

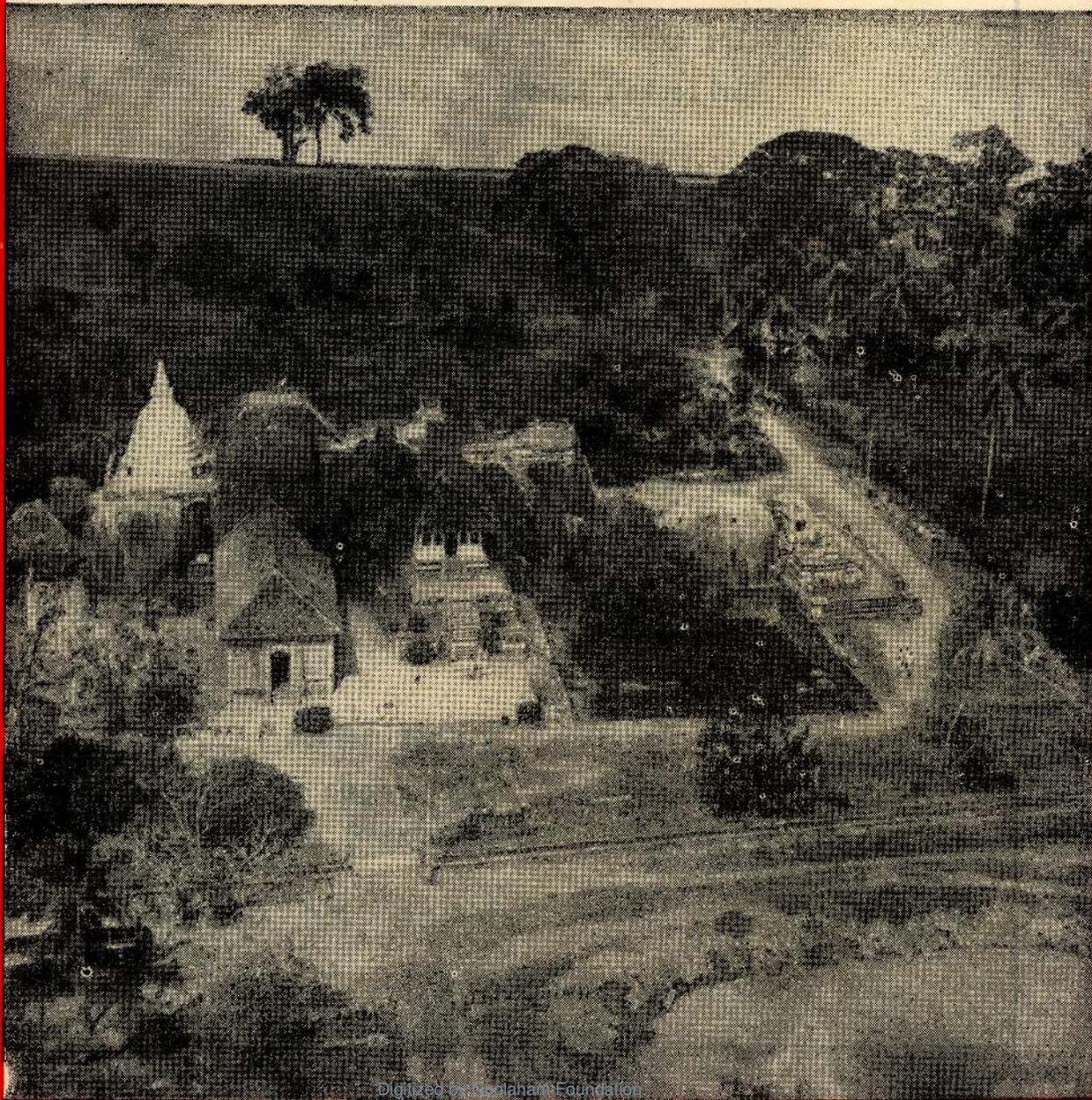
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TRIBUNE

CEYLON NEWS REVIEW



25TH YEAR OF PUBLICATION



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From Our Desk

AN IRATE SCHOOLMASTER recently stormed into the *Tribune* office and decried the use of the pocket calculators in schools. His point was that children were losing the art and the skill needed for such simple operations as addition, subtraction and multiplication. Such pocket calculators are available in Sri Lanka for a very small sum of money. In business circles they are indispensable. In the higher realms of advanced scientific studies, the more complicated and sophisticated versions of calculators are used widely. But there seems to be some controversy about its use in schools. In some countries, educational authorities have permitted the use of calculators from the seventh grade onward but others are more restrictive. In this connection, a report in the West German paper *Die Welt*, 7/3/79, makes interesting and thought-provoking reading: "Darmstadt mathematician Professor Stein has now come out in favour of the use of calculators in schools, telling a teacher's colloquium held jointly by the State Institute for Teacher Training and the mathematics department of Karlsruhe University that more use should be made of pocket calculators in schools. Proponents of the electronic device suggested that the calculator would open up the world of mathematics even to untalented students. On the one hand, they said, the calculator enabled students to work with realistic figures rather than those specially chosen because they are easier to operate with. On the other hand, working with the calculator prepares the student for everyday professional life since the device has now become a normal tool for many occupations. Opponents fear we may breed a new disability similar to dyslexia for which even a term has been coined. It is arithlexia. Professor Stein rejects this as excessively pessimistic. Though conceding that mental arithmetic is still desirable he holds that the limits of the abilities of present-day students should be reviewed. Everybody should know how much five times seven is, even if the calculator battery has given up the ghost. But adults, too, resort to a calculator when it comes to dividing a four-digit by a three-digit figure. Why, Professor Stein asks, should students be expected to do this without the device? Said he, "Just as automobiles are not banned because they are responsible for lack of exercise, this being compensated for by physical fitness programmes, the use of calculators could also be compensated by setting special problems." The calculator, Professor Stein said, stimulates mathematical imagination, thus promoting ability to solve problems, but he conceded that this would call for a re-think on teaching methods. He called for reforms of teaching in a field which had become overburdened by theory. Parents in particular view the calculator with scepticism. They fear their children will circumvent learning the one-times table because it is so much easier to press a button. Professor Stein said that parents still had to be convinced of the potential of calculators, though warning against excessive hopes. Just as little as the purchase of a typewriter can make the buyer an author does the purchase of a calculator solve the student's mathematical problems. Should not Sri Lanka convene a series of seminars on the use of calculators in schools especially to examine the impact of this gadgetery on the students and teachers?

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Integrated Farming

ON THE COVER this week we have an aerial view of the historic Isurumuniya Temple in Anuradhapura. More recently it has been in the news as the temple near which the Wap Magula ceremony was held and later a harvest ceremony as well. We have chosen this picture as a fit and proper symbol to draw attention to the new kind of farming that helps to increase the income from every farm without extending its acreage or having to invest large dozes of new capital. Some call this Integrated Farming; others say that is Farming That Runs on Waste.

The *Daily News* recently published a *Depthnews* Special entitled FARM RUNS ON WASTE. It is written by Longrit Bconmark who writes about a Thai farmer who pioneered this kind of farming in his country. We reproduce the entire article because Sri Lanka must adopt integrated farming techniques if she is to win the battle against subsistence level rural poverty: "A self-made Thai rice miller is setting the pace in domestic waste re-cycling that has become the envy of even the famed pioneers of the practice themselves—the Chinese. The Kirikham Farm of the Kirikham Company Ltd., virtually runs on its own waste ranging from chicken manure to hog dung. It has become Thailand's showcase of enlightened and through waste re-cycling. Owned by Kamchai Iamsuri the Kirikham Farm is located in Samkok District of Prathumthani province, some 50 kilometers from Bangkok proper. The 600 rai (one rai is about 1,600 square meters) farm houses 6,000 pigs, 7000 ducks, 60,000 chickens and over a million fish. The piggery section of Kirikham Farm covers a kilometer long area, making it one of the largest pig farms in the world. Part of the farming area is left open for animal-feed crops such as beans, morning glory and maize. Chinese delegation, which visited the farm recently was highly impressed by the waste re-cycling system employed by Mr. Kamchai which other farms should follow. The waste re-cycling process at Kirikham Farm starts with plants in the area, which become feed for chicken, ducks pigs and fish. Chicken and duck manure are

eaten by pigs whose wates, in turn, are eaten by the fish.

"However the real ecological system starts with rice at Kamolkit Mill also owned by Mr. Kamchai. Process involves rice bran, oil, extractions, feed milling and animal husbandry. The cycle is completed when harvested crops fertilised with animal waste, are brought to the mill. Kamolkit Mill is located on the Chal Phaya River bank in Pakkret, Pnathumathani province some 20 kilometers from Kirikham Farm. Kamolkit Mill is situated in a 100-rai area. It can produce 200 kwian (200 metric tons) of rice a day. It has a wide space to dry parboiled rice, an oven to dry rice and maize, a warehouse, a brick plant and a bran oil factory. Both Kamolkit Mill and Kirikham Farm are vertically integrated projects with the main objective of minimising waste and maximising useful exploitation of raw materials. Kamolkit Mill provides the rice bran and husk for the recycling operation. Rice husk is used as a fuel for rice milling, drying and steaming of parboiled rice. Rice husk is also a major component in the production of bricks, while rice is supplemented with protein in the manufacture of feeds for chicken, fish and hogs at Kirikham Farm.

"Chicken co-ops have been built over and along the kilometer-long piggery. Chicken droppings are used to enrich hog feeds, and hog dung in turn is used to feed fish. Mr. Kamchai told *Depthnews* that clay dug from the fish ponds is mixed with ash from burned rice husk to produce bricks. The bricks are baked in kilns using rice husk as firewood. Burned husk is also refined into white powder and used in the production of toothpaste. Bmaboo trees have been planted along the roads at Kirikham Farm to provide shade. Bmaboo shoots are also sold as food items. Banana plants ring fishponds to prevent the accumulated dirt from collapsing. Banana stems and leaves are also used as hog feeds. Aside from its use as fish feed hog manure is also used in bio-gas production. Biogas in turn, is used as fuel in cooking animal feeds. Dead pigs or chicken are not thrown away, they are boiled and served as fish feeds, Mr. Thanomchai Limsomboonsook, manager of the Kirikham Farm said.

"Mr. Thanomchai said that Kirikham Farm is eager to share its know-how with interested

parties. Our methods are good, economically viable and deserve to be emulated by others, he said. Flushed with his success, Mr. Kamchai has set aside a piece of land for a multi-purpose farming project. The farm will house chicken co-ops and hog pens. Provisions have also been made for crop production and a fish-pond. Fish eat pig manure and chicken droppings, while pigs and chickens are fed partly from the feeds produced by the farm and partly from the crops produced in the nearby plantation. We pump water from one pond to the adjacent plantation, which has already yielded three harvests a year. We then gather the fish from the drained pond, Mr. Thanomchai said. Within the next five years, Kirikham Farm plans to go public to enable interested farmers and the Government to participate and expand the scope of the experiment. We are just barely starting and already our experiment has caught the imagination of many people, Mr. Thanomchai said."

Sri Lanka should invite teams from countries which have integrated farms and have increased rural incomes through such integrated methods to help our farmers formulate systems suitable for this country.

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EDITOR'S NOTEBOOK

One Month

Returning to the island after nearly a month (really a few days short of a month), the Editor resumes this column with many misgivings. It has not yet been possible to scrutinise all the Sri Lanka newspapers and periodicals—one customarily reads—published during the month, and one therefore feels that one has not yet caught up with all the happenings in the island.

However, this is no reason for not writing about matters of significance or commenting on happenings that stare one in the face. Except for soul-searing headlines which ultimately mean little or nothing and an increasing number of self-adulatory (ministerial) news-

paper supplements, very little seems to have happened in the island. Ministerial boasts have been plentiful as ever but no one now takes them seriously. One compelling impression that has overwhelmed us since our return is the disenchantment with governmental promise and performance that has grown by leaps and bounds. And it still seems to be growing. It may not be fully reflected in the results of the forthcoming Galle by-election or the elections to the Rural Councils at the end of the year, but long before the general elections in 1983 this disenchantment will affect the fortunes of this government and the UNP.

Ministers and MPs, say the people, have lost the common touch. They ride about in costly Mercedes or fuel consuming jeeps. Ministers' cars have been or will soon be equipped MOBIL radio communication units to keep them in touch with their offices and homes whilst on the road. Many MPs are already strangers in their own constituencies—they are more at home in the company of contractors and gem merchants at the Intercontinental or the Oberoi than in the rough and tumble with honest-to-goodness rustics in village homes.

The leaders of the UNP who still have their wits about them, must pay due heed to this development if the Party is to maintain its popularity. This disenchantment is no longer embryonic. It is daily becoming more widespread, but it has not yet shaken party bigwigs out of their complacency. Many of them seem to think that fulsome adulation in newspaper supplements was enough to keep Ministers, MPs and the government to enjoy never-ending popularity and support.

The Editor has recently had occasion to read newspapers from many countries—from the rich developed countries of the affluent West to those from poor under-developed nations—and failed to see the kind of newspaper supplements boosting Ministers and their "work" which have now begun to afflict Sri Lanka like the plague. One of the first supplements that made us jump out of our seat was a four-page one to boast about the Coconut Minister and the Coconut Authority at a time when the Industry was faced with a certain 40% loss of production next year—in

spite of all the tall talk about rehabilitating not only the Coconut Triangle but the cultivation and industry in other areas as well. There have been so many supplements in the one month we have been away that it is not possible to keep count of them on one's fingers—one needs a calculator or an abacus.

Another matter that struck us forcibly is the proliferation in all newspapers of reports of smuggling that were detected. It was bad enough during the last two years, but in the last month the number seems to have jumped in a phenomenal manner. Admittedly, detections are less than ten percent of what goes undetected, and with the detections running into several millions, the undetected must tot up to several hundred millions.

What is exasperating is that only a fraction of what is smuggled into the island is for local consumption or sale. Most of it is smuggled out to India where there is still a great craving for things "foreign"—textiles, watches, swim suits, electronic gadgets etc. etc. Must the foreign exchange made available to Sri Lanka under standby credits or which came from gems smuggled out of the island be wasted in this way?

What was even more distressing was that a group of Customs officials were arrested at Talaimannar allegedly with money and goods taken off passengers. Recruitment to the Customs, for about a decade or more, had been so erratic—on a kind of special "chit system"—that there seem to be plenty of bad eggs in the basket. The Customs, as of old, should be a closed service and as a revenue earning department the greatest care should be exercised in selections. Today, there is need for a purge. Many who were hastily recruited under political patronage should be transferred out—to fish farms (where eels and the like are bred).

But more than cleaning out the Customs Department, the President should take steps to ensure that political interference to hush up such detections and save the guilty are ended. The *Ceylon Daily Mirror* of August 28 had an arresting headline **TOP LEVEL MOVES TO HUSH UP ATTEMPTS TO DEFRAUD CUSTOMS**. It read: "Attempts are being made in certain influential quarters to hush up the case connected with the seizure

of 17 crates of contraband including cassette radios, pocket radios, electronic calculators, insulated coaxial cables, audio promotion kits and coloured television sets valued at over Rs. 2 million consigned to a non-existing Pettah firm that arrived aboard the 'Nedlloyd Futami' from Singapore. Investigations by senior Preventive Officer S. Pathmanathan revealed that the importer had attempted to defraud the State of nearly Rs. 2 million by misdescribing the contents as television sets which enjoy a low (12½ per cent) duty whilst the crates containing goods in commercial quantities whose duties payable range from 25 per cent for calculators, to 100 per cent for cassette radios and Rs. 250 per pocket radio. These goods could be imported freely under the Special Licence Act with Letters of Credit opened with a commercial bank. No LCs were opened in this instance as the consignees—'Oriental Enterprises Limited of Prince Street, Pettah—was a non-existent firm, according to both the Registrar of Companies as well as the Registrar of Business Names. Investigations also revealed that there was no BTT (Business Turnover Tax) file in the name of the consignee with the Department of Inland Revenue. The Shipper—Elec-trade Singapore (Pte) Ltd., of Singapore was also non-existent. According to Aitken Spence Shipping Limited of Colombo, the local agents for Nedlloyd Futami, the 17 crates seized by the Customs were a shipment to Sri Lanka and not intended for any other destinations. The actual duty that would have been payable if the cases contained TV sets—two in each crate—would be Rs. 63,750. The attempted fraud amounted to nearly Rs. 22 million, according to goods in the crates. The crates when examined, contained 5,025 Sanyo pocket radios, 612 Sanyo radio cassettes, 100 rolls of insulated coaxial cables (100 yards in each roll), 245 Casio electronic calculators, 30 Sanyo audio promotion kits and six bag colour television sets (Cabinet model) two in each crate. Investigations also revealed that no remittance had been sent out of the Island for the import of these goods. It is suspected that funds realised by the sale of smuggled Sri Lanka gems, may have been used for the purchase of these goods in Singapore and for the payment of sea freight".

This is only just another story of the

same genre that has been repeated time without number in the last eighteen months. So also are the daring escape of the top criminals like Aggone Chandare from the maximum security sections of Welikade prison. Bank robberies continue unabated. Burglaries are on the increase.

But a new type of crime has entered the scene in this age of...? The *Ceylon Daily Mirror* of August 29, had an interesting report entitled GUN-TOTING SEX FIENDS NABBED. It read: "A police patrol car checking on an Aggona Chandare alarm on Monday night stumbled on a gang of seven armed men including the two playboy sons of cinema owner carrying out a 'Bonnie and Clyde'—style operation kidnapping women from middle level hotels in Colombo South and the sub urbs. Police checking vehicles after reports that Aggona Chandare and a gang were kidnapping women at gunpoint from several hotels, stopped a van near the Kollupitiya Super Market. In the van were seven men armed with revolvers and a sawn-off 16-bore rifle converted into a handgun. There were also three women who told police they had been abducted from hotels at Nugegoda, Havelock Road and Wellawatte. A woman who had got off the van at 47th Lane, Wellawatte with two members of the gang was stated to have been abducted from a hotel at Bambalapatiya. One of the women told Police she had been raped the previous day in an upstairs room of a city cinema."

The *Sun*, reporting the same incident also revealed: ".....Following the interrogation of the gang members, the Police threw a dragnet around the Dehiwela area for two more members of this gang. According to the Police most of the youth were from well-to-do families and one of them was the son of a cinema owner. Investigations by the Police however revealed that one of the arrested youths was wanted by the Dehiwela Police in connection with a Rs. 18,000 armed robbery while another suspect was wanted for the same crime and also murder. The gang had been armed with three locally manufactured revolvers firing 16 bore cartridges of which one was recovered. The gang it was revealed had previously carried out a series of similar abductions and one of the women found in

the van had alleged that she had been raped by four persons."

With this kind of malaise eating into the fabric of Sri Lankan life, was it any surprise that ragging should erupt in the University of Moratuwa and also other Universities? The *Ceylon Daily Mirror* of September 15 had a front page sensation: "Some freshers of the University of Moratuwa have been subjected to indecent ragging when they have been stripped naked and chilli powder applied to their faces and other sensitive parts of the body, made to drink urine and arrack and crawl on their bare bellies and perform uncouth acts. Dr. Stanley Kalpage, Secretary to the Ministry of Higher Education and Chairman of the Universities Grants Commission who described the ragging as sordid at a Press Conference yesterday said, 'we are not going to condone with any ragging whatsoever'. The incidents of ragging came to light, Dr. Kalpage said: when two freshers came to his office on Thursday and informed him of the gruesome types of ragging which they had been subject to. When the Vice-Chancellor of the University of Moratuwa, Prof. Upali Kuruppu and the Deputy Registrar were summoned to the UGC the freshers were able to identify some of the seniors from the photographs of students brought by the university authorities. Dr. Kalpage appealed to the parents, freshers, the staff and the Press to expose any incidents of ragging as they wanted this type of uncouth ragging stamped out lock, stock and barrel. Unlike in the past when campus presidents and university staff feared to act and looked away when ragging was carried out, the UGC today wants the co-operation of all to stamp out ragging. Dr. Kalpage said 'raggers did not deserve any sympathy of society and I am sure that society will not condone such sordid acts of ragging' he said. Among the seniors who ragged the freshers who had come in for their orientation week were those sitting their examinations and were permitted to use the library. The Vice-Chancellor, told the *Daily Mirror* last night that four students would be suspended in this connection."

The University Authorities promise stern action to stamp out ragging, but it goes on, Why?

TRIBUNE, September 29, 1979

In the last month, there were also certain heartening bits of news. After a talk with President Jayewardene on the eve of his departure for Havana, the TULF ended its eight-week old boycott of Parliament. In addition there have been loud proclamations that foreign investments had reached the 1 billion mark. A Rs. 55 increase has been given to all those earning less than Rs. 1500 from September. How far this sop will help to fight the inflationary spiral is hard to understand. These silver linings are few and far between. But dark clouds have begun to overshadow the few bright spots.

Kerosene has been pushed up to Rs. 10.68 from 3.64 a gallon. The Sun of September 1 had asserted that the TREASURY BUNGLES KEROSENE SCHEME.....CONFUSION ALL OVER: EVEN G.A.'s WERE IN THE DARK TILL LAST SATURDAY: "As a four member Cabinet team meets today to ascertain the causes for the countryside confusion over the marketing of kerosene, the Government has learnt that a Treasury delay was a major contributory factor. Although the food stamps scheme, one of the topmost economic priorities of the Government, came into operation from September 1, many Government Agents did not learn till last Saturday how food coupons in respect of kerosene should be encashed. Hence they were unable to tell co-operative societies what to do when dealers of the Ceylon Petroleum Corporation surrendered coupons for encashment. The net result was that dealers refused to issue kerosene to consumers who surrendered coupons. The Government has now learnt that instructions to GA's had been spelt out only on September 11 in a circular, Treasury Circular (Finance 195). Copies of this however, reached many of the GAs only last Saturday. And that too when they were summoned for a conference by the Ministry of Food and Co-operatives to discuss matters relating to the food stamp scheme according to Government sources. Some GAs who complained of delay in receiving instructions, told Saturday's conference that it would take at least another week to 10 days before co-operative societies adjusted themselves. This is because the co-operatives will have to open special bank accounts for food coupons—a matter that necessitates approval by their boards of management, it was pointed out.

Sun learns that the Ministerial team will probe the causes that led to the delay in the Treasury issuing the circular. It is expected to interview key Treasury officials in this connection. The Ministerial team will today meet high officials of the Ceylon Petroleum Corporation to ascertain how kerosene stocks have been moving in the recent months. According to CPC sources there had been a heavy draw on the corporation's kerosene stocks in the past two months. Its sales had registered an increase of more than fifty per cent, a move which indicated that dealers had hoarded vast stocks these sources said." Apart from the bungling, the sudden increase in the price of kerosene has brought untold hardship to householders who use kerosene for cooking. Gas is short and even old customers who have been using it for years are now in a bad way. But the biggest blow has come to farmers who use kerosene as fuel for their water pumps. With the prices of agricultural produce kept artificially down by unrealistic import policies, the chances are that many farmers will go out of business.

My No. 3/40/1/337
1979-09-07
Kachcheri, Matale.

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

It is intended to acquire the lands described in the schedule below for a public purpose. For further particulars please see Part III of Gazette No. 56 of Democratic Socialist Republic of Sri Lanka dated 28th September, 1979.

Schedule

Situation: Gurubebila Village, Ambanganga Korale D.R.O.'s Division and Kaikawala Village in Rattota D.R.O.'s Division in Matale District.

Name: Clodaghwatta
Extent: A.12.R.O.P.15
Plan and Lot No.: P.P.Ma. 559 Lot Nos. 1, 2 and 3.

R. Pitakotuwa
District Land Officer,
Matale District.

The People And The Republic

by A. Plebeian

AS THE DELEGATES of the Constitutional Convention in the United States were leaving the Independence Hall on the 17th of September 1787, one of the women standing in the crowd outside went up to Dr. Benjamin Franklin and asked him, "well, Doctor, what have we got a Republic or a Monarchy?" "A Republic," Franklin replied, "if you can keep it". The same question will provoke the same answer today in Sri Lanka nearly two centuries later.

A Republic does not live in a dry document with dead words, decorative phrases and deceptive assurances unless a people breathe life and spirit into it.

Seven years ago or more, Sri Lanka became "a free sovereign and independent Republic" and in the constitution of 1972, these words were enshrined—"sovereignty is in the people and is inalienable". It is for the people of this country to have their own views on whether they enjoyed or suffered this "inalienable" sovereignty thrust upon them. In September last year the country received a second gift in yet another constitution. This time the framers did not forget to give it a name. They attached an impressive tag to it. It was loudly proclaimed as the Constitution of the Democratic Socialist Republic of Sri Lanka. The words "sovereignty is in the people and is inalienable" were repeated and for a second time this 'inalienable' sovereignty was thrust upon them. After they were thrust with their first 'inalienable' sovereignty they lived under the Emergency regulations and now after the second thrust of this 'inalienable' sovereignty they have to face the same regulations in the shape and form of laws introduced in the "Prevention of Terrorism" Act.

It is not necessary here to praise or condemn either Constitution, both of which had the same laudable objectives to confer this so called 'inalienable' sovereignty on the people. Each time this sovereignty has slipped them as it were down a duck's back. The task of analysing constitutions will be better done by the political scientist. It is a question however to be answered by the people themselves whether they have really enjoyed or suffered

this constitutionally declared "inalienable sovereignty".

When a country is so sharply divided by two major political parties, with so much of personality cult built round their leaders, and when there are the victors and the vanquished after every general election, one is left to wonder whether the people as a whole or even as a section feel sovereign, quite apart from their enjoying sovereignty. It may again be asked "What is sovereignty?" The nearest to the correct answer will be that the people are sovereign when the Governments they elect respect the people and the freedoms guaranteed to them under the Constitution. The sovereign people must not be denied their civil rights by any Governments, and moreover no Government should be indifferent to responsible public opinion.

The constitution belongs to the people and not to any Government and Constitutions must survive Governments. The Constitution is the shield that protects the men in power from the people. It is unfortunate that the amendments to the Constitution made so far and the laws inconsistent to the Constitution so far passed make one arrive at the necessary conclusion that the more than two thirds majority in Parliament in the hands of the ruling party is more important than almost the whole Constitution, that is to say the Constitution seems to belong to the Party in power with its more than two-third majority, and not to the people.

IN THE FIRST REPUBLICAN CONSTITUTION the executive power of the people was exercised by the Cabinet and the President. At that time the President was a figurehead and held "an office with the sole virtue of impotence" to quote the words of Abbe Lantaigne. It was Clemenceau the French Prime Minister who said once after the first World War, that there were two things to which he could ascribe no reasons—one was the prostate gland and the other was the French Presidency.

The Queen of England reigns but does not govern. The President of the United States governs but does not reign. It has been reserved however for De Gaulle of France and the President of Sri Lanka to both reign and govern.

In terms of the new Constitution, the executive power of the Sovereign people is no longer exercised by the Cabinet. It is exercised "by the President elected by the people." Although he was not elected by the people to be the President to exercise their executive power, in terms of the law he is deemed to have been so elected by the people.

It is rather a sweeping observation made by a cynic that in the circumstances the Parliament, the Cabinet and the Prime Minister have been all devalued, but they are oblivious to their fallen state by a sense of euphoria which the system has afforded them to go on global tours, and daily see their photographs displayed in the newspapers with or without their wives, much to their delectation and as much to the annoyance of the public. If the press is to be believed these Sri Lankan heroes of today have far excelled the achievements of Alexander, Caesar and Napoleon. **THERE IS MUCH TO BE SAID** in favour of a Presidential system of Government. It is better for one intelligent man of character to firmly govern the country than for many with varying degrees of intelligence, vanity, stupidity and prejudice. In a recent interview with a veteran journalist, the President is reported to have said, "as you know our people like to be in the Cabinet. Individuals like to be in the Cabinet. Now I have created 100 posts—Cabinet Ministers, Deputy Ministers and District Ministers. They want to be somewhere". The President has been frank enough to indict himself and the elected representatives of the people. It is a unique phenomenon that in Sri Lanka's Parliament which has altogether about 168 members, more than 100 have been appointed by the President to office, and it is they who support him!

Sri Lanka cannot afford so many appointments and a hundred appointments for a small country is certainly ridiculous. Have the people to pay out so much to be governed? Is it only by the creation of a multitude of Ministries against national interest that a President deemed to have been so elected can continue to enjoy the confidence of the people? Is this all fair by the people whose sovereignty is "inalienable"? The people have suffered this "inalienable sovereignty" so much and so long that they now sigh and say "Oh God

take away this sovereignty from us."

The people of Sri Lanka have not had the political conditions to prove their sturdy independence. They have however had opportunities to show their disgust of governments at each general election. No Government so far has helped them to build national unity and to preserve their human dignity. No Government has inspired them to cultivate a Republican spirit. Democratic and Republican traditions have not grown, nor have they been nurtured in the country despite the 7 years and the 2 Republican Governments.

The emergency laws subdued their will and spirit before '77 and now the same laws, we hope, in an Act "to make temporary provisions for the prevention of acts of terrorism in Sri Lanka" have not overtaken them. Freedom of speech, freedom of movement, freedom from arrest, freedom from imprisonment without trial and all the freedoms and rights a free people cherish in a Republic are in peril, especially if these laws are abused. Any citizen can be kept in detention for 3 months at a time up to a maximum period of 18 months by the Minister on mere suspicion that he is involved in unlawful activities. No court of law can question the action of the Minister. The people, let us trust, will not now be called upon to suffer these laws and their "inalienable" sovereignty "temporarily" for a period of three years!

The suppliants of yesterday who have been voted to power are the sovereign today, and a sovereign people have been made the suppliants.

Sri Lanka will be truly a Republic if the people can stand up and say, when there is an abuse of power, "Mr. President—You have damn well let us down." Sri Lanka will truly have a great President if he appreciates such forthright criticism and there is no reason, so far, to think that the President will not appreciate such criticism and examine it.

The people must be educated to jealously guard their civil rights. It is independent organisations such as the Civil Rights Movement, if there is no independent press, that can infuse an independent republican spirit in the people "to keep a republic." This is a duty the people owe the President, the Constitution, the Government, the country and themselves.

Prospects

by R. Kahawita

The story of Uda Walawe project is a sad one. It is being revived again, but may have to give way to the Moneragala project. There was a well established cane experiment station at Embilipitiya. But with the change of Political climate the officers were disbanded and the station raised to the ground almost. I understand that even the Sugar Corporation which is responsible for the development and management of the Industry may not survive. I mention this here as a warning not to let Mahaweli Development suffer or go by the same way. If it happens it would be a National disaster of the Hiroshima Category. The other reason I mention cane here is, there is room for three other sugar cane factories around Kantalai. These are in the picture with Mahaweli water. Total extent to be under cane is around 45,000 Acs. This is another project, within the thirty year plan—that could be taken in the "Accelerated Programme". Let us not wait till the Dams are constructed to start the growing of cane in this region. Cane projects are time consuming. We have our own examples, after twenty five years we have not yet hit the targets. It may be, we have been disheartened by our performance at sugar under irrigation so we have taken to the growing of "dry zone cane" and manufacture of jaggery and treacle under the Brand name of "Run-Keta" at Udawalawe, Moneragala, Wellawaya and Huldamalla. Economic viability of Mahaweli is based on a diversified cropping programme. Paddy alone, even at current world prices, investment is a dead loss. Sugar, we import about 200,000 tons a year and it is a very essential commodity. And it is within our scope to develop and go into production within a reasonable time—provided of course the same treatment as at Kantalai and Gal Oya is not meted out to this.

EVEN THOUGH WE HAVE PROMISED to deliver the goods in five years it is best to remember that we have only 5 to six working months in a year and there are certain technical requirements which cannot be circumvented if the dams are to stand the test of time.

Whatever the time targets are to deliver the goods as a political expedient, we cannot cut short technical standards and requirements. Today we hear of a world class disaster in Gujarat, in India, as the result of a Dam burst with the monsoons rains, lives lost are yet to be estimated, total damage to property and services are yet unknown till the 20ft. of water inundating the area is drained off. We also had a near miss in December 1978. We also had another near miss at Kalawewa when we tried to impound more water than it could hold. I am personally aware of what happened at Polonnaruwa in December '78 cyclone. With the Indian example before us today, we will have to sit up and take stock of the neglect that has accumulated over the years to render most of our irrigation works *unsafe*. This is a warning. The three reservoirs mentioned by His Excellency the other day—Kotmale, Victoria and Maduru Oya—are "Mountain Reservoirs where run-offs are high. Once the catchments are saturated in an unprecedented rainy season,(1)" of rain in an hour can flow into the reservoir one inch plus more in that hour. The Indian problem may have been that. It is for this reason that I suggested hydrology studies must be continued without cessation—The work seasons are short in these locations, working times have to be fitted into these seasons whether we are behind schedules or not. There are no short cuts. The main thing is: We have started work on these items and let it be done to the highest standards of technology known to us today. Whether we are in time or not for the 1983 elections: That is secondary or not at all important when we consider what is at stake if a structure fails.

We said that the end result of our efforts and exhortation is to put the resources so harnessed to production within the shortest possible time and at a very high production level. His Excellency himself mentioned settling 100,000 farming units. To this the private sector too must be invited to participate in a big way. How this could be done we detailed in another article in the *Tribune* of 4.8.79 we reproduce it here for emphasis and how important for all of us to get involved in the accelerated programme:— "Let us Start Again and a bold start too. Mahaweli final report has recommended the mixing of peasant hold-

ings with large farms. This has been done for very good reasons; after assessing the capital requirements for development. If quick returns are to be got from the vast investment on development a change in strategy is called for. It seems utterly foolish to expect the peasant farmer to make use of such a vast investment to get a quick return. He has no capital to invest. So the investing Agency will have to be the Government with all the failures, shortcomings, bureaucratic bungling, administrative inefficiencies we see around us today everywhere we go.

THE PRESENT PICTURE IS DISMAL in this field. There is the experience of the last Special Leases Scheme. The Mahaweli Consulting team went into this aspect before they recommended a similar approach in their final report. The speed of utilizing the water resources made available in an accelerated programme must be matched to the construction effort. The land must go into production as quickly as possible. But the State is the Land-owner today. Therefore private enterprise with capital, expertise in finance management and organisation, should be invited to be the tenant and participate in development. The land can be blocked put in 50 ac. to 500 or even 1000 ac. units and the land given out on short term leases, giving them as many incentives and advantages for them to invest in land development and recover the capital, interest, and profit within the term of the lease, as these lands would be required for the permanent settler later on. To reduce private sector investment the Government on her part must construct roads, water distribution systems and the infrastructure necessary to service the permanent settlers at the end of the lease, but giving the investor the facility of using them during his tenure.

In addition the private investor should be encouraged to establish Agrobased industries either on a medium term or a permanent basis so that as the produce comes in, there will be processing facilities, rather than go in search of storage facilities, processing units at a later stage as it is happening today with our paddy production and purchases. We have the habit of overlooking the essentials and go into such activities which are not necessary for years to come—like the proposed Mahaweli Railway. First let us produce the goods for a

railway to carry rather than lay down the railroads and look around for goods to transport. If railway transport is "the thing" to move our produce, why are our tea, rubber, coconut produce and fibre not moving that way? The areas producing these commodities are fairly well covered by a rail-road system, but the producer prefers the road transport. We have the habit of putting the cart before the horse—We have done this on many occasions and several times and still we do not seem to be wiser either or learn by our experience.

What will be a reasonable period for the investor to pull out with his share of profit etc? What should be the incentives and facilities that should be given to reduce the quantum of investment and the tenure of the land to enable the investor to recover his capital interest and a reasonable share of profits in the shortest possible time? A scheme of this nature, it is said, has been worked out for the FTZ. Then why not for the Mahaweli development?

The operations the investor has to carry out to render the land crable are: (a) jungle Clearing—in this process he must extract all the timber up to 10" mid girth and up to lengths of 6'-0" and above, to meet the timber shortage in the country, as well as his use for housing; (b) Rooting, land preparation and soil conservation according to guide lines Provided by Govt. (c) Cultivating rainfed Crops till irrigation water is made available, according to cropping patterns indicted by Government, thereafter cropping the land under irrigation to fit to Govt. plans till the end of the tenancy. Investor has only one working season each year to bring the land under crops. What acreage he could develop each season depends on the capital resources, equipment and machinery he can muster. Also the working capital—which depends on the types of crops to be grown.

THE MAHAWELI CONSULTANTS, after various studies have recommended a variety of crops:— paddy, sugar, maize, cotton, sorgum chillies, onions, vegetables, mustard etc. We have still got to learn how to grow them. Next question is what should be the targets of development annually by the private sector? Hundred thousand acres per annum. If it is 100,000 acs. per annum the total capital investment may be around 500,000,000/- per annum at 5000/- per acre. By the time an acre is brought into

full production it would have cost the investor around Rs. 9000/- per acre. However in the 4th year with two crop seasons he should gross an income of Rs. 5400/- per acre and his net income may be around 2500/- per annum. With proper management, adequate capital and progressive cultivation methods, possible and practical on a large scale, the capital investment and interest thereon may be recovered in five to six years.

Allowing for "Water shortages" etc. this works out to a limit of ten years from the first crop year. This should be about the lease period. In the last exercise of the Special Leases, the Govt. failed to set up a working unit to study the expenditure-income aspects of land development year by year. This omission should not be repeated. There should be such an organisation in operation even now. To bring new land into production and settling a farming unit is the most difficult operation. But in our hurry to fight employment problems, we have adopted the line of least resistance—Distribute productive and developed land taken over under the LRC by the last regime to the landless. This is neither development nor increasing our national wealth. It may end up in a drop in production as we experienced on such re-distributed land during the last regime and is continuing even today. As said earlier it is easier to take from one and give to the other than work hard to get un-productive land into production. It is no doubt political consolidation, but at what a price? Do we need to be worry about our political future?

(To Be Continued)

AT THE BANDARANAIKE CENTRE
FOR INTERNATIONAL STUDIES,
ON MARCH 7, 1979.

Why Bureaucracies Fall Short—2

by Dr. W. Howard Wriggins

IN THE PREVIOUS paragraphs I was making some observations about how Sri Lanka has changed over 20 years. I now move to a higher

level of generality, since these questions go quite beyond Sri Lanka and find their parallels elsewhere as well. To summarize my argument below, there are six areas of difficulty that the managers of any large bureaucracy—public or private—must cope with: *Firstly*, making policy decisions is difficult, there is an all-too-human tendency to avoid or postpone careful decisions: *Secondly*, deciding is one thing, implementing decisions is something else. Public bureaucracies are diverted from their principal tasks by a number of interests: (1) they must provide jobs for supporters; (2) they are used as platforms by political personalities; (3) bureaucratic personalities may detract from efficiency; (4) Ministries and Departments have to defend themselves from encroachment by other bureaucratic entities.

Thirdly, the talented and energetic bureaucrats are not always rewarded for deciding and acting with vigor; *Fourthly*, where acute political differences penetrate a bureaucracy, changes of government mean the loss of many competent officials; *Fifthly*, bureaucratic regulations become obsolete and retard the implementation of new and urgent programs; *Sixthly*, changes in the respective roles of officials and elected representatives affect the bureaucracy's effectiveness.

THESE IMPEDIMENTS are to be found in bureaucracies in my country quite as well as in yours. Whether we are talking about New York's City or State government of Sri Lanka's or General Motors or Minnesota Mining, there are certain characteristics of the bureaucratic phenomenon that deserve our attention. They beset us all to a different degree. And easy critics of bureaucracies, particularly government bureaucracies which concern us today, should take them into account before levelling their charges. (For an important discussion, see Michael Crozier, *The Bureaucratic Phenomenon* (Chicago, 1964).

Firstly, the matter of decisions. Governance is difficult in any polity. A review of good political biographies reminds us of just how many difficult decisions face the leaders of any government. Resources always fall short of what the leaders hope for and believe they ought to have—or influential individuals or groups inside or outside government demand. Harry Truman used to say, "To govern

is to decide." But decisions are not easy to make unless they are decided frivolously or impulsively, often at great and quite avoidable cost. A prudent decision calls for identifying what are real possibilities within reach. "What are my options?" is the first question. And one must assess the gains and costs of each available alternative. To assess possible gains requires an imaginative leap into the future to project the likely outcome if one follows one course or another. Costs should be incurred if great enterprises will bring great good, or if great calamities portend and can be avoided by timely action.

To properly assess costs, of course, is also not easy. Costs are run up in terms of money. If we spend for this, what will we have to forego or postpone there? Costs may be in scarce materials that if applied here will not be available somewhere else. Time is also scarce, as Benjamin Franklin reminded us. Not only is the President's and Prime Minister's time precious—they have only a certain number of hours in each day to make the final choices and to inspire and stimulate their subordinates. The administrator, too, who must see to details and ensure his subordinates do their jobs well and promptly, has only so many hours in a day. Costs of inaction, of delay may also be serious. In my experience, however, most persons working in large bureaucracies find it hard to take seriously the costs of delayed decisions. We all know the time it takes to release something from the customs, for instance, not only here but elsewhere. I recall that it took two years before a group of us in Maryland could induce the State vehicle department to install a traffic light at a very dangerous crossing in front of our children's school. Those of us who seek permission from civil servants watch with dismay as our file, at snail's pace, crawls from office to office, always being put at the bottom of the next pile to await its gradual drift to the top to be passed to yet another desk for the next initial, or the next marginal note. The typical bureaucrat's lack of a sense of the cost of time is one of bureaucracy's greatest banes. To inject a sense of urgency into a bureaucracy's total performance is perhaps the administrator's and political leader's greatest challenge.

There are also political costs of any decision that must be assayed. Anyone who fol-

lows Sri Lanka's lively and contentious politics or watches breathlessly Congressional committee discussions and floor debates in Washington, knows that few major decisions are taken without calculating the political costs—to incumbents and to members of the opposition. But we also know how hard it is to calculate these costs nicely.

The prudent and imaginative man of government must take all these matters into account, and draw his conclusions. To be sure, decisions sometimes simply have to be made well before full information is available. And too much analytical effort may lead to what someone has called the "paralysis of analysis." In the end, it will be a combination of analytical understanding and intuition that together inform the judgement of the persons ultimately responsible.

TO GOVERN to decide. But decisions in themselves are not easy to make. In many bureaucracies it is far safer for the official to avoid decisions than to run the risk of provoking anger of the rulers or influential friends of the ruler. Decisions are difficult to make because so many different factors have to be taken into account. Particularly where state bureaucracies are making decisions on economic productivity or commercial issues, the bureaucrat from the general service charged with responsibility for decision may not be truly knowledgeable. He may hesitate from lack of expertise. The timid fear decisions because they fear their own mistakes. But even the bold may avoid decisions if typically they suffer as a result of making decisions. And where the top man wants to hold all decisions to himself—out of pride or lack of confidence in his subordinates—systems become impossibly constipated. The top official will be overburdened with detail and will be unable to give sound judgement to major questions. Nor will he have enough energy left to infuse those critical component of his bureaucracy with the drive needed to get the tasks done in a timely fashion.

Secondly, there are problems of implementation: To decide is one thing, to see decisions implemented is quite another. President Lyndon Johnson was a skilled legislator, who conceived many fine programs to improve the lot of our poor. Legislation

was passed; but in his Administration we paid too little attention to the problem of implementation. Change collided with familiar ways; delegating responsibility to local bodies ran counter to the power interests of established centralized or local bureaucratic entities or of political groups. Particularly when development policy promotes innovations to change established ways, resistances are bound to be substantial. There are therefore a number of impediments to bureaucratic performance that deserve notice.

Specific goals but many political tasks. Bureaucracies have specific functions, and the Ministers' titles and the names of Departments and Bureaux indicate the explicit function. Some seek to expand agriculture, to provide medical and public health services, to educate the children. Others collect taxes, promote exports, assure minimum rations, produce pottery, plywood or ships, or act as watchdogs over the economy. But each bureaucratic entity serves other functions, too, and these distract it from its designated task. In large American cities, and in Sri Lanka, what I call "distractions are now perceived as thoroughly legitimate—so legitimate, indeed, that they are rarely open to question.

Jobs for the Boys. Bureaucracies have specified goals laid down as their main purpose. But everyone knows they also provide "jobs for the boys." Indeed, one of the great engines of bureaucratic expansion in some countries—and in major American cities until recently—if that each government that comes to power seeks new functions. Each new function may have virtues in itself, but each has the additional virtue of justifying some more jobs. Where jobs are scarce, the temptation is all the greater until there may be more people on the rolls than are needed for the purpose, so many indeed that performance is hampered because there are all too many.

Platform for the Ambitious. Bureaucracies have specified functions. But they also provide a political platform on which key political figures can play out their parts with style and panache before a discriminating political audience. If they do it well, they go on to higher office; if the reviews are bad, their political progress falters and they disappear. The bureau or office thus becomes a temporary 'launching pad, for an ambitious individual's career. This

may not be entirely bad for it is likely that an ambitious and energetic man will get his bureaucracy moving with greater energy than a slack and lazy one. At the same time, Departments are often shifted from one Ministry to another in response to the political imperatives of Cabinet balance or the career needs of a favored Minister. Each such reorganization may promote the efficiency of the Ministry concerned. But more likely it will add delay, dislocation and confusion. It will take time before channels of communication work smoothly.

Bureaucratic personalities. Bureaucracies are also affected by the personalities within them. Where selection processes are rigorous and training and apprenticeship programs demanding and prolonged, individual preferences of members of the bureaucracy are often overridden by the morale and operational code of the profession. But as entry becomes more accessible and apprenticeship or other training systems more lax, individual personalities have more scope for following their own bent. To be sure, in your service and our own, there are many serious minded officials, who apply their skills and experience to the urgent tasks in hand with imagination and energy. They are the indispensable core of the service; on them all success depends. But we have others who drag the service back by their lethargy and timidity. They seek security in following the manual of instructions ever so closely. They hesitate to make any decision and pass it to others. They distract the proper functioning of the bureaucracy by their passivity or their lack of courage. In our services we are familiar with a third type, what I call the "trapeze artist". He is the career man who spends most of his time trying to catch the eye of this Cabinet member or that Department head, as he tries to leap from one conspicuous position to another in the hope of catching preference. Such men, too, distract the energies and direction of a bureaucracy. (Anthony Downs has an incisive and amusing discussion of different types of bureaucrats in *Inside Bureaucracy*. (Boston, Little Brown, 1967).

The need for self-defence. Bureaucracies are also diverted from their main task by what Conrad Lorenz called the "territorial imperative." I have watched with amazement and

some awe in Washington the way our great departments and their respective heads, Secretaries in our terminology, sometimes contend against each other for new areas of responsibility or rise up to defend territory they feel is being threatened. A great deal of energy can be committed to these defensive or expansive activities, and this certainly diverts from the main task.

To be sure, sometimes such competition can be healthy if it leads each to provide better services to the public or to pursue their formal goals with greater vigor. Bureaucratic monopoly can breed complacency, sloth and poor service, as we in our country are concluding regarding our postal service, for instance. Some people tell me you, too, are likely to know what I am talking about.

Thirdly, *nurturing and encouraging the talented*. A classic bureaucratic problem concerns identifying talented public servants and providing them with opportunities to experiment with responsibility and to move up the ladder more rapidly than seniority would normally call for. Unless there is some means for identifying and advancing early the really talented, they will become more quickly bored and sell their services outside the government, or even abroad if they can. To be sure, promoting the talented sidesteps the most impersonal principal of all—seniority. It is understandable why administrators prefer promotion by seniority. Any other mode of promotion is bound to generate envy. Samuel Johnson commented that "Many need no other provocation to enmity than that they find themselves excelled." And where family, community or political grounds for promotion are normally suspected, promotion by seniority is all the more attractive. But in times of rapid change when there is need for energetic bureaucratic activity, more selective modes of promotion become necessary.

The talented and trained young men and women, whether in government or out, are a precious and scarce resource. They need to be nurtured and encouraged; they need opportunities to experiment with responsibility; if 90% of their decisions are right, that is a good batting average. Their careers should not be put in jeopardy for 10% errors, as all too often occurs.

Fourthly a liability of abrupt political change—the loss of talented personnel. One particularly costly side effect of political instability and abrupt political change is its effects on talented officials. How many polities lose experienced and dedicated officials each time a government changes? Whole generations of experienced officials are sometimes swept out. Some polities are better able than others to afford such a hemorrhage of talent. The United States has had its periods when talented specialists were hounded from the services, and it has taken many years to replace them. Qualified public servants deserve to be protected from unthinking and wholesale political vendettas.

To be continued

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FOR THE RECORD

- CRM—On Torture In Custody
- CSR—Essential Services Bill

Statement On Torture And Death in Custody

CRM is gravely concerned at the allegations that several persons have died after being taken into custody by the police after the declaration of emergency in the North last month. According to information available to CRM it appears clear that at least some of these persons had been tortured before they died.

The emergency regulation which permitted the police to dispose of dead bodies without inquest or other formality has, fortunately, been revoked. (It was made by the last government in 1971 and evoked much criticism both at home and abroad; one of the initial aims of CRM, which was founded the same year, was to work for its revocation). The experience of those days proved that this power was used as a weapon of terrorism and murder by the police. It is incredible that this extraordinarily obnoxious regulation could have been made part of our law again even for a few days.

The President has promised the Leader of the Opposition that an inquiry into the allega-

tions will take place. But this, and the revocation of the regulation on the disposal of dead bodies, are in themselves not enough. What is alarming is that laws and regulations have been created once again under which ill treatment, torture and even death in custody are likely to take place, and that far reaching powers have been conferred on police and other officials with no safeguards or checks against their abuse. It has long been accepted that resort to inhuman methods cannot be had by a government even in the interests of national security or the investigation of crime (see, for instance, the international declaration against torture and other cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment and punishment which is binding on Sri Lanka having been adopted by the UN without dissent in 1975). This right has now been enshrined in our Constitution. But this fact is of little avail if there exist no effective rules and machinery to ensure its observance. It was of little consolation to those who met their untimely end last month, or to their families and friends.

The laws and regulations which create the possibility of ill treatment, torture and death in custody today are found in the *Liberation Tigers Law* (which still remains in force throughout the country despite indications to the contrary in the next mentioned law), the *Prevention of Terrorism (Temporary Provisions) Act* which was rushed through Parliament last month and which is also in force throughout Sri Lanka, and the *Emergency (Miscellaneous Provisions and Powers) Regulations* in force in the Jaffna District and Katunayake airport: They include:—

(a) provision for detention in police custody (sometimes for extended periods) without any rules or regulations applicable to the conditions of such detention

See *Prevention of Terrorism (Temporary Provisions) Act 1979 sections 7(1) and proviso to Section 7(2)*

Emergency (Miscellaneous Provisions and Powers) Regulations No. 1 of 1979, regulations 17 and 18.

(b) provision for prolonged detention at the instance of a Minister in such place and under such conditions as the Minister may decide

See *Prescription of Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam and Other Similar Organisations Law*

1978 section 11(1) and Prevention of Terrorism (Temporary Provisions) Act No. 48 of 1979, Section 9.

(c) provision for persons in remand (i.e. in a prison) or detention to be taken away by the police for interrogation or investigation without judicial or other intervention or supervision

see *Prevention of Terrorism (Temporary Provisions) Act 1979 Section 7(3) (a)*

Emergency (Miscellaneous Provisions and Powers) Regulations No. 1 of 1979 Regulation 52.

(d) the making of confessions to the police admissible in evidence

See *Prevention of Terrorism (Temporary Provisions) Act 1979 section 16*

Emergency (Miscellaneous Provisions and Powers) Regulations No. 1 of 1979 regulation 59.

CRM APPEALS AS A MATTER OF URGENCY THAT

**the above provisions be repealed or revoked and that*

**the government immediately create and widely*

publicise regulations having the force of law to govern the treatment, conditions of detention and interrogation of all suspects.

It is of paramount importance that independent machinery for the supervision of police interrogation while it is taking place, as well as independent machinery for the entertainment of complaints against the police, be introduced.

In 1971, CRM felt obliged to write to the then Prime Minister Mrs. Sirimavo R. D. Bandaranaike saying "We consider that just as much as a democratic government has certain obligations in exercising its powers in relation to the general body of citizens, it also has certain obligations even in dealing with persons who have broken the law or are alleged to have broken it.....For otherwise a government would be flouting the principles of justice that are vital to democracies in the very act of claiming to defend democratic institutions." It has today become necessary to address the present government in similar terms. Nobody denies the right of the State to govern, to preserve law and order, and to protect democratic institutions, but this does not

absolve the State from its basic obligations even to those guilty or suspected to be guilty of offences against the State, whatever the nature of their crime.

It is, furthermore, unrealistic to expect, invite, or even threaten and coerce a law abiding citizen to assist in the investigation of terrorism, if he has just cause to fear that the effect of his "co-operation" may be to assist in the handing over of one suspected terrorist to the mercies of another.

Secretary, Civil Rights Movement

Colombo.

01/08/79

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A Statement On The Essential Public Services Bill

The Essential Public Services Bill which is now before Parliament seeks to empower the President to declare certain kinds of services performed by government departments, corporations, local authorities and co-operatives as essential services; the services that are brought under the purview of this Bill are those that are considered "essential to the life of the community" and cover in general the supply and distribution of food, water, power, sewerage and fuel and the provision of public transport, medical and sanitary, postal, telephone, telegraphic and broadcasting services.

The decision to declare any such service essential is solely at the discretion of the President; it is his opinion that such a service is "essential to the life of the community" that is the main determining factor, even though he will be consulting the Minister in charge.

The consequence of the declaration of any service as "essential" is to compel any employee in such a service to work in accordance with instructions received from his superiors; anyone not complying would then be guilty of an offence. So would any persons, who not being a worker in such a service impedes, obstructs or delays the carrying out of such a service, or incites, induces or encourages any person to refrain from such works. Its net effect would be to prevent strikes, go-slows, work-to-rule or any such form of

trade-union activity in services 'declared essential' and to prevent any expression of sympathy or encouragement.

The effect of some of these provisions will be to stifle all public discussion of the action taken by the Executive to declare any service essential. As pointed out earlier such a decision is dependent on the opinion of the President, and to remove any executive decision from the sphere of public debate is, in our opinion the very negation of democracy. Governments and Presidents have been known to make errors of decision and one of the virtues of democracy is that it leaves room for the discussion and evaluation as well as revision of executive acts. To take an example, if transport workers were to deny transport services to the building of an Industrial Production Zone or if certain services had struck work during the last Non-aligned summit in Colombo and the executive had, in its wisdom, declared such services as essential, it should be open to the public to debate whether the continuance of such services was really essential to the life of the community. It is saddening that this essential practice of democracy seems to have been lost sight of in this proposed law; while accepting that the state has a responsibility to ensure the due maintenance of services essential to the life of the community, we strongly feel that its actions in pursuance of that aim should be subject to normal democratic control.

The declaration of certain services as 'essential' is possible under existing law in certain circumstances. The Public Security Act provides for the declaration of a state of emergency and then, consequently, the declaration of certain services as essential. The determining condition there is that the situation in the country must be such as to necessitate the declaration of a state of emergency; it is only in such a situation, that it is justifiable to put such limits on the trade union rights of workers; it should be noted that the Public security Act provided certain safeguards even in such situations in that a strike commenced by a registered trade union solely in pursuance of an industrial dispute does not constitute an offence. The proposed EPSB seeks to empower the executive to declare certain services essential even in conditions which would not call for the declaration of a state of emergency

and makes an offence or even normal trade union action.

The constitution of the DSR of SL provides for the fundamental rights of a worker to join a trade union; the Trade Union Ordinance lays down the legitimate functions of a trade union which includes the right to strike in the furtherance of the interests of its members. At present this right to strike can be taken away barring a few circumstances in the Industrial Disputes Act only on the declaration of a state of emergency and the consequent declaration of any particular service as essential. The proposed EPSB seeks to give absolute power to the President not only to prevent or stop any strike or other form of trade union activity in services which he may choose to declare "essential"; it goes further in preventing any sympathetic action, in word or deed from fellow-trade union members or other citizens.

That the real effect of this legislation would be to cause apprehension in splinter and repress the trade union movement is to be inferred from the draconian nature of the punishments proposed. Not only is one convicted of an offence under this proposed law—whether a worker in an essential service, another trade unionist or a private citizen—equally liable to vigorous imprisonment for a term not less than two years and not exceeding five years or to a fine not less than two thousand rupees and not exceeding 5 thousand rupees or to both such imprisonment and fine; the magistrate is also obliged to order the confiscation of all property, both immovable and movable, of anyone so convicted. In the case of a professional man, his further livelihood is also endangered in that the magistrate must make order that his name is struck off the professional register.

The nature of the proposed law is such that it could give credibility to the view that it is part of the government's attempt to ensure "stability" by repressing and placing under control the trade union movement of this country and that these measures are being taken in accordance with the government's aim of "creating a climate favourable for foreign investment."

This proposed legislation affects the rights of trade-union members; it also affected the rights of every citizen to free speech, to free

publication and to participate in activities designed to canvass public opinion in respect of executive action that appears arbitrary and undemocratic. It affects in essence the fundamental rights of every citizen, rights which could hitherto be interfered only in the context of an emergency. Such interference even in an emergency should be considered obnoxious; it is therefore unbelievable that the present government, which declares that its aim is the establishment of a free and just society based on the principles of democracy and which was so critical of 'emergency rule' should seek to curtail the fundamental rights of its citizens even in situations which do not call for the declaration of an emergency.

We cannot also refrain from mentioning that the proposed law appears to be an over-reaction to situations that have occurred and are thought likely to occur in the future. The essence of democracy is the consent of the governed and, if a government has arrived at a point where coercion has to be used in the manner contemplated in the proposed bill, then it can hardly claim to be governing with consent. More coercion can never be an alternative to the solution of problems on a democratic basis.

We therefore call upon the government to withdraw the proposed legislation and not so restrict the rights of the trade union movement of this country, and of the public to the free and open discussion of matters that affect their life in the community.

Tissa Balasuriya, O.M.I.
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14-09-79

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NEXT WEEK

- POST MORTUM
HYDROCRACKER
-
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We All Need A New International Order—3

by Jan Pronk

Text of a paper delivered by the former Dutch Minister for Development to the Dakar Bureau meeting of the Socialist International, May 1978. Jan Pronk is now a member of the Dutch Parliament and of the Council of IFDA. (International Foundation of Development Alternatives). He is also a member of the Brandt Commission, of the McBride Commission on Communications and of the Steering Committee of the IFDA Third System Project.

THE QUESTION MAY ARISE whether, if and when a new international economic order has been created, the poor and deprived masses will benefit. A new international economic order is a necessary, but not a sufficient, pre-condition for more justice and equality for all people. If we want to create a real perspective for all people, especially for the poorest, complementary to a new international system and policies, fundamental changes in domestic national systems and policies should be aimed at. If we fail to do so, we will not be able to spread the positive effects which a new international economic order has for individual nations through their societies, both in rich and in poor countries.

When we speak about development we mean "human development" or "people-oriented development". Let me be very clear: given the present and growing inequalities between people, human development means development oriented towards poor people. Therefore, it means much more than economic growth. The pursuit of economic growth in terms of increased production and investment in the hope that the benefits will trickle down to the poor has been a mistake. Neither poverty nor inequality have decreased.

Growth cannot be a panacea. It is not good or bad in itself. It is the aim that counts. If our aim is to increase the well-being of all people on this earth,

then the key elements for a new strategy for development should be: employment, equality, the provision of basic needs and a balanced relationship between man and his society, as well as his natural, social and cultural environment.

If we want to focus our policies on the poor, as I believe we should, the fruits of our developmental efforts should be made available to them immediately rather than in the long run. Social justice has to be an initial measure, an essential pre-condition of growth, and not its consequence, after an adequate increase of production has been realised.

From the outset people must be an effective part of the development process, both politically by means of an equal participation in the decision-making, and economically by providing employment to draw people into production and to utilise their skills and potentialities, and by providing them with at least a desirable minimum of goods and services in return for their contribution to production. A basic needs strategy implies that priority will have to be given to the production of essentials. This is also an incentive to greater efforts.

Development is an integrated process that should not be limited to elite groups, but that requires the involvement of all strata of the population. Active participation cannot be expected from people who live at a bare minimum subsistence level, if there is no real prospect of improvement for themselves and their children. A redistribution of income and wealth is not only important per se, but also in the interest of growth. A basic needs strategy serves both justice and growth.

I am aware of the reservations of many governments of developing countries with regard to the issue of social development, income distribution and justice. I note, however, that the Colombo conference has stressed that the focal point of the process of growth with social justice should be the eradication of unemployment and poverty and the recognition that structural changes would be required to achieve the objective of satisfying the basic minimum needs of the population of the developing world. I am, of course, aware of a potential conflict in international development co-operation between the sovereignty of reci-

pliant countries on the one hand and the call for social justice and income distribution in development co-operation on the other hand. And yet, I cannot see development without human development, without eradication of poverty and without participation and social change. Conditionality in development co-operation is a two way street. Developed countries can add their voice to the discussion of the critical issue of growth only if they themselves accept and carry out their international obligations. No developed country has the right to talk to developing countries on social justice and human rights, unless it is prepared to practice in its own country what is preached for others. This implies industrial readjustment to a better international division of labour, less conspicuous consumption patterns and a preparedness to apply the basic needs strategy to oneself. Similarly, developing countries cannot expect aid if resources are not used for the whole of the population and for the benefit of the poor.

NOW AT PRESENT an important political problem has arisen concerning the relation between the NIEO and a basic needs strategy. In fact, the basic needs concept has not been defined in a real dialogue with themselves. Many policy makers within developing countries are hostile to the concept because they feel that it is again a new Western invention with which they do not know exactly what to do. When they were told by Westerners that the basic needs of their people should be met, they did not get a guarantee that international income transfers would increase for that very purpose. And in practice many policy-makers within the Western world, claiming that their development aid is an instrument to the benefit of poor people within the Third World, at the same time decrease their financial and technical assistance.

And policy-makers within the Third World at the moment get the impression that we invented the basic needs target as a new device behind which we can hide away, using the fact that basic human needs have not been met as an argument to decrease instead of increase our aid. We also have not made clear by concrete policy measures that our acceptance of basic needs targets does imply the necessity of basic structural changes in the system itself. In practice, we are not implementing the structural changes which are so

necessary to create a greater perspective for peoples in the Third World, and their policy-makers think that we have invented the basic needs targets just as another instrument to go on with charity instead of an instrument which is related to their aim—a new international economic order.

IT SEEMS ALSO as if the policy-makers in the Western countries themselves are paying lip-service to the basic needs approach. So for instance it hardly has been considered a challenge for the aid and investment 'policies vis-a-vis the Third World. Aid has not been decommercialised which is a first condition to implement a basic needs strategy in order to increase the welfare of the poorest people.

This all has led us into a huge credibility gap. There is such a gap with regard to the developing countries themselves because, due to the political system which in many of these countries was created on the basis of unbalanced maximum economic growth policies, there are many governments which indeed are not very much interested in the welfare situation of larger parts of their own population. But there is also a credibility gap on the side of the developed nations in so far as they do not implement their promises in the field of aid, trade, food, etcetera.

I have come to the opinion that this dilemma—the political relation between a NIEO and a basic needs strategy within the developing countries—can only be solved politically if at the same time the NIEO is taken seriously as a guidance for necessary structural changes in the industrialised countries. If not, we will be stuck in a one-sided approach.

We need however a balanced approach, with three pillars: (1) a NIEO; (2) consequent structural changes within developing countries; (3) concomitant structural changes within industrialised countries.

In the last section I will try to elaborate some consequences for the richer countries:

CHANGES IN RICHER COUNTRIES. Industrialised countries, having defined their own interests in the implementation of the NIEO, should accept its consequences for their own domestic economic policies. If they are not willing to do so, new instabilities in inter-

national economic relations will arise, especially in the fields of investment, production and employment.

The structure of production. It is desirable that every country specializes more than at present in the production of the goods in which it is most competitive. A rational distribution of production of this kind should take account not only of differences in location, natural resources, climate, etc. but also of the level of development that a particular country has attained and the related availability or non-availability of production factors as manifested, for instance, in differences—sometimes considerable—in capital wealth and in wage levels.

Therefore, industrialised countries with their relatively large reserves of technological know-how, highly skilled labour and capital, should concentrate on producing the goods dependent upon these factors. The production of goods by simpler and highly labour-intensive processes should, as far as possible, be entrusted to the economically less developed countries.

This is, of course, only an approximate picture. It applies only to the production of goods and services that are mobile (the so-called "international products"). Moreover, there are cost factors other than labour and capital: the availability of natural resources, transport costs, etc. An optimum division of labour should, therefore, be pursued, based on an optimization of the various cost factors, and also taking account of some specific demand conditions.

Readjustments in the production structure of the industrialised countries are not a new phenomenon. Exports of manufactured products from developing to industrialised countries have increased considerably. However, this autonomous process leads to instability due to the stop and go manner in which the private investment decisions concerned are taken. And this instability leads to protective measures which impede improvements in the international division of labour.

Therefore, a restructuring policy is called for consisting of the following measures. Firstly, sector structure studies should be undertaken particularly of these industries confronted with serious difficulties or threatened by such difficulties.

Secondly, a system of indicative planning should be initiated to guide investment and production decisions in these sectors in order to implement restructuring of the sectors concerned with a specific time period, which should be neither too long nor too short (e.g. 10 years). Such a sector restructuring policy should be concerned both with bolstering existing restructuring processes and with preparing for the future. Adverse effects of the autonomous process on employment should be countered, compensated for or eliminated by means of alternative investments.

(To be concluded)

A DENIAL

The President,
Sri Lanka Freedom Party,
301, Darley Road,
Colombo 10.

12th September, 1979

Dear Madam,

An anonymous leaflet bearing the name *Randiva* has been circulated naming me as a member of its Editorial Board. This is totally false and I would like to categorically state, that I am in no way involved in this or any other campaign of a similar nature. Furthermore, I personally abhor this type of activity, and condemn these methods.

Since these anonymous leaflets have been circulated within the Party with the intention of personally and politically discrediting me, I have reported this matter to the Police for investigation, so as to discover those responsible.

I have sent copies of this letter to members of the Political Bureau, leading members of the Party and to the Press. I would like to propose that an inquiry be conducted by the Party into this matter.

I would be pleased if you would ensure the publication of this letter in the *Dinakara*, the official paper of the SLFP.

Kumar Rupasinghe

167, Castle Street,
Colombo 8,
Sri Lanka.

SIXTH SUMMIT: FEARS AND APPREHENSIONS

by S. P. Amarasingam

This is a brief day-to-day account of the highlights of the proceedings of the Sixth Summit of the Heads of State and Governments of the Non-aligned countries held in Havana in August-September this year. This diary of the Havana Summit is interpretative reportage based mainly on notes contemporaneously written each day—as the drama of the Conference unfolded itself. Only the main trends are reflected in these diary notes together with some developments that struck the writer as noteworthy or significant, at that time.

Once this diary is completed in three or four parts, a series of analytical articles on the perspectives of the Conference will be published together with a detailed scrutiny of the more important speeches made by Heads of State or Governments, the positions adopted by different countries and of the final declaration, resolutions and reservations.

In the diary and the analytical articles referred to above many of the views expressed by commentators and newspapers in different countries from within and without the Non-aligned Movement will be examined, but it will also be necessary to study in-depth other comments and views that merit special attention. This will naturally lead to an overall survey of the role played at the Havana Summit by the world press—in particular by some of the internationally better known newspapers and news agencies.

A total of 1,182 foreign journalists were in Cuba for the Sixth Summit Conference. Of these 648 worked for the press, 264 for Television, 163 for Radio, 46 for the Cinema and 61 for miscellaneous media. An overview of the pressmen and the newspapers for which they worked in the context of the heterogeneous complexities of the Non-aligned Summit make a fascinating study of how news is gathered, reported, slanted, twisted, bought, sold and distributed.

The writer hopes to weave all these and other articles he has written for foreign periodicals into a book on what is undoubtedly one of the most important international gatherings of our times.

THURSDAY, AUGUST 23:

I flew from Katunayake airport at 10.25 p.m. on Aeroflot Flight S.U. 546. This was the first time after 12 years that I ventured out on a long-distance journey. There had been, however, in the years in between, short hops to India. One could buy a ticket to Madras, but as the exchange had to be obtained on the black, no one was at ease on these trips. I attended a Disarmament Conference in New Delhi in February 1978, and it was the first time after twenty years that I was able to buy my foreign exchange for the trip legally at my Bank in Colombo.

In spite of several pre-occupations in Sri Lanka, I was anxious to attend the Havana Summit. I was able to buy my ticket to Cuba and also get adequate foreign exchange for expenses because of the policies of this Government on this matter. One is now able to travel with self-respect.

A. Aziz, leader of the plantation trade union, D. W. C., and a delegate to the Summit of the Afro-Asian Solidarity Organisation, which has an observer status in the Non-aligned Movement was also on this flight to Moscow. The IL 62 plane is comfortable plane—especially if one is lucky enough to get a seat in the first four rows—three seats on each side of the aisle. Here there is ample leg room even for the likes of me. In the seats behind, one's legs tend to be cramped in between the seats.

The Aeroflot flight—Colombo-Moscow and Moscow-Havana—is the cheapest and quickest. This particular flight from Colombo to Moscow was direct and non-stop. The flying time was about 9 hours.

FRIDAY, AUGUST 24:

The plane landed at Moscow airport at 5.50 a.m. Moscow time, that is about 8.20 a.m. Colombo time. I had hoped to stay for 36 hours in Moscow before continuing my journey. Inquiries at the Airport Airline office, however, revealed that the flight I had hoped to catch the next day was over-booked, but that the flight

that very afternoon had several vacant seats. I therefore decided to take the flight that day itself. After a few hours' rest and a quick lunch at the famous Uzbek Restaurant, I was in the air again by 4.30 p.m. on SU 343. Havana was 15½ hours' flying hours from Moscow with the IL 62 cruising between 800 and 900 kilometers an hour—with a stop of one hour at Rabat.

We reached Rabat at 10.30 p.m. Moscow time. Only Coco Cola was available in the transit lounge. I was able to walk about and stretch my legs for a while. I was lucky on this lap of the journey too having got a seat in the second row. We were in the air again by 11.30 p.m. The plane was full of Spanish-speaking passengers with a few speaking French. I was probably the one person knowing only English. Many knew Russian. Language-wise I was entering a new world.

SATURDAY, AUGUST 25:

After a flight of 9 hours from Rabat the plane touched down at Havana at about 9 a.m. Moscow time. By Cuba time it was 2 a.m. I had telegraphed from Moscow about the change of flight plans—that I would be arriving about 24 hours earlier. I was met at the airport. Other flights had also come in about that time, one from Montreal. It was 3.30 a.m. when I was able to stretch myself on a comfortable bed in a room overlooking the sea—in Nacional Hotel which was the biggest of the three hotels reserved for journalists.

I was not able to sleep although I had not in fact, slept after the night of August 22 in Colombo. I had dozed off now and again on the plane but sleep had eluded me. The time difference between Havana and Colombo was about 9 hours and I was obviously still on the Sri Lanka sleeping-time schedule.

By 9 a.m. after a shower, I was on the move. I contacted Tony Santiago from the Cuban Embassy in Colombo. He was in Havana. He told me to resist sleep till the Cuban sleeping hour was reached—so that my body mechanism could get attuned to the hours of the new world.

Nacional Hotel was a stately old building of twelve floors. It was the biggest in the old Mafia days. It was here that Frank Sinatra had

made a start and crashed his way into big time.

I spent the day getting my bearings, the Press Room at the Hotel, the Press House (Casa de la Prensa) and the Press wing at the new Conference Hall (known as the Falacio de Conferencia). Already over 500 journalists had arrived and the accreditation formalities took a good part of the afternoon. By 9.30 p.m. I dropped off to sleep.

SUNDAY, AUGUST 26:

I woke up late. There was very little to do, except to meet the journalists coming in. As of today, the Yugoslav team over-shadowed everybody else. There were already over 200 of them—press, radio, film, TV etc. More were expected.

I spent the forenoon and the early afternoon at Tony Santiago's apartment. I met his mother and his brother. I enjoyed the warm hospitality of a Cuban home. It was like being in Sri Lanka.

Before the sun went down, they took me on a round of old Havana—the Fort, the Cathedral, the old narrow streets, the small bar and restaurant where men who later had become famous had foregathered, Ernest Hemingway, Frank Sinatra, Fidel Castro and many others. The well-known rum-based cocktail *Mohito* had been first devised in this restaurant. Sleep came to me early by Cuban time on this Sunday.

MONDAY, AUGUST 27:

I met more and more journalists—from Iraq, Syria, India, Nigeria, Portugal, Mexico, the USA, Canada, France, UK, Australia. Some of them had been in Colombo for the Fifth Summit and for the June 1979 Foreign Ministers' Meeting. Wilfred Burchett, the Australian journalist, famous for writings on Vietnam and Cambodia—in fact, about the whole of Indochina—had come in last night. This is the first time I met him in the flesh and we had much to talk about.

Apart from making friends, I was making new discoveries. I had spent about 3 weeks in Cuba in November 1965. Cuba was at that time emerging from the travails of the revolution. She was then an isolated outpost in the Americas. The USA had imposed a severe

blockade and had compelled nearly all Central and South American countries to break off diplomatic relations with Cuba.

Today, 14 years later Cuba is host to 95 non-aligned countries at a Summit meeting. A vast change has come over the island. Nearly all Central and South American countries have already established diplomatic relations with Cuba and the few that have not will soon do so. At every turn I was reminded of what Cuba was then and now. I was not certain as yet whether I will be able to go out beyond the confines of the city—to see the real Cuba in the provinces and the countryside, I had seen 14 years ago. But Havana itself is good enough to know something of the change that has come over Cuba. It was not in the buildings, the new houses or the new schools. The city has obviously been cleaned, wite-washed and brightened up for the Summit. It was not all this that impressed me. It was the people. A new people and especially a new intelligentsia has come into being—something that did not exist in 1965.

Ernest Corea, Sri Lanka's Ambassador to Cuba with residence in Canada met me at the Nacional together with a few other members of the official delegation. They were in Hotel Havana Libre, a few blocks away from the Nacional. Corea told me that he would do the briefing for the Sri Lanka press. I was the only one there so far. A few more were expected. Rex de Silva of the Sun, T. M. Abdeen, *Daily News* man from the New York and Mervyn de Silva of *Lanka Guardian*. Professor A. W. (Archie) Singham, now teaching at the City University in New York and who had covered Non-aligned meetings for the *Tribune* in 1977 and 1978 in New York, Havana and Belgrade arrived late that evening. *Tribune* thus had a team of two. SLBC's Chairman, Eamon Kariyakarawana and Jimmy Barucha were also due on the 31st.

But knowing how busy our officials would be when the Conference got under way, I lost no time in making my contacts with delegations whom I had met and known in Colombo and New Delhi to get information. Archie Singham knew nearly all the Caribbean and most of the Latin American delegations. He had taught in the University of Jamaica at Kingston for ten years. It was impossible not to be impulsively drawn to the more articulate delegations

from Africa and I made friends with several of them.

There was an expectant mood among journalists in Nacional. Many from the USA, West and some Asian countries too were certain that the Conference would split wide open on Kampuchea, Egypt and what they called the Cuba determination to make the Soviet and socialist bloc the "natural allies" of the non-aligned. Many of these journalists had a copy of the Cuban draft of the final declaration (circulated among member countries in June this year) with the passages marked out as being the matters on which the split will come. Some of them even had copies of the amendments, changes, alternate formulations that certain important non-aligned countries would move to blast Cuba into submission. After a few Mohitos, Diaquiris, golden extra-dry rum on the rocks, their tongues loosened and they were willing to confide in those willing to listen to their tales. They predicted doomsday for Cuba and the Soviet-leaning radical countries at the Summit.

Journalists from Non-aligned countries who did not want a split or the Summit ruined were apprehensive that the worst might happen. This was the atmosphere on the eve of the meeting of the Co-ordination Bureau at Ambassadorial level scheduled to open tomorrow.

TUESDAY, AUGUST 28:

The question of the Kampuchean representation was very much in the air. The representatives of both the ousted Pol Pot regime and the Heng Samrin Government were in Havana, but neither was given a seat. Cuba had taken the position that until the Conference made a decision, it could not seat either—even though the Pol Pot group had been the sitting member earlier. Before the meeting began many Ambassadors were of the view that there would be no fireworks at their two-day session on procedural matters. They felt that flashpoint issues such as the question of Kampuchean representation and hard-line Arab attempts to oust Egypt over its peace treaty with Israel would not surface until the Foreign Ministers met on Thursday.

The Co-ordination Bureau Meeting opened at 10 a.m. The Chairman, Sri Lanka's

B. J. Fernando, made the opening speech in customary style. Immediately after the agenda for the meeting was finalised, Malaysia raised the question why Pol Pot representatives were not at the Meeting as they were in New York, Maputo and Colombo. Malaysia and 23 other countries among them Singapore, Indonesia, Zaire, Gabon, Sudan, Mali, Togo, Zambia, Nigeria, Yugoslavia and North Korea criticised Cuba for what they said was unilateral action in unseating Pol Pot without a decision from the Foreign Ministers or Heads of State. Some countries went on to say that this might be a foretaste of what Cuba might do as Chairman.

Cuba justified her action by stating that it had been agreed that Colombo was not to be a precedent. Two had applied to represent one country and Cuba had excused both. The sitting member was no longer in control of the territory. Both groups had been invited to be in Havana until a decision was made.

Raul Roa Kouri, Cuba's permanent representative to the United Nations, reading a statement on the Kampuchean question at the meeting stated: "1. Cuba recognizes the Government of the People's Republic of Kampuchea, based in the country's capital Phnom Penh, as the only legitimate representative of the Kampuchean people. 2. Cuba does not recognize the juridical existence nor the legal validity of the alleged government of Democratic Kampuchea which has no geographical base in the territory of Kampuchea and lacks legal substance as well as juridical status. 3. Cuba, as host country, will abstain from authorizing credentials for participation in the Conference to any of the parties claiming to represent Kampuchea until the matter has been officially resolved by the Conference. Cuba will act, as it has done in all cases, strictly according to the decisions made by the Movement of Non-aligned countries. 4. Exercising its rights as host country and acting in accordance with the traditions of the Movement, Cuba has invited the member countries to the Conference. 5. In light of the special situation created, until now Cuba had abstained from inviting Kampuchea while waiting for the Conference to make decisions in this respect or to find, through the action of the member countries, another solution. 6. However, given that the Conference will

soon begin and in view of the statement made by the representatives of the alleged Democratic Republic of Kampuchea declaring their intention to be present in the host country during the discussions in which it will be decided which party will occupy the seat of Kampuchea, Cuba, out of the fundamental principles of impartiality and in compliance with its duties as host country, has decided the following: (a) to invite the legitimate Government of the People's Republic of Kampuchea based on Kampuchean territory and with its seat in Phnom Penh, so that they can be present in our country and exercise their rights in the Movement of Non-aligned countries while waiting for the Conference to reach a decision; (b) to offer the necessary facilities so that the persons that identify themselves as the representatives of the alleged Government of Democratic Kampuchea can be present on Cuban territory during the 6th Summit while waiting for the Conference's decision on the matter."

Fourteen countries backed Cuba. But forty countries abstained from the discussions noticeably Egypt and most Arab countries. The debate on the Kampuchean issue went on right through the day. The twenty-four countries wanting the *status quo* had made lengthy speeches and even lengthier replies. Past midnight Ambassador Fernando ruled that there was no consensus and that the matter should be put up to the Foreign Ministers. India, which had not participated in the discussions so far, wanted the ruling accepted. It was. And the meeting adjourned for the morning when the other items on the agenda would be discussed.

The most significant aspect of the debate on Kampuchea at the Meeting was that those for the seating of Pol Pot insisted that they were not discussing the politics of the dispute; that the alleged genocide and other violations of human rights by the Pol Pot group was an "internal matter" and that they were concerned solely with the procedural question. They condemned Vietnam and wanted Hanoi's troops withdrawn from Kampuchea. Kampuchea was made the ghost to stalk the Conference. From the views one could gather from the countries which had abstained from participating in the polemics, it was

obvious that their trend of thinking was to deny either group any representation and to keep the seat vacant until the matter resolved itself in the crucible of history.

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 29:

Sri Lanka's Foreign Minister, A. C. S. Hameed, arrived this morning. Shortly after 10 a.m. he met Cuban Foreign Minister, Isidore Malmierca, to discuss views on important matters likely to come up at the Foreign Ministers' meeting tomorrow.

After the storm on Kampuchea yesterday, the adjourned meeting of the Co-ordination Bureau at Ambassadors' level today went off peacefully and quietly. The meeting concluded earlier than expected with all other items on the agenda being agreed on without any difficulty or dispute. They fixed the agenda for the Foreign Ministers. They also finalised organisational issues such as the Conference Secretariat.

The list of new members, guests and observers to be admitted were agreed on—to be submitted to the Foreign Ministers for Confirmation. The new members were Iran, Pakistan, Surinam, Santa Lucia, Grenada, Bolivia and Nicaragua. Nicaragua's application was accepted by general applause with only Zaire objecting.

Whilst western correspondents were still certain that a split was inevitable with 24 in favour of Pol Pot as against 14, the mood among the vast majority of delegations was different. Gloomy predictions that Havana will see the end of non-alignment were not heard among them. All delegates I met from a large number of countries were confident that whatever the differences and disputes, Havana will be a success and that unity will not only be preserved but further strengthened.

One surprising development was the "request" made by Yugoslavia at the meeting of Co-ordination Bureau that she should be the rapporteur of the Conference. At all earlier meetings of the non-aligned countries, the host country has acted as the rapporteur. This attempt by Yugoslavia to change the usual practice was regarded as one more in its long list of procedural devices to denigrate the position of Cuba as the Chairman. As no

consensus was possible on this request by Yugoslavia the matter was referred to the Foreign Ministers.

The meeting concluded with B. J. Fernando, Sri Lanka's Ambassador to UN, and who had presided at the meeting, expressing the conviction that the successful work of the Preparatory Committee would contribute to the favourable outcome of the Summit.

Marshall Tito arrived in Havana this evening. He was the first of the big-timers in the Non-aligned Movement to come to Cuba. His prematurely early arrival was regarded by all as part of the Yugoslav determination to dominate the Conference and to cut Castro and Cuba down to size. Nearly all the foreign journalists felt that Yugoslavia was throwing its weight around to show that as the only surviving founding father of the Movement it had more than a proprietary interest in it. Many delegations obviously resented this.

(To Be Continued)

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WINDOW ON INDIA—15

Indira Gandhi And Shifting Party Alignments

by R. Varadachari

Press Trust of India Correspondent in Colombo

EVEN AS POLITICAL PARTIES are having confabulations among themselves to work out various permutations and combinations for alliances, adjustments and no-contest pacts for the forthcoming Indian general elections, a high-level judicial probe into the indigenous small car project launched by Mrs. Indira Gandhi's son, Sanjay, has drawn the former Indian Prime Minister once again to the centre of a political controversy which is gaining momentum. The ambitious venture by Sanjay Gandhi was a dismal failure and the car, to be named after the Hindu mythological God of Wind, "Maruti", never came out of the assembly lines.

The ill-fated Janata Government of Mr. Morarji Desai appointed on May 31, 1977 a

one-member commission comprising Justice A. C. Gupta, a sitting member of the Supreme Court, to go into the irregularities connected with the project. The Commission submitted its 541-page report exactly two years later on May 31 this year. The report has severely indicted Mrs. Gandhi for helping her younger son in setting up the Maruti project on the strength of her high office and for exercising pressure on Government officials to see the project through. *The caretaker Charan Singh Government chose to release the report on September 7 after the opposition Janata Party President, Mr. Chandra Sekhar, released the first chapter of the report and threatened to publicise the other chapters one by one.*

In its revealing concluding remarks, the report says: "From the interest taken by men from the (then) Prime Minister's Secretariat and the way even matters connected with the country's defence were subordinated to the interest of the Maruti Limited, and the prevailing sense of obedience, one is left in no doubt as to the origin of the power that made such a state of affairs possible. Mr. Sanjay Gandhi exercised only a derivative power; its source was the authority of the Prime Minister (Mrs. Gandhi)".

The Gupta Commission also brings to light other abuses of power and authority by the Government in respect of matters connected with the project such as subordination of defence needs by permitting the project to be located with the flying funnel of a defence services air field in Haryana State in North India, coercion of businessmen and traders to invest money or to give deposits to the Maruti project, misleading of the Parliament by ministers through wrong statements, use of fraudulent means to raise funds for the project and siphoning off of the funds to two private limited companies predominantly owned by Mrs. Gandhi's relatives and other wide ranging irregularities and violations of all established procedures.

THE COMMISSION observes that the project was raised with others' money but those who paid several lakhs of rupees neither got the car nor the money back. Those who demanded the money back were threatened with imprisonment under emergency regulations and thus silenced. At another point the com-

mission observes: "one gets an impression that Mrs. Gandhi was not quite unconcerned in the matter of her son's business enterprise." The Commission also highlights the point that none of the four conditions specially laid down in the letter of intent issued to Mr. Sanjay Gandhi's project had been fulfilled. In spite of this, Mr. Sanjay Gandhi was given the license to go ahead with the manufacture of the car. The Commission has also found that the license was issued in contravention of one of the conditions relating to the road worthiness of the car to be certified by an authority appointed for the purpose by the Government,

The Gupta Commission makes the grave observation that every person in public life "was in danger of having his political career ruined" if he went against the wishes of Mr. Sanjay Gandhi in respect of the project. Threat of detention or an inquiry by the Central Bureau of Investigation or other forms of harassment made it hazardous for the officers to insist on the rules or the dealers and depositors to insist on their rights. In a sad commentary on the irregularities connected with the Maruti Project, the Commission says "The Maruti affair has brought about a decline in the integrity of public life and sullied the purity of the administration."

It is pertinent to note that almost all the allegations made by the Opposition in the Parliament relating to the project during Mrs. Gandhi's rule and stoutly denied then by the Government benches, have been upheld by the Commission. One respected Indian political commentator, Kuldeep Nayar, has observed that in any other democracy anyone found guilty by such a commission as Mrs. Gandhi has been would have voluntarily retired from public life and has pointed out that Richard Nixon had done so for a smaller offence.

Mrs. Gandhi has however summarily rejected the Gupta Commission report as "politically motivated." She has not even sought to defend her acts of omission and commission and has made an attempt to side step the issue by observing that the people, particularly the backward classes and minority communities, are not concerned with the report and were more concerned with

their security and welfare.

THE JANATA PARTY OF MR. JAGJIVAN RAM is most anxious to derive at the hustings the maximum advantage out of the Gupta Commission's report. The President of the party, Mr. Chandra Sekhar, who had forced the Charan Singh Government to release the commission's report, has said that it had been written "with exemplorary precision" and is of "greatest national importance" and documented "an entire style of functioning." "It shows how, under the cover of high-sounding slogans and the cry of national emergency, a nation is looted." Mr. Chandra Sekhar wants cases relating to criminalities established by the Commission should be filed in special courts without delay. The Government, he has stressed, should not evade action on the ground that a policy matter is involved and is beyond the purview of a caretaker administration. *Supporters of Mrs. Gandhi have taken a very belligerent stand and have threatened "civil war" if the caretaker government launched any action against their leader on the basis of the Gupta Commission's report.*

In spite of pressures from his own ranks to bring to book Mrs. Gandhi, Mr. Charan Singh, in view of the caretaker character of his government, has preferred to deal with Mrs. Gandhi on a political plane at the forthcoming general elections. He is not in favour of penalising her at this stage as, in his view, it would only give her a political advantage. How far the findings of the Gupta Commission will influence the Indian voters against Mrs. Gandhi is not immediately clear. But it is certain that it will be one of the major talking points in the election campaign. As many Indian political analysts have pointed out, if the Shah Commission had brought to light how Mrs. Gandhi used her emergency powers to buttress her position as the Prime Minister, the Gupta Commission has brought to focus how she had used her official authority for furthering her family interests. **She is certainly answerable to the electorate on these two counts and they alone are the ultimate arbiters.**

MEANWHILE THE OFFICIAL CONGRESS has unananimously elected Mr. Devraj Urs, the Karnataka Chief Minister, as its President, in the place of Mr. Swaran Singh, who had

not been a hardliner in the Party's confrontation with the Indira Congress. The Official Congress has two-fold objective in opting for the leadership of Mr. Urs. It wants to wage a relentless battle against the Indira Congress in the forthcoming elections and Mr. Urs who had shown courage to break from her is best suited to head the crusade. By electing Mr. Urs the party also wants to erode Mrs. Gandhi's hold on the South which was her power base in the last general elections.

The pattern of election alliances among the Indian political parties is slowly emerging. In the North, the Jammu and Kashmir National Conference of Chief Minister Sheikh Abdullah, has decided to have an alliance with the Indira Congress. The Indira Congress is the natural choice for the Sheikh as the Janata Party is allegedly dominated by Hindu revivalist elements and the interests of the minority communities cannot be safe under the Janata rule. And the Janata (Secular) ruling coalition is too weak a force in Kashmir to be reckoned with and would not have benefitted him if he had formed an alliance with it. Also it was only during Mrs. Gandhi's rule, Sheikh Abdullah joined the national main stream after being in political wilderness for long and became the Chief Minister of Kashmir, of course after shedding his separatist cry.

In Tamil Nadu in the South there was an unexpected turn of events with the Indira Congress opting for electoral alliance with the Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam of Mr. M. Karunanidhi. Earlier efforts for a compromise between him and Mr. M. G. Ramachandran, Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu who heads the break-away All India Anna Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam, initiated by Mr. Biju Patnaik, the Indian Minister of Steel, failed. Mr. Karunanidhi insisted on the merger of the two parties under his party's label and banner while Mr. Ramachandran was prepared for only an electoral understanding. And hence Mr. Patnaik's initiative collapsed.

The Indira Congress-DMK understanding has come as a surprise to other political parties who have dubbed it as an "unholy alliance" and "unprincipled opportunism". They point out that there was no love lost till lately between the

two parties. Mrs. Gandhi did not have any compunction to dismiss his ministry in Tamil Nadu in 1976 and institute a judicial enquiry into charges of corruption against him and his council of ministers.

Mr. Ramachandran whose ADMK has two ministers in the caretaker ministry of Mr. Charan Singh at the centre is now left with no alternative but to continue his alliance with the ruling coalition. Strangely only three months ago, the ADMK had supported a candidate belonging to the Indira Congress in the Thanjavur parliamentary by-election while the DMK had fielded a candidate against the Indira Congress and lost.

Now within so short a time there has been a political volte face on the part of both the Tamil regional parties and the Indira Congress. This only reinforces the observation made in the previous commentary that in the process of forging alliances and groupings the accent is not so much on like-minded parties sharing the same platforms as preventing their common opponents from deriving Special advantage from multi-cornered contests.

Notice Under Section 7 Of The Land Acquisition Act (Cap. 460) As Amended By The Land Acquisition (Amendment) Act No. 28 Of 1964.

Ref. No. 031/2/194

It is intended to acquire the land described in the Schedule below. For further particulars see the Gazette No. 56 (Part III) dated 28-09-1979 of the Democratic Socialist Republic of Sri Lanka.

Schedule

Situation: Pitigala village, within the Grama Sevaka Division No. 30 Pitigala in the D.R.O.'s Division of Bentota Walalawiti Korale (East) in Galle District.

Name of land: Udumullahenawatta

Plan and Lot No.: Supplement No. 6 of F.V.P. 592 - Lot No. 727

W. E. L. Fernando
Acquiring Officer,
Galle District

The Kachceri,
Galle. 10th September 1979.

But then such is the meandering course of Indian politics today with parties pronouncing shifting principles, assuming volatile postures and developing fragile loyalties to suit their ends in the power struggle which is hotting up day by day.

—SLBC talk (22.9.79)

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SRI LANKA CHRONICLE

Sept. 13 — Sept. 16

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

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

THURSDAY. SEPTEMBER 13: President J. R. Jayawardene has told his Cabinet Ministers that bad projects, preparation is one of the major development constraints in the implementation of government development policies; he has laid down specific procedures to overcome this drawback in respect of Foreign Aid projects costing over \$ 50,000 and locally financed projects over Rs. 2 million. Over 100 foreign parcels containing drugs consigned to the Director of Health Services, Colombo have not been cleared from the post office since April last year for want of a vehicle. The government has decided to have a special insurance scheme to cover the lives and craft of the country's 12,000 strong sea-going fishermen, a Fisheries Ministry spokesman said yesterday. President J. R. Jayawardene said in Japan yesterday that Sri Lanka is one of those few developing countries in the Third-World which has been commented on favourably for its long political stability under a dynamic democratic set up. The Chief Magis-

trate of Colombo yesterday refused an application by the Rev. Mathew Peiris's Senior Counsel asking that Rev. Peiris be released on bail from the Remand Prison pending any further action by the State. The Fisheries Minister Mr. Festus Perera has launched a massive housing project to put up 12,000 houses in fishing villages to ease the housing problem among fishermen. Sri Lanka President J. R. Jayewardene, and the Japanese Prime Minister Masayoshi Ohira were deeply satisfied with the outcome of the talks and concluded that President Jayewardene's visit had greatly contributed to further strengthening and developing the many bonds of friendship and understanding between the two countries, a joint communique issued in Tokyo yesterday said—*CDN*. President J. R. Jayewardene yesterday expressed the hope that West Germany and Japan would help build two reservoirs as part of Sri Lanka's Mahaweli Irrigation programme—*CDM*. President J. R. Jayewardene told Japanese business leaders yesterday that he had not come to them on bended knees for aid, but had come to ask them to trade with Sri Lanka and invest with it. Theft of government property in any department is to be made a non-bailable offence and the vehicle used for transportation of such property will be confiscated. The Janata Vimukthi Peramuna (JVP) is ready to join hands with the rest of the Left in the country, disregarding all differences, to protest against the laws that the present Government is enacting to stifle the Trade Unions, JVP Deputy Leader Upatissa Gamanayake told a rally held in Colombo yesterday—*SU*. The Government has decided to abolish the Customs duty on a variety of agricultural inputs to keep production costs to the farmer as low as possible; authoritative official sources said today that the government decision covers a variety of implements like tillers, disc harrows, ploughs, mammothies etc.—*CO*. "Because, Tamil, Sinhala and Muslim people in the District of Trincomalee are living in a mixed proportion, two more electoral wards should be added to the existing three" said Mr. H. D. L. Leelaratne MP for Seruwila while giving evidence before the Electoral Districts Limitation Commission yesterday—*VK*. The picketing campaign against the Essential Public Services Bill has been highly successful according to provincial reporters—*JD*.



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FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 14: Greater Colombo Economic Commission (GCEC) Director-General Upali Wijewardene said yesterday that the recent Singapore Investment Promotion Seminar was a tremendous success; at the time he left Singapore over 400 inquiries had been received from Singapore firms and branches of Multi-national companies he said. President and Mrs. Jayewardene attended a religious ceremony at Zojciji temple this morning; later a joint reception was held at Tokyo Prince Hotel by the heads of prominent Buddhist sects of Japan under the chairmanship of Japan Buddhist Federation in honour of President and Mrs. Jayewardene. About 600,000 tons of crude oil will come our way from Saudi Arabia in 1980 in 20 instalments; two top officials of the Ceylon Petroleum Corporation left for Saudi Arabia yesterday to sign the contract for the supply of this oil. Many landlords in Colombo have asked foreign diplomats occupying their premises to quit; cashing in on the high land values and the influx of foreign businessmen, these landlords are demanding rents which one diplomat described as "really fantastic". The Minister of Education and Higher Education Dr. Nissanka Wijeyeratne will today address a seminar which will be attended by about 22,000 teachers appointed after the Government assumed office—**CDN**. A team of officers, directed by Mr. Harsha Abeyawardena, General Secretary of the UNP, is now engaged in helping people who have suffered injustices over the issue of food stamps; all discrepancies in the issue of food stamps to people who are entitled to them are inquired into. The Sri Lanka Freedom Party's Progressive Front has in the leaflet issued to members criticised the role of Mrs. Sirimavo Bandaranaike and her close followers for their negative contribution to the progressive movement of the country—**CDM**. Government is to set up a Ministerial Security Division to handle the personal security of Cabinet Ministers. The extent of the narcotics problem in Lanka was brought sharply into focus when the Wellawaya Police seized 3,66,000 grains of ganja being transported in a vehicle. About 2,000 minor irrigation tanks in the dry zone area are to be reconstructed with a World Bank loan of about 15 million US dollars—**SU**. Agricultural production in the country has declined and the government is considering to give as much relief as possible

with a view to encouraging the farmers—**DP**. The government is considering setting up a new Insurance scheme for Public and Corporation employees—**DV**. While the President has invited Japanese businessmen to invest in Sri Lanka saying there is cheap labour, Singapore Construction firms which are to construct buildings have on the invitation of the PM trying to bring cheaper Chinese labour to work in their construction sites—**ATH**. The 4,000 excess workers who have to leave the RVDB are to be paid Rs 20 million and 10,000 acres of land will be distributed from developing areas among them—**LD**. The government has decided to hold a complete investigation on machinery and equipment which is not being used by public departments and corporations. A large number of Unions and the public have informed the Government that millions of rupees worth of equipment and machinery which could be operated with minor repairs are not being used—**DM**.

SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 15: Sri Lanka has been losing millions of rupees in foreign exchange due to off-grade teas remaining unsold at successive auctions in Colombo since July 3 when the floor price was raised from Rs. 4 to 8 a kilo; to date some 3 million kilos of unsold off-grade which could have earned the country an estimated Rs. 45 million are lying in the City godowns and in factories. A government spokesman said that the situation was not as bad as the brokers described it. The next Greater Colombo Economic Commission Investment Promotion Seminar is to be held in California later this year a GCEC spokesman said yesterday. Sordid ragging has been taking place at the Moratuwa University in the last few days; reports of ragging have been made to the University authorities and University Grants Commission, Professor Stanley Kalpage said yesterday. Dr. Nissanka Wijeyeratne Ministers of Education and Higher Education, said that he would take stern steps to get rid of all types of ragging from the Universities. A proposal to set up the first ever Asian-Pacific Regional Coconut Training Centre was unanimously endorsed by the member-countries of the Asian Pacific Coconut Community (APCC) when they wound up their four-day conference at the BMICH yesterday. The CTB with the co-operation of the police is to come down hard from Monday

on violators of the footboard travel and smoking ban in CTB buses a spokesman said—CDN. The turnover of Sri Lanka's new national carrier, during the first year of operation, which was estimated to be in the range of Rs. 550 million, would go up to about Rs. 750 million; the Chairman and Managing Director of Air-lanka, Capt. Rakkitha Wikramanayake made this new optimistic estimation yesterday, when he met the foreign correspondents, based in Sri Lanka at his office. Male and female freshers at the Moratuwa University were forced to strip, crawl on their bellies, rub chillie powder on their bodies and to drink arrack mixed with urine; these were some of the sordid forms of ragging that took place during university admissions this year. A five-judge bench of the Supreme Court will hear the application by the SLFP challenging the constitutionality of the new Essential Public Services Bill on Thursday, September 20—SU. The Minister of Trade has proposed to the Government that fertilisers to paddy cultivation should be given free or at a reduced price for the next two or three years, pointing out that after commissioning the Urea fertilizer factory there wont be any shortage of fertiliser—LD. Police is taking steps to collect over Rs. 100 million from co-operation directors and chairman; this is the amount lost by co-operatives because of corruption, theft and malpractices—DM. The debate in Parliament on the Essential Public Services Bill will be probably postponed because of the case filed by the SLFP against this Bill. The Secretary of the World Trade Union Federation has sent a cable requesting the President to withdraw the Essential Public Services Bills saying it was a threat to the working people—DK.

SUNDAY, SEPTEMBER 16: The National Science Council of Sri Lanka has reported to President J. R. Jayewardene that the quality of scientific staff in important institutions has deteriorated considerably, standards have fallen and the younger staffers are filled with a sense of frustration and grave dissatisfaction; this is stated in a memorandum responding to a Presidential directive to the Council to formulate a program for the implementation of Government's science policy—SO. Interpol has told the Sri Lankan authorities that drastic action must be taken immediately to prevent

Colombo becoming a new centre of narcotic racketeers—ST. Sri Lanka has clinched its first ever long-term oil deal with the Sultanate of Oman; in terms of negotiations concluded by the Chairman of the Ceylon Petroleum Corporation, Daham Wimalasena with Oman's Minister of Petroleum Affairs, they will supply 360,000 metric tons—one sixth of the country's requirements for next year. Ceylon Tea Board Chairman Bertie Warusavitharana yesterday warned that the lack of understanding between planters and the state organisations would lead to the detriment of the planter, the tea industry and the country—WK. Payment of customs duty has been completely relaxed for gifts consigned to charitable and social service institutions from abroad; at the same time a condition has been introduced that such gift parcels should be opened and distributed in the presence of an authorised officer—CM. Investigations were started last week to find out what goes on in Secret Camps in the middle of jungles; these camps are suspected to have been in operation for a long time—RR. The Government is considering setting up a 3-member peace-council to solve problems arising between villagers in the village itself—SLDP.

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

Ref. No. /3154

It is intended to acquire the lands/land described in the Schedule below. For further particulars please see the Gazette of the Democratic Socialist Republic of Sri Lanka No. 56 of 28-09-1979 (Part III).

Schedule

Situation: In the village of Dondra East, Wellaboda Pattu West and Four Gravets, Matara District.

Name of Land: Wadiyawatta
Lot & Plan No.: Lots 1 to 5 in Preliminary Plan No. 000/943

C. D. Vidanapathirana
Acquiring Officer,
Matara District.

The Kachcheri,
Matara. 6th September 1979

Confidentially

LORD KIEFEL?

IS IT NOT TRUE that *Migara* has done a thorough job of exposing the Syndicate about which we cited passages from his column in the *Weekend* of July 1, 1979; "From where does this syndicate obtain all the money to live in such opulence to be so philanthropic and leave almost none untouched? Lord Kiefel is a young man. But he is also a wise and experienced man. What more than having courted jail being the victim of an anti-SLFP witch-hunt conducted soon after the break of the SLFP-LSSP-CP coalition. As a result he is a very careful man now. He now refrains from dealing in crooked affairs directly. Instead he has what are called 'front-men'. They do the rackets. He merely rakes in commissions running into tens of thousands for pay-offs. That is only one method. His close contact with several key men in Government today, also gives leverage in clinching Government contracts which has a lot of money in it. It has been done to the extent of the ruling party being compelled to take steps in a very influential undertaking with very high personalities. The membership of one of them in the party hierarchy itself is threatened. Petitions are believed to have been sent to the President himself. It was a case of Lord Kiefel almost taking over a Government taken-over institution. He also is reputed to be dealing in many 'golden' items, in addition to his normal activities. Several men are his paid agents. That is in addition to being State officers, they are paid in cash and kind. His influence is such that if one needs to become a respected man in the area he resides, with a title at the end of his name and able to sign documents, then the man to contact is who else but Lord Kiefel. He will do the needful as he did last week to two of his men as a matter of custom. He is no representative of the people, but wields influence with them, Wives of prominent politicians (the names will shock you) visit his Embassy to use his fleet of cars which are readily at the disposal of influential personalities. We are not quite certain who foots the

soaring petrol bill. But what is intriguing is the fact that whatever Government comes to power, he rules the roost. He is a firm believer of: 'Every man his price. It only depends on whether it is whisky, television, cars or simply money'. That it is obvious that this powerful man is a power under every government that has been in power in recent times." That in the same article *Migara* goes on to reveal the power and influence of this sinister man of the underworld? "Lord Kiefel is able to dabble even in such complicated affairs of the State as transfers of officers. A certain individual was able to contact a VIP position through Lord Kiefel and that politico moved none other than the clergy to lobby his case. Mrs. Sirima Bandaranaike on two occasions tried to transfer this same gentleman sometime back out of a station beyond the Bentara ganga, but was foiled due to representations made by the clergy. The transfer was not for political reasons alone. Lord Kiefel's closeness to some left-wing leaders cost him dearly. He was tried under a judicial inquiry and remanded. Yet, in the same way, he has been able to wield his influence to get persons nominated as candidates of the Sri Lanka Freedom Party at the last general elections. Some prominent Government politicians now, are in fact his own business employees.....

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AFTER HAVANA

MALAYSIA is obviously determined to pursue an independent foreign policy despite pressures from China, the USA and Singapore to renounce its neutral, though so far somewhat wavering, political line. At Havana, Malaysia had betrayed signs of being on the horns of a dilemma. The current visit of Prime Minister Hussein Onn to the USSR is clear indication that Malaysia has refused to be badgered into following a strong anti-Vietnam line. In the context of Southeast Asian geopolitics, Hussein Onn's visit to Moscow at this time has great significance.

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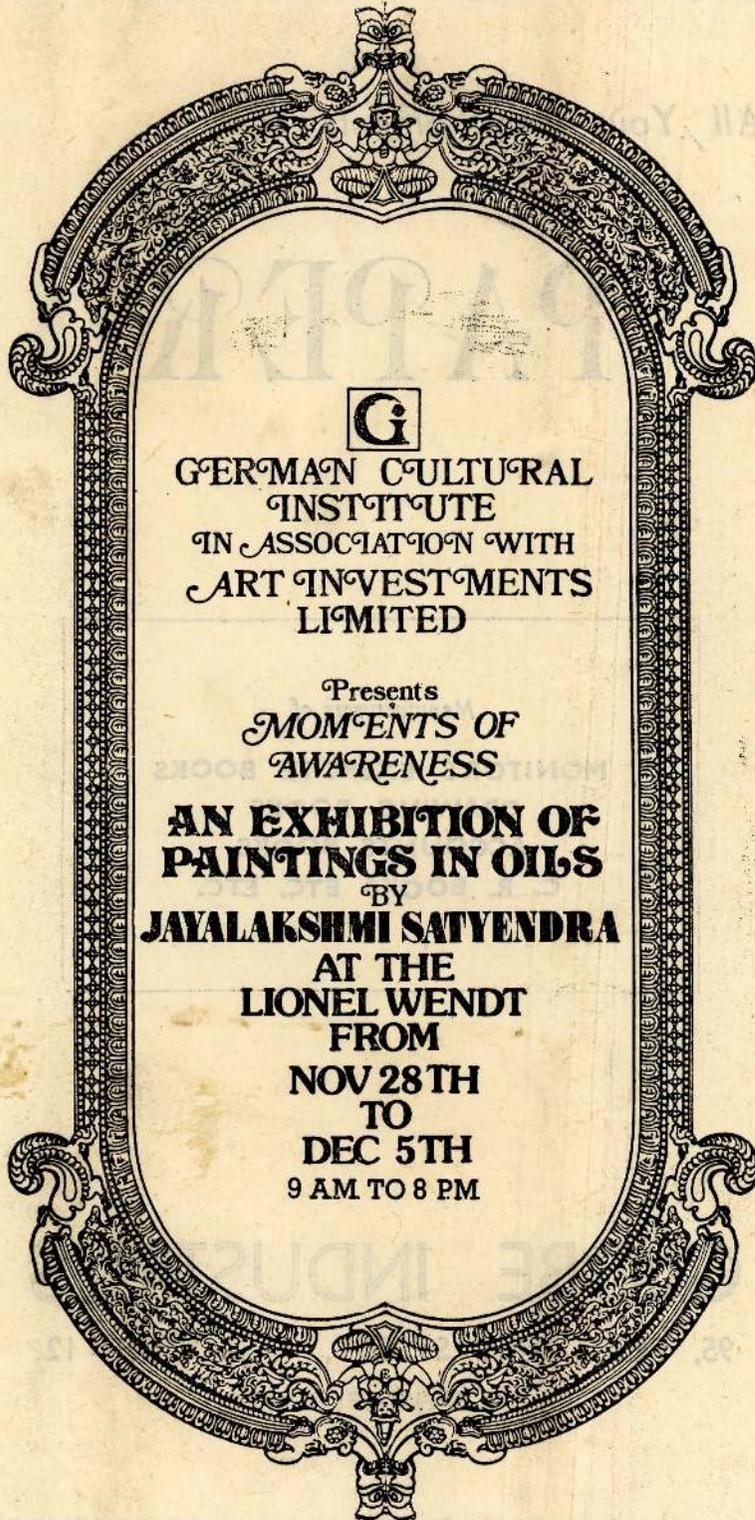
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