McCarthy seems to have produced similar types to whom a political argument is conclusive with the cliché "commie lies". It is heartening that the Editor of the *Observer* did not succumb to the intimidation of the "commie lie" threat of Mr. Squires.

—From the column *Just Briefly*



## BOOK REVIEW

### ● IRAN

**IRAN, DICTATORSHIP AND DEVELOPMENT BY FRED HALLIDAY**  
PENGUIN BOOKS 1979, PP 348. MAPS  
6 \$, 1.50

TO THOSE WHO EXPECTED Ayatollah Khomeini to perform the miraculous feat of a redeemer and cool down the inferno that was Iran, events of the last few months, surprisingly would have come as a sad disappointment. Judging by the current events it is certain that it will not be able to settle down for a peaceful government quite for sometime. Because the mass revolt that began in September last and compelled the Shah to leave the country with only a handful of Iranian soil (of course the booty was transferred out earlier) was not engineered by Khomeini alone. Anyone reading Fred Halliday's book would be struck by the fact that it was the mass euphoria that made Khomeini a hero, for the actual forces that opposed and revolted against Shah's dictatorship were of varying types. Ayatollah Khomeini and his religious associates never had a well-defined program of action to put into effect in the event of a fall of the Shah. The Opposition against the Shah was not well organised and the revolt broke out spontaneously from various quarters—re-

ligious leaders, communists, urban poor, guerrillas and a section of the army, but none of them were too sure of their own capabilities.

Fred Halliday in his book explains how the opposition to the Shah was built up over a period of time and how it suddenly spurred into action. Though Halliday has written the book, narrating important developments that took place up to September last year, that is before the departure of the Shah, yet his predictions were crystal clear—that the Shah would be chased out sooner or later. Of course he never expected the Shah to surrender power so meekly—for he has offered various options open to the Shah to contain the crisis (see p. 300). One need not delve too much into the Iranian past to understand contemporary Iran. As such the author has selected the beginning of the 20th century as a convenient starting point of his book and has concentrated mainly on the political and economic development that occurred in Iran since 1960.

The book is divided into ten chapters, with notes on each chapter, and necessary statistics to explain the composition of its population and maps to show the concentration of population, industries, agricultural areas etc. The first two chapters provide necessary background. It shows how a rural and weak governmental machinery was transformed into a strong centralised authority under the Pahlavi dynasty. The vigorous economic, social, administrative and foreign policy followed since 1963, has helped to build up an Urban-Persian civilisation—not much of Islamic as people would necessarily imagine, with all its inherent weaknesses. The author also unmasks the mistaken notion outsiders had of Iran being a super-Islamic power. Though ninety eight percent of the Iranians are Muslims, yet the Shah's Iran could not have been described as a theocratic state, the way the Arab countries and Pakistan try to portray their countries and governments. Iran is first and foremost a Persian State and anti-Arabic under the Shahs. It is doubtful whether any future leaders would be able to change this.

Iran faced five major crises in the twentieth century—occurred in 1905-11, 1919-21, 1941, 1951 and 1963—all against those who wielded political authority in Iran. Iran was in the midst of the sixth crisis when the author



concluded his book (pp. 21-28). The gradual but steady strengthening of the monarchy was achieved through a systematic erosion of powers of the tribal leaders and religious mullahs who were made dependent on State and believers respectively. The land distribution was a death knell to the power and influence exerted by the tribal leaders and mullahs on the Iranians. The development of the police, particularly the most hated government institution and source of power of the Shah, the SAVAK, (see chap. 4) and the modern civil service destroyed the power of the old ruling circles completely. Religious leaders were dubbed as Islamic Marxists by the Shah.

As the state became the major employer, the population started to migrate towards the towns. The urban poor, and their demands for employment increased the pressure on the Shah while the Shah lavishly spent the increased national wealth derived from the oil revenue in building up the armed forces—to contain internal as well as external aggression on his power and state. Oil Industry cannot absorb all the unemployed and would not guarantee employment. Chapters five to seven provide how agriculture and industrialisation came to aggravate the situation.

In Chapter eight he deals in detail with the various types of opposition the Shah faced—this incidentally would cause problems to new rulers too. Foremost among them would be the demand for the creation of autonomous entities for the various nationalities—especially the Kurds, Azerbaijani and Baluchis. The imposition of Persian language was resisted by these nationalities and the repression policies of the Shah had only helped them to go underground. The Shah also tried to write history from the Persian angle giving no importance to Arabs at all.

The chapter on foreign policy deals how Iran played a subservient role, aiding US in the global strategy against Russia and preserving the interest of the capitalists. Secondly, the void created by the departure of Britain from the Gulf States, made Iran to assume the responsibility for maintaining the security of the area. This made her to support counter revolutionary movements in the Gulf area. Her relations with Iraq and Saudis cannot in any way be described as cordial, though they worked under certain agreements. With

Russia she had entered into trade treaties and China was willing to be friendly with Iran.

In Chapter Ten he summarises the final drama and options open to the revolutionaries. He has of course rejected the importance of religious leaders in shaping the destinies of Iran. They cannot sustain the revolutionary fervour which is not religious at all. His sympathies are with the socialist, but socialists themselves were divided and weak.

Fred Halliday's merit lies in the way he has approached the problems. He has raised some hypothetical questions and has answered them in notes form. Being a mass medical man, Halliday has presented his arguments in such a way that it is intelligible to both scholars and laymen alike.

K. Arumainayagam



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

Notice under section 7 (1)

Reference No. 25/4/167

It is intended to acquire the land described in the schedule below for a public purpose. For further particulars please see the Gazette of the Democratic Socialist Republic of Sri Lanka No. 51 (part III) of 24/08/1979.

**Chitralatha Guruge**

District Land Officer,

Kegalle District.

The Kachcheri,

Kegalle.

03rd August, 1979

**Schedule**

**Situation:—** Situated in Amitirigala (North, village, Egodapota Pattuwa) Ruwanwella D.R.O.'s Division in Kegalle District.

**Plan No.:—** P Plan No. 1535

**Lot No.:—** 1

**Name of land:—** Bogahaladewatta



# Confidentially

## Smuggling & The Press

IS IT NOT A FACT that the Government and the Public have become seriously concerned about the incidence and growth of smuggling through the Customs in Sri Lanka? That, in the bad old days, smuggling was done by daring piratical adventurers who landed the goods on lonely stretches of the coast in mechanised boats? That places like Valvettiturai and Kalpitiya were the earlier centres for such activities carried on under an aura of romantic Robin Hoodish flamboyance? That later Wattala became an equally notorious centre in the smuggling circuit? That thereafter when the Customs, Police, Army, Navy and the Air Force were mobilised to fight this menace, the smugglers spread their operations all along the Western coast from Beruwala to Kalpitiya and thence from Mannar to Jaffna? That there is no doubt these operators did fairly sizeable smuggling into and out of the island? That the volume of goods smuggled by the old traditional smugglers however—usually centred on an Indian axis with the connivance of owners or captains of tramp freighters which off-loaded hard-to-get consumer durables into small mechanised (fishing) craft on the high seas—was not even a fraction of the new kind of smuggling done through the port of Colombo and the airport at Katunayake?—right under the nose of the Customs? That whilst there might be a touch of collaboration and collusion on the part of a few Customs Officers, by and large it is clear that the smugglers have outsmarted the Customs men, most of them honest officers anxious to do a job of work.

IS IT NOT TRUE that the daily press have in the last six to eight months reported many detections of large-scale attempts to smuggle goods into the Island? That the *Daily Mirror* and the *Sun* have brought a large number of these detections to public notice? That the Lake House papers have also reported all such detections by the Customs but it is the *Daily Mirror* and *Sunday Times* of the Times Group and the *Sun* and *Weekend* of the Inde-

pendent Newspapers group that have carried on a campaign against smuggling with a degree of messianic enthusiasm? That reporter Lloyd E. Devarajah of the Times Group deserves a journalistic award for the investigative reporting he has done on the growing menace of smuggling? That columnist *Migara* of the *Weekend* has many excellent inside revelations of the goings on in the smuggling underworld? That *Migara* in his inimitable style has cleverly spotlighted some of the personalities and strategies involved in the smuggling and other rackets in the city today? That he does not name names and invite libel suits, but in the language of parables, of revealing innuendo and the use of sophisticated allusions, *Migara* has given a new dimension to exposure stories of corruption in high places? That the pen name *Migara* is now in our journalistic firmament, but this columnist has already won a niche in the great renown in the Fourth Estate in Sri Lanka? That in the coming weeks, this column will examine some of the revelations spotlighted by reporter *Devarajah* on the one hand and by columnist *Migara* on the other? That it is hoped that investigative reporting on the smuggling will be carried on vigorously by all newspapers until the pressure of public opinion will compel the Government to take stern action against all involved in the smuggling business, big and small, official and unofficial, politicians and otherwise? That laws similar to the laws to fight the terrorists must be enacted to end this menace?



### STOLEN GIFT

The authorities of the Swiss canton of Valais were very glad to hear that the rich art collector Edouard Guigoz had left them a valuable ancient statue of the sphinx. The statue was put on display in the archeological museum of the canton's administrative centre. The joy, however, was short-lived. It soon transpired that the statue, which had been excavated on the site of the ancient Roman town of Ostia, was stolen in 1958. And now the Italian government is demanding its return.



## THE INSURANCE INSTITUTE OF CEYLON

The Insurance Institute of Ceylon established in 1956 is a Non-Profit Organisation. We conduct lectures in Insurance and Management after Office hours and during week ends for the Post-Graduate Diploma in Insurance, Graduates with first or second class are recruited after a written examination and a viva voce test. Our object is to create a group of skilled professional personnel in Insurance as in other long established and recognized professions such as Medicine, Law, Accountancy and Engineering etc. etc.

OUR CREDO "In all my business dealings and activities I agree to abide by the following rules of professional conduct. I shall strive at all times to ascertain and understand the needs of those whom I serve and act as if their interests were my own, and I shall do all in my power to maintain and uphold a standard of honour and integrity that will reflect credit on the business in which I am engaged."

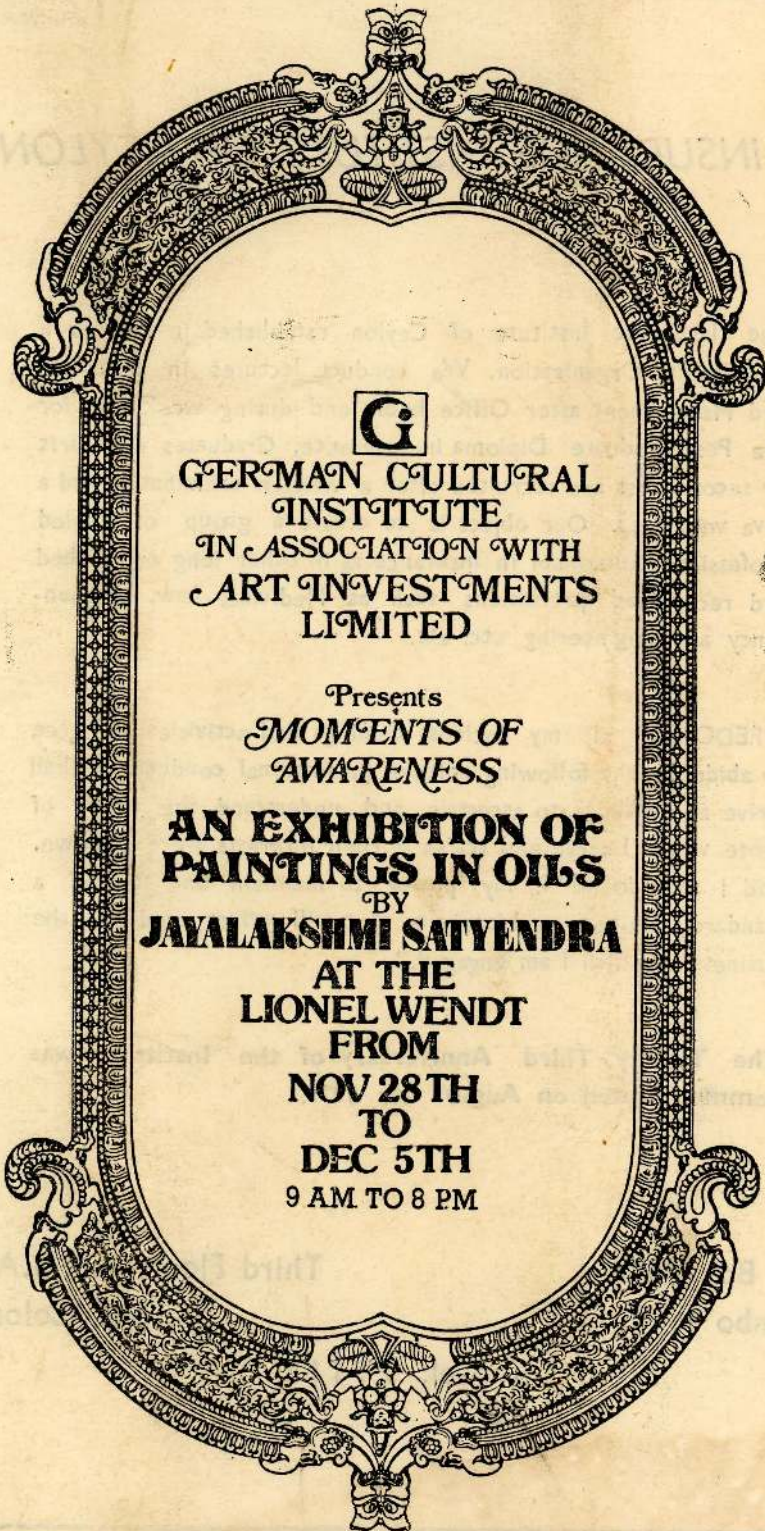
The Twenty-Third Anniversary of the Institute was commemorated on August 16, 1979.

P. O. Box 1342,  
Colombo 1.

Third Floor, Y.M.B.A. Bldg.  
Fort, Colombo 1.

Tel; 29118.





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BY  
JAYALAKSHMI SATYENDRA**

**AT THE  
LIONEL WENDT  
FROM**

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TO  
DEC 5TH  
9 AM TO 8 PM**