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# TRIBUNE



**25TH YEAR OF PUBLICATION**



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## From Our Desk

ON THE COVER, this week, we have a picture of a priest writing with a stylus on an ola leaf. It is an ancient art no longer necessary in an age when even the most sophisticated printing presses such as we have known in the post second-world war period have become obsolete. Today, even in the poor Third World of yet under-developed economies we must move into the era of electronic, televised and computerised mass communication and printing technologies if we do not want to see a new dark age in our lands under the onslaught of a new cultural imperialism. Unless Sri Lanka and all other countries similarly placed in the Third World make a determined effort to equip themselves to achieve, maintain and sustain intellectual freedom, cultural identity and national self-interest, they will soon be completely snowed under by the new colonialism of a few rich white races whose technological superiority in mass communication enables them to dominate the world of ideas and information. Such control of the minds of the vast millions on this earth is only a prelude to a new colonialist-cum-imperialist sway over the vast natural and manpower resources of this planet for the few to become richer and the overwhelming majority to grovel in poverty, starvation, ignorance and misery. Already the signs of this world-wide onslaught on national identity and independence have become apparent in nearly all countries that had emerged from colonial subjection only a few decades ago. In Sri Lanka, the signs and symptoms of this new enslavement are daily becoming more overwhelming without any protest even from those who should know better—so insidious and so subtle is the creeping cultural invasion that has begun to eat into the vitals of our national independence and identity. From simple matters to big we are becoming victims of the new Dark Age that has been unleashed upon the world by a handful of big white chiefs whose interlocked directorates operate from New York, London, Paris, Amsterdam, Bonn and a few other capitals. The new Japanese samurais in control of their mighty cartels (zaibatsus?) are not white, but they are part of the same menace. A few simple matters will show that the new age of colonial damnation has begun to cast its shadows over this island. In the past such cultural enslavement had only a small elite in its grip. Today the masses are being drawn in their millions into the vortex of de-nationalisation. The sarong and the saree (not to mention the village—not the Cinnamon Gardens—cloth and jacket) are being discarded in favour of the blue jeans, bell bottoms and the skintight sheath frocks. The people in the streets of Colombo and even provincial towns are fast becoming no different from the ant-like humans that rush in and out of tube stations in London, New York, or any western city. Our traditional folk songs, lullabies and lyrics have been drowned out of existence by the new pop-beat. (There is nothing intrinsically wrong in the blue jean, bell bottom or pop music but when they become instruments to destroy and obliterate traditional dress and music on a national scale—not among a small elite alone—it is time to start thinking). There are even more distressing symptoms of the new malaise. Narcotics are replacing the cigar and betel nuts. The gangster is now the hero of our youth.

# TRIBUNE

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## EDITOR'S NOTEBOOK

### Disturbing And Distressing

IN SPITE of the self-adulatory and pompous speeches that Ministers and MPs continue to make, the situation in the country continues to get worse. The Rs. 55 compulsory increase in wages enforced by the Government runs completely contrary to the free liberal market economy which the government claims to uphold. In such an economy, wages must follow market trends of supply and demand within the larger frame-work of a national wage structure. Wages Boards and collective bargaining are useful and institutional devices to fix wages—especially in a free market capitalist economy. A governmental *diktat* that wages be compulsorily increased by all employers—state, public and private—violates every accepted principle of free enterprise. Such unilateral and arbitrary wage increases would have been condemned by the UNP, if it was in the Opposition, as *totalitarian* devices in a controlled economy.

Such wage increases will tend to push out of business the small trader, businessman and farmer. Only the large firms, multinationals, and smuggler mafias can afford these increases. And what is worse, these wage increases will not help to solve any economic problem. They only tend to accentuate the inflation. The galloping increases in the prices of basic essentials, due to the withdrawal of subsidies and the ministerial and bureaucratic bungling in the implementation of obsolete and unrealistic policies of a so-called free and liberalised economy, cannot be bridged by the compulsory wage increases—Rs. 50 in 1978 and Rs. 55 in 1979.

**In fact, an economist will characterise these wages as insufficient wage subsidies from the government treasury and also tax-like levies on the private employer. It would have been more straightforward to have maintained the subsidies on goods and services instead of resorting to the dishonesty of subsidised wages.**

**The excuse will of course be trotted out that global economic conditions are**

**responsible for Sri Lanka's difficulties. This is no doubt true, but only partially. Inept and amateurish government policies have made matters worse than they need have been. Boastful ministers may not want to admit this, but the common people will soon have no alternative or option but to come to this conclusion.**

All too late in the day, there is governmental talk about "containing inflation". It is, once again, a story of locking the stable doors after the horses had bolted. According to the *Sun* of September 25: "Government has estimated that the rate of inflation, now at 14 per cent, may increase to 20 per cent by 1980. The Central Bank has been advised to take the necessary precautions against such an eventuality. The probable increase has been pointed out to the Government by Trade and Shipping Minister Lalith Achulathmudali." Minister Achulathmudali has so far offered no explanation as to why the inflation rate has increased from 14% to 20%. But many feel that inflation is higher. The price rise is so high—from house rents to dry fish and bread—that the inflation rate seems to be well over 30%.

There is no doubt that the world economic situation is extremely bad. According to a *Tanjug* report from Belgrade: "The International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD) and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) reports for their annual meeting in Belgrade next week, confirm as extremely disturbing the world economic situation. In assessing the world economy and economic relations, the IMF points out that trends in 1978 and the first half of 1979 are a mixture of success and disappointments. While, on one hand, the demand in the majority of the most highly developed countries was more or less in keeping with the line set earlier on international forums, the majority of developing countries on the other hand, recorded extremely high increases in their balance of payments deficits. The IBRD report cites a most serious deterioration on Third World countries' balances of payments. The Third World countries recorded an overall deficit of 42 million US dollars, that is a 12 billion-dollar increase over the last year.

"The World Bank sets out that, in the course of last year, trade conditions notably worsened for the developing countries importing industrial goods and exporting raw material. Particularly hard hit were the coffee-exporting countries. The World Bank operates with 100 developing countries where some two billion people live. The World Bank in its annual report also admits that in future the developing countries will find it harder and harder to ensure favourable rates of economic growth. The bank intends to focus its attention and direct the majority of its funds to those countries for development."

A PTI despatch from Washington (dated 16/9/79) about the same report stated: "The International Monetary Fund said today that the steep run up in oil prices during 1979 would depress economic growth and it also forecast a recession in USA. In its annual report published today, the Fund noted that rates of inflation had gained upward momentum, during the first half of 1979 and the mid-year oil price increases would bring upward pressures on prices. Describing the plight of non-oil developing countries as 'disturbing' the report said many of them, particularly the poorer ones, might face difficulty in attaining desirable growth rates because of insufficient financing for the volume of imports of goods and services that such growth rates would imply.

"The report put the average rate of output expansion for industrial countries at 4 per cent in 1977 and 1978 and to less than 3 per cent in the first half of 1979. By mid-year signs of a likely recession in the USA had multiplied as real GNP rose only slightly in the first quarter and declined appreciably in the second. With the average oil prices fixed at \$ 20.50 a barrel—60 percent above the 1978 level—the report expected the current account surplus of major oil exporting countries to go up to \$ 43 billions in 1979. Oil importing countries would add \$ 75 billions to their aggregate import bill \$ 70 billions for developed countries and \$ 5 billions for developing countries. The report said that financing of such large payments might pose problems in view of the existing external debt and the heavy borrowing in prospect even before the latest rise in oil prices.

"The report called for a set of policies

to meet the global inflationary situation. It suggested, conservation of energy and development of additional sources of supply through realistic pricing policies and limiting the indirect effects of oil price increase on the general level of price. For the Industrial countries, the report called for 'a many-sided strategy in a medium term framework' which would include skilled use of monetary and fiscal instruments, application of suitable incomes, policies and adaptation to lower availability and higher price of energy. The report voiced concern that a softening in the pace of economic activity in the industrial world could have markedly adverse effect on primary producing countries, particularly on the non-oil developing countries. It suggested that many of these non-oil developing countries should adopt 'better domestic policies' to deal with the very difficult situation which they faced and to establish an environment attractive to foreign investment and financing.

"At the same time, the report called on industrial countries to take immediate action to increase their official development assis-

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

Reference No:— 11/7/1130

The Government intends to acquire the land described in the Schedule below, for a public purpose, for particulars, please see part III of the Gazette of the Democratic Socialist Republic of Sri Lanka No. 57 of 04-10-1979.

**Schedule**

District : Anuradhapura  
 D.R.O.'s Division : Horowpothana  
 G.A.'s Division : 27 A Tulane  
 Name of land : Mahawela, Wellapahala  
 Chena, Pangupahachena  
 Plan No. : F.V.P. 1387  
 Lot Nos. : 92, 93, 95 - 130

**Chandrasoma Weerasinghe**

A.G.A. (Lands) & Acquiring Officer,  
 for Government Agent, Anuradhapura  
 The Kachcheri,  
 Anuradhapura.  
 20/09/1979

tance to the developing countries. Dealing with the developments in the international monetary system, the report said that a substantial degree of exchange rate flexibility had contributed significantly to international adjustments but there were limits to what could be accomplished by changes in exchange rates. There was need for a system in which interest rate fluctuations were reduced and the changes that occurred were more consistent in relation to the long-term underlying trends. The world was still a long way from a system of this kind, but the wider recognition that inflation not only leads to instability but also over the long run adversely affects growth and employment opportunities constitutes an important first step on the road to a more stable international monetary system,' it said.

"Discussing the adequacy of international reserves, the report noted that the decade of the 1970s had witnessed very rapid growth in the provision of credit by the international capital markets. Private banking institutions contributed greatly to the smooth functioning of the world trade and payments systems in the years 1974-76 by recycling the funds deposited by oil exporting countries, and they can be expected to continue to play a major role in international financial intermediation in the future."

THE IMF REPORT is even gloomier about international trade and payments. The PTI in a despatch from Washington summed up this part thus: "Wholesale prices in the major industrial countries as a group rose at an annual rate of 11 to 13 per cent in the first half of 1979. This followed a five per cent average increase in 1978. The annual report of IMF released today refers to 'the superior record of Asian countries with respect to inflation' and attributes it to realistic policies of financial restraint. But taking non-oil developing countries as a whole, the report says the record has not been good in recent years with the average rate of inflation amounting to 30 per cent from 1974 to 1977. The fund's price statistics do not take into account the midyear oil price increase. The volume of world trade increased by five percent in 1978, the same as 1977. While in 1978, the industrial countries were substantial net exporters of goods and services, their combined current

account surplus is projected to fall sharply in 1979 under the impact of the latest oil price increases.

"The Fund estimates their surplus to come down from \$ 33 billions in 1978 to \$ 10 billion in 1979. For major oil exporting countries, the surplus which had declined to a low figure of \$ 6 billions in 1978 after a four year run of big surpluses, is expected to rise to \$ 43 billions in 1979. For non-oil developing countries, which have been running current account deficits year after year, the deficit would be up from \$ 31 billions last year to \$ 43 billion in 1979. The report notes that total exports of non-oil developing countries could rise somewhat faster in real terms in 1979 but this movement was unlikely to match a rise in import unit values stemming from a combination of oil price increases and continued inflation of prices for manufactured goods from the industrial countries. These countries as a group borrowed abroad on a greatly expanded scale in 1978 to cover their current account deficit and to add to their international reserves. Their net external borrowing rose to \$ 31 billions in 1978. For the current year, the report anticipates a considerable slowdown in the rate of accumulation of reserves of these countries. At the present time, trade and payments prospects of the non-oil developing countries are subject to important new uncertainties,' the report adds. Among these are the probability of a US recession, the recent acceleration of inflation in industrial countries, with its implications for prices paid by the developing countries for imports of manufacturers, and the impact that the oil price increases of recent months may have on current account balances."

*Now that the IMF has spoken, ministers and bureaucrats in Sri Lanka will start toeing the line and come down heavily on the very measures which they had so hastily and so foolishly introduced and implemented. Take for instance the free imports of cars. We have today more cars and motor vehicles in Sri Lanka than is good for its economic health. As a result of this, the quantity of oil we need has increased and every month our oil bill keeps mounting. To keep these luxury cars on the road, industrialists, farmers and householders who use diesel and kerosene for productive and essential purposes have to suffer.*

Whilst the government goes on spending recklessly on schemes that do not get off the ground (the hydrocracker bubble cost the government nearly Rs. 17 million before it burst), production of our main crops have tended to drop. Admittedly, tea production is in a bad way, and a sizeable part of the decreased production is stolen. Rubber is keeping its head above the usual levels, but coconut production has reached dangerously low levels. Various excuses are trotted out for the drop, but it is a fact that in the third year of this government, coconut production will reach an all-time low.

The situation on the traditional agricultural sector is even worse. US aid has been extended to get the Extension Services back to where they were. They had worked well in the days of Dudley Senanayake. Kobbekaduwe had crippled the Extension Service and his attempt to build a new agricultural empire or dissawedom through APCs had flopped. Under E. L. Senanayake everything on the agricultural front had gone from bad to worse. And under the import policies of the Government, farmers producing subsidiary food crops were driven to the wall—except for a freak over-crop in potatoes by planters who concentrated on potato planting as a profitable side-line instead of looking after the tea.

The US authorities, no doubt realising that unless traditional agriculture was put back on its feet, the IBRD-IMF gamble on free enterprise in Sri Lanka would fail ignominiously, have granted sixteen millions to have a brand new Agricultural Extension Service. Boastful proclamations have been made about what E. L. Senanayake's dissaweship will produce—all that is needed now to close the chapter are the usual newspaper supplements to proclaim the new era. Once this is done, one can only wait for Doomsday or the Deluge—which ever comes first—whilst E. L. goes on his next trip round the world.

The more one looks around in the field of production the more gloomy everything appears. The only flourishing industry in Sri Lanka today is smuggling. The most powerful and honoured men in the island are undoubtedly the smugglers, the narcotics operators, the dishonest contractors and Tender jugglers.

Have honest people a chance?

## 25 Years Ago

TRIBUNE, September 11, 1954

### Emil Savundranayagam

#### Company Director

Mr. Emil Savundranayagam, who recently figured in a sensational case in London, was described as a Company Director.

*Tribune* Special Investigator was put on the job of discovering the companies in Ceylon of which Mr. Savundranayagam was a Director. Our Investigator has so far discovered seven companies in which Mr. Savundranayagam is a Director. Only one of these companies is listed in the Ferguson's Directory, namely Messrs Tuckers Ltd. Readers may refer to the Directory for details about this company, its list of Directors and the like.

But published below are some details about the other six companies which have not been listed in Ferguson's. Two of these companies are now in the final stages of liquidation, one has been struck off as it has not done any business, and three others continue to exist.

#### Struck off and in Liquidation

BRITISH FILM DISTRIBUTORS LTD., PVS 1069, was incorporated on 15.12.51. It had two original subscribers and Directors: Mr. Emil Savundranayagam and Mr. Owen Krueger de Sijva. The Registered address was at 30, Horton Place, Colombo 7 which is the Colombo residence of Mr. Savundranayagam. This company was struck off on 3.7.53 because no business had been transacted.

TRANS WORLD ENTERPRISES LTD., PVS 831, was incorporated on 6.10.49. Its Directors were: Mr. Emil Savundranayagam then of 42, Glenaber Place, Mrs. Pushpam Savundranayagam also of 42, Glenaber Place, Mr. Cyril Gardiner of 8, Parsons Road and Mr. Sangarapulle Sellamuthu of 21, Fairfield Gardens. Its paid up capital at no time amounted to more than a few hundred rupees. Though this company resolved on 9.2.51 to go into voluntary liquidation, proceedings began in real earnest only on 14.5.52.

**EASTERN TRADERS LTD., PVS 852**, was incorporated on 6.5.50. The registered address of this company was 8, Parsons Road, Colombo. Its Directors were: Sir Chittampalam A. Gardiner, Mr. Emil Savundranayagam, Mrs. Sangarapulle Sellamuthu, Mr. R. P. Senanayake, Mr. R. Mahendran, Mr. Cyril Gardiner and Mrs. Pushpa Savundranayagam. Its paid up capital was Rs. 100, 1000 shares of Rs. 10 each. As much as 93 of these hundred shares were held by TRANS WORLD ENTERPRISES, and the seven Directors held one share each.

On 7.2.51 the company resolved to go into voluntary liquidation and a liquidator was appointed. The liquidator was a well-known Chartered Accountant. He resigned a few months later and on 8.5.52 Messrs Emil Savundranayagam and Cyril Gardiner were appointed liquidators. On 5.5.52 the registered address of the Company was shifted to 30, Horton Place, Colombo.

TRANS WORLD ENTERPRISES LTD., and EASTERN TRADERS LTD., are believed to have done some business with China before going into liquidation.

#### **COLOMBO FINANCIERS LTD.**

**COLOMBO FINANCIERS LTD., PVS 1068**, was incorporated on 15.12.51. Its first registered address was 8 Parsons Road; later it moved to 30, Horton Place and finally to 190 Vauxhall Street, where the rubber stores and offices of C. A. Gardiner Ltd., is situated. Its Directors were Messrs Emil Savundranayagam and Owen Krueger de Silva and A. A. Page (who joined as Director on 12.2.53), Mr. Savundranayagam held 3090 shares, Mr. Silva 2000 and Mr. Page 10 shares. Mr. Page is a brother-in-law of Mr. Savundranayagam. The 1952 returns were filed on 18.2.53 by CEYLON THEATRES LTD., as Agents and Secretaries of the company.

On 21.12.53 Mr. Silva ceased to be a Director, and in the returns filed on 15.1.54 by CEYLON THEATRES LTD., again as Agents and Secretaries the paid up capital was shown as Rs. 60,000 viz., 6000 shares of Rs. 10 each. Mr. Savundranayagam held 3000 shares, Mr. de Silva 2,900; Mr. Page 10 and Mrs. Pushpam Savundranayagam 90.

COLOMBO FINANCIERS LTD., is a shareholder of MODERN INDUSTRIES LTD., which company was mentioned in the recent case in London.

**MODERN INDUSTRIES LTD., PVS 1184**, was incorporated on 29.8.52. Its first registered address was 1, Alfred House Gardens, then it moved to 8, Parsons Road (Ceylon Theatres address) and finally to 190 Vauxhall Street. Its original Directors were: Mr. Owen Krueger de Silva, Mr. A. B. Perera; Mr. S. M. Macfarlane Mr. J. R. Baptis, Mr. Rajah L. Perera, Mr. A. A. Page and Mr. M. A. Careem.

According to the returns filed on 7.5.53 by the Company's Agents and Secretaries, CHITTAMPALAM A GARDINER LTD., the Directors were the same as above. The paid up capital was Rs. 10,000, 1000 shares of Rs. 10 each. Mr. de Silva held 100 shares; Page 100; Mr. M. A. Careem (whose address is 30 Horton Place, the residence of Mr. Savundranayagam) 100; Mr. S. M. Macfarlane 100 Mr. Rajah L. Perera 100; Mr. Emil Savundranayagam 100 and Colombo Financiers Ltd., 400.

In June 1953, Mr. A. B. Perera and Mr. J. R. Baptis dropped out as Directors and Mr. W. A. Rankine was appointed a Director.

On 10.12.53 Mr. O. K. de Silva ceased to be Director, and on 31.1.54 Mr. A. A. Page and Mr. Rankine resigned from the Board. At present, it would seem that the only two

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#### **Schedule**

District : Anuradhapura  
D.R.O.'s Division : Kekirawa  
G.A.'s Division : Tulane No. 47 B  
Name of land : Puranawela, Kuleyaya, etc.  
Plan No. : FVP 1150 (Sup. No. 1)  
Lot No. : From No. 52 to 87.  
Name of the Village: Batalawatta

**C. H. Fernando**

Acquiring Officer and Anuradhapura District Land Officer.

The Kachceri,  
Anuradhapura.  
19/09/1979



Directors are Mr. Rajah L. Perera and Mr. M. A. Careem.

According to press reports MODERN INDUSTRIES LTD., is said to have drawn the commission for the Antwerp Rice Deal which is the subject of certain extradition proceedings against Mr. Savundranayagam.

The last concern our investigator has so far discovered in which Mr. Savundranayagam is a Director is AUTOS LTD. It is a public limited company, PBS 191. The shareholders and Directors include Sir Chittampalam A. Gardiner and Mr. Cyril Gardiner. Other shareholders and Directors seem to be members of the family.

X X X X

## LETTERS

### Peradeniya Incident

#### SOME MORE FACTS

Sir,

The letter which appears under the title 'Peradeniya Incident: Correction' in your issue of 11 August, 1979 makes a very feeble attempt to answer some of the issues I raised in my letter which you published on 7 July, 1979. I, in my ordinary way as an interested parent who knows no high academic attainments, do not want to enter into a controversy with a Vice Chancellor who heads one of the highest seats of learning in the country. I stand for justice and fairplay, and such principles must govern the behaviour of an academic institution. Such standards of behaviour and their acceptability by society compelled me to elaborate the points which the learned Vice Chancellor made in his letter and to enlighten the learned Administrator Academic that I, instead of distorting facts, stated the correct facts for the information of the readers. The learned Vice Chancellor, though labours hard to say that there is a distortion of facts, does not deny that there was a case of a stabbing incident, which, he after pressure from the newly elected Student leadership, reported to the Police. Does the learned Vice Chancellor deny that it was not a criminal offence? Can such an incident, which amounts to an attempt

murder, be settled outside Court? The other point is that the Vice Chancellor does not enjoy judicial powers over such matters. The Vice Chancellor says in his letter that 'a second year student returning to his boarding after working in the library was way-laid by a group of students'. This was a distortion of the highest order: it was a gross misrepresentation of facts. I challenge the learned Vice Chancellor to prove his statement with evidence. This particular student (who stabbed the other). I am informed by reliable student sources, went to his boarding after the incident at the library and came back armed with a knife to follow the student (the injured) with whom he had the initial altercation. It was strictly a matter between two undergraduates and there was no group of students involved in the matter.

I am very sorry to say that the Vice Chancellor, here in this context, forgot all procedures relating to matters of student discipline. The normal pattern at Peradeniya (from the days of Jennings and Attygalle) is to suspend such a student immediately after the incident and then institute inquiries to see whether he is in the wrong. The Vice Chancellor says that he prohibited 'the student from attending lectures, the use of the library and entry to the Campus'; I am sorry to remind the knowledgeable Vice Chancellor, who thinks that dharmista justice is meted out in both word and deed, that all these three conditions were not imposed on this particular student. He was seen at lectures, he had access to the library and he stayed in the same hall of residence. I challenge the Vice Chancellor to say that this undergraduate left the Campus for a day. Student community and the Department of Student Discipline, including the Chief Proctor, know that there was no punishment of this kind on this particular student. I am not sure whether distortion of facts is some kind of academic research achievement of certain academics who know more about the earth crust than the needs and types of people who live on this very same earth. I cannot expect a Vice Chancellor of an institution of learning to protect a student who has violated all codes of University discipline by stabbing a fellow student.

According to the learned Vice Chancellor of Peradeniya, a mere apology in his presence.

was sufficient to settle a stabbing incident, which was near murder. I do not want my son to experience such a situation; I want the culprit taken to courts and dealt according to the law of the land. I understand the goodwill of the Vice Chancellor on this matter. But students who have been expelled from the University for hooting, hoisting a black flag as a form of dissent and for minor duels and altercations, do not evoke this kind of goodwill from the learned Vice Chancellor. It is a pity that such expulsions, resulting in the complete ruination of the careers of those students, have not evoked any sympathy from the Vice Chancellor who thought it correct to allow an undergraduate, who knifed another, to continue as a student. This is the kind of justice and fairplay with which I cannot agree in this era of Dharmism. In my view, an undergraduate, who has the temerity to use a knife to stab a student does not deserve a university education. People and personages, who condone such things and propose to settle them amicably, are doing the great damage to the institution as well as to society. I am not satisfied with your correction and the answer, Mr. Vice Chancellor. I want justice.

**W. W. P. Perera**

Peradeniya Road,  
Kandy.  
12.09.79



## House Rents

Sir,

Has the Government given serious thought to the phenomenal increase in house rents and the hardships caused to hundreds of people who are seriously affected by this extraordinary situation?

House rents are soaring to fantastic heights and the majority of houses that are advertised for rent, are suitable only for foreigners. Even houses that are unsuitable for foreigners,

fetch enormous rents and are within the reach only of affluent people like gem merchants.

Many tenants are being given "quit" notices by avaricious landlords who are eager to take advantage of the rising house rents. Several who are transferred to Colombo or receive new appointments here, are hard put to it to find houses to live in.

From time to time one reads newspaper reports about action that is being contemplated by the Government but nothing seems to happen. The words "Suitable for Foreigners" are repeated ad nauseam in house owners' advertisements and some foreigners offer rents of Rs. 15,000 per month or more and a year's advance.

Owners of dingy, ill-maintained houses with leaking roofs and inadequate space, are even demanding double rent without attending to the repairs. There are cases where the tenants do not get water for their essential requirements when the landlord waters his flower garden. The tenant in an annexe dare not complain to the authorities concerned as he is at the mercy of the landlord.

The big rents that are being received by landlords are obviously not declared to the Inland Revenue Department and will go tax-free. The result is the impoverishment of tenants and the enrichment of landlords.

The Government is not benefited by the huge increase in the landlord's income. There are no limits to the opportunities offered to rapacious landlords who are experiencing an unprecedented windfall. They seem to be the most fortunate and favoured people in this country.

When will this situation end?

**Vic Tim**

Colombo 4.  
5.9.79



Sept. 17 — Sept. 26

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; SLDP—Sri Lankadipa; JD—Janadina; SU—Sun; DV—Davasa; DP—Dinapathi; CM—Chinthamani; WK—Weekend; RR—Riviresa; DK—Dinakara; EN—Eelanadu; IDPR—Information Dept. Press Release.

**MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 17:** President J. R. Jayewardene, now in Singapore on an official visit celebrates his 73rd birthday today. The nation's infant airline Air Lanka which had its inaugural flights only on the first of this month has already run into the turbulent weather of fierce competition from international airlines; an aviation spokesman said established airlines operating out of Colombo on the Colombo-London route were now offering cut-rate tickets solely, as it may seem, to keep Air Lanka out of business—CDN. Retired teachers between the ages of 60 and 65 years who have passed the SSC with a credit pass in English or that examination in the English Medium are to be re-employed by Government; they will be re-employed on annual contracts and posted to different areas. The President Mr. J. R. Jayewardene who celebrates his 63rd birthday today arrived in Singapore accompanied by Mrs. Jayewardene on Saturday for a four-day visit which observers say will cement political understanding as well as open new vistas in co-operation in trade, industry, tourism, port development and housing—CDM. As a four-member Cabinet team meets today to ascertain the causes for the countrywide confusion over the marketing of kerosene, the Government has learnt that a Treasury delay was a major contributory factor—SU. The Minister of Labour, Captain C. P. J. Seneviratne has submitted a memorandum to the government in which he has proposed that it should be obligatory on all

Private institutions to pay the Rs. 55 wage increase to all employees, whether they be monthly or daily paid employees or casual workers—CO. Fisheries Minister Festus Perera and the Jaffna District Minister U. B. Wijekoon arrived at Jaffna in a special plane to participate in the 73rd Birth celebrations of the President J. R. Jayewardene in the Jaffna District—EN. Government servants will be able to have free medical check ups each year from the near future. The Chairman of RVDB said that the Board has been completely re-organised and that now it is one of the largest construction units in the Island—DM. The public is questioning how a small businessman who became a politician after the 1977 elections has bought vehicles, land, and houses worth over Rs. 20 million—ATH. The NODEKE report on the Mahaweli Scheme has pointed out that it will take 90 years to complete the Mahaweli Project; the report has said that the country does not have the necessary engineers, technicians and skilled labour to complete this project in five years; it also says that even if the country puts all resources in to this project only 3 could be completed by 1995—JD. The Asian Development Bank has granted a loan of Rs. 68 million to the electricity board to widen their rural electrification schemes and to set up new ones—DV.

**TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 18:** The Sri Lanka Central Transport Board has decided to import immediately 1200 buses. Residents of Colombo and its immediate suburbs can buy fish at their doorstep now; this is the latest venture of the Fisheries Corporation to beat the blackmarket. The People's Bank will open 80 branches in different parts of the country next year, A. D. E. de S. Wijeratne, Chairman, People's Bank said yesterday. The Minister of Finance and Planning has declared three undertakings as Approved Investments in which those who had black money may now invest; they are International Garments Ltd., Eurolanka Garments Ltd., and Union Strand Ltd.—CDN. A Community Health Worker Scheme to introduce oral contraceptives (the pill) to wives and mothers in rural areas has been strongly recommended by the Minister of the Colombo Group of Hospitals and Family Health, Dr. Ranjith Attapattu. Nearly two hundred public officers have been sent on compulsory leave; most of them have been

reported to be inefficient by their heads of departments; others have been described as redundant—CDM. The European Economic Community (EEC) is sending a high-powered delegation of entrepreneurs to Sri Lanka in November this year, to examine investment possibilities—SU. Manufacturers in the Free Trade Zone told the Greater Colombo Economic Commission (GCEC) at a meeting last week that they could work a second shift and substantially increase employment in the zone if a better public transport service is organised—CO. It is reliably understood that income ceiling for the issue of Food stamps will be increased from Rs. 300; this is expected to remain at a point between Rs. 400 and 550 per month—DP. The Ceylon Muslim League demanded yesterday from the Electoral District Limitation Commission that while electoral wards are delimited that one additional seat for Jaffna and three for Mannar Districts be allocated—VK. Illegal settling in government land have increased and those who are responsible have not taken any steps to stop this; this has been revealed when the government conducted a survey on the illegal settling on government land; the Minister of Mahaweli Development has ordered the Land Commissioner to take steps to take over these lands and re-settle those who are qualified for re-settlement before 1980—DV. The President is to take over the Mahaweli Development Authority under his purview as the work in the accelerated Mahaweli project has not been up to expectations; this change will come into effect in the next Cabinet re-shuffle expected after the budget—ATH. A joint operation by the Police and the Army have been launched in Polonnaruwa, Batticaloa and Maduru Oya to arrest illegal settlers in government land, illegal gemmers and illegal forest cutters—LD.

**WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 19:** Sri Lanka Commercial Banks were failing to play their designated role in the country's economy and were depending increasingly on Central Bank credit accommodation said a Central Bank spokesman yesterday explaining the recent Central Bank policy revision in regard to the granting of credit by the Central Bank to Commercial Banks; early this month, the Central Bank while enhancing the level credit accommodation available to Commercial Banks

at bank rate, increased the penal rate applicable to credit in excess of the accommodation limit; it also ended the restriction on Commercial Bank's advances to government corporations and statutory boards imposed by it in August last year—CDN. The World Bank has allocated 800 million rupees in aid to the Sri Lanka Transport Board on the recommendations of the International Development Association—CDM. Government is to set up a consortium with foreign collaboration to construct middle class apartment complexes in the city; the Colombo Municipal Council will be a partner in this consortium and will make available under-utilised land within its purview for the construction of these complexes, City Mayor, Sirisena Cooray said yesterday. The Sri Lanka Central Transport Board will introduce about 100 standee buses within the city of Colombo from next month, Chairman Wimal Premaratne announced yesterday. It is understood that 24 new Tami pictures would be imported from South India on the basis of two per month—DP. The Leader of the Opposition and the General-Secretary of the TULF said yesterday that the Front will fully co-operate with the government of the country's development and that there will be no racial, religious or linguistic differences in providing such co-operation—VK.

**THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 20:** Private foreign investments outside the Greater Colombo Economic Commission (GCEC) are expected to reach the Rs. 1000 million mark this year, the Foreign Investment Advisory Committee (FIAC) said yesterday; there has been an unprecedented upsurge in foreign investments outside the GCEC area, the FIAC said; Dr. L. S. Fernando, Deputy Director, International Economic Co-operation Division, Ministry of Finance and Planning said 57 projects had been approved for establishment by FIAC up to last month. President and Mrs. J. R. Jayewardene returned home yesterday from Singapore to a warm welcome from Cabinet Ministers, members of the diplomatic corps, MPs and a large gathering of people. The Government yesterday increased the fertilizer subsidy bill to provide immediate relief to farmers and cultivators and motivate greater production. The Customs Department is to be completely overhauled, Acting Minister of Finance and Planning, Naina

Marikkar said yesterday—CDN. The price of Gold in Colombo rocketed overnight to the region of Rs. 1,700 a sovereign following the world prices in the London and New York markets soaring to over \$ 400 an ounce; an ounce of gold is about 3 $\frac{3}{4}$  sovereigns. The Foreign Minister, A. C. S. Hameed arrived in Brazilia for a five day official visit—CDM. Government is to adopt a new cost of living index which will ensure a more realistic cost of living allowance for employees; the Cabinet has approved the new index in principle and directed the Central Bank to submit its observations on its operation. Lanka is to honour the late Earl Mountbatten by renaming the Supreme Allied Commander's headquarters in Kandy, as 'Mountbatten Headquarters'. Government yesterday decided to clamp down on all forms of picketing and demonstrations in the city; this Defence Ministry decision came in the wake of reports that the demonstrators who had first obtained government sanction to have peaceful standee picketing were becoming unruly—SU. Five hundred armed policemen were deployed at strategic points throughout Colombo today and a ban on picketing and slogan shouting enforced as the Joint Committee of Trade Unions prepared to stage its Hyde Park rally this evening to protest against the Essential Public Services Bill—CO. The Ministry of Education has decided to give employment in Estate schools to those who obtained training after having studied in Estate schools; the Ministry has taken this step to improve the education of estate students. The Joint Action Committee of Trade Unions will be holding a protest meeting at Hyde Park today against the proposed Essential Public Services Bill—VK. The government is said to be very disturbed by the mounting opposition to the Essential Public Services Bill according to political sources connected with the government; three top government members have had unofficial discussions on this issue and these Ministers have met the President and have reported the powerfulness of the opposition—ATH. A new fund called the Central Cultural Development Fund has been set up to assist poor students in their education—DM. The Minister of Education has decided to take over 25 private schools. The Food Commissioner's Department has imported more rice than needed

without finding out the correct consumption needs; this has been stated in a secret report presented to the Chairman by the Paddy Marketing Board—DV.

**FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 21:** President J. R. Jayewardene told his Ministers yesterday that they must change their attitudes in many fields of national endeavour; they must change from an "administration consciousness" to dynamic managerial consciousness if the country was to achieve its great goals of national development; this was the attitude the progressive countries of the world now adopted. Mr. Jayewardene told his Ministers at the first meeting since his return from visits to Cuba, Japan and Singapore. The Government yesterday decided that every worker receiving less than Rs. 1,500 a month be entitled to the special allowance of Rs. 55; daily paid workers will get an increase of Rs. 2.50 per day subject to a maximum of Rs. 55 per month. Two close associates of Aggona Chandare Sri Lanka's "Most Wanted Man" were arrested by the Police yesterday morning at Nawala after a gun battle—CDN. Seven multi-million rupee skyscraper complexes to house commercial and banking institutions—based on the architecture of Singapore will be put up on the 32 acres of land at Echelon Square in the city of Colombo under the Colombo Metropolitan Development Scheme—CDM. The Sri Lanka Freedom Party has decided not to field a candidate against Dr. W. Dahanayake in the forthcoming Galle by-election if he decides to contest as an independent candidate. Cabinet yesterday approved a proposal by Trade and Shipping Minister Lalith Athulathmudali to allow the registration in Sri Lanka of foreign non-cargo vessels. Sri Lanka will receive yet another free gift from Japan, this time it is a fully-equipped 1000-bed hospital in Kotte; this was announced by Cabinet spokesman Anandattissa de Alwis yesterday—SU. The government of Sri Lanka has decided to appoint concurrently, H. E. Mr. E. B. Sattrukulasinghe, Ambassador of Sri Lanka in the Arab Republic of Egypt, as Ambassador of Sri Lanka in the Sudan, with residence in Cairo—IDPR NO. 216/79. The Commander of the Air Force of Pakistan Air Marshal Janab Muhamed Anwer Sameem will arrive in Ceylon on the 27th of this month on a six-day good-will visit—VK.

The Government is considering giving more subsidies to those who earn less than Rs. 500—*DV*. Workers yesterday continued the picketing campaign in the lunch hour even though the government had prohibited it. The GCEC is taking steps to launch a programme inside the GCEC area to stop the brain-drain under this programme; highly educated persons will get jobs with high salaries; a number of companies operating in this area have agreed to employ these persons—*LD*.

**SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 22:** The Ceylon Petroleum Corporation has invited offers from recognised foreign enterprises for the exploration of petroleum within the territorial limits of Sri Lanka on a production-sharing or any other basis; the prospectus, sent out to potential explorers, states that the government of Sri Lanka has assigned the highest priority to petroleum exploration with foreign participation; the Petroleum Corporation says it will grant seismic options to prospective bidders to farm out areas for pre-evaluations prior to operations. Food Commissioner P. M. Hassan yesterday denied rumours of a price increase on flour and sugar. More than half the seven million people to whom Rs. 140 million worth of food stamps have been issued had made false declarations about their incomes, Food Commissioner, P. M. Hassan said yesterday. Some 86 schools in the island are to be up-graded to Madya Maha Vidyalaya and Rs. 200,000 has been voted for this, Sarath Perera, Assistant Secretary to the Ministry of Education said yesterday—*CDN*. One hundred and fifty Indian engineers will be recruited for the accelerated Mahaveli Development Programme; the Minister of Lands will recruit from India 150 engineers with over five years' experience on the monthly salary scale of 300 to 600 US dollars (Rs. 4,700 to Rs. 9,400). Sri Lanka is one of the 28 countries to receive a special Rs. 371 million loan from the International Monetary Fund—*CDM*. The reduction of general rates of taxation to the level of the rates in South East Asian countries is being considered by the government; this is likely to be one of the government's proposals in the Budget for 1980, which will be tabled in Parliament in November. Albert Silva will be the United National Party's nominee for the Galle seat. Speaker Bakeer Markar yesterday informed Parliament that the second

reading of the Essential Public Services Bill scheduled to be taken up yesterday, had been postponed until the Supreme Court gave a ruling on the application filed by the Sri Lanka Freedom Party—*SU*. Compulsory education will be enforced in schools taken over by the state in the plantations and children between the ages of five and fourteen will be compelled to attend these schools—*DP*. The Minister of Food and Co-operatives has stated that out of the 75 lakhs of people from whom applications have been received for the issue of food stamps only 35 lakhs are entitled to receive the coupons and that the applications are under consideration—*EN*. The government has taken steps to investigate the 25,000 teachers appointments given in the last 2 years. The PM after considering a number of complaints made by MPs has requested the Minister of Education to reconsider all these appointments and cancel them if any irregularities have taken place. The Government has set aside Rs. 57 million approximately to start construction of the Ranhida Reservoir Project—*DV*. The Joint Trade Union Action Committee has decided to launch a wide public campaign to force the government to withdraw the Essential Public Service Bill; a National Conference of Trade Unions will also be held—*JD*. A politician from Yatiyantota has been involved in a Rs. 6 lakhs co-operative fraud; in the report handed over to the President by the Minister of Food and Co-operatives the Minister has said that the politician has been involved in the fraud—*ATH*.

**SUNDAY, SEPTEMBER 23:** Sri Lanka's return to a market economy and the dismantling of decades of import and export controls by the budget of November 1977, has stimulated the country's commercial banking sector to record the highest ever profits in its history; the People's Bank younger of the two giant state-owned commercial banks, has led the field with a whopping Rs. 220 million profit for last year against Rs. 125 million earned the previous year. Police are offering rewards amounting to over Rs. 440,00 to anyone assisting the authorities in arresting nine persons wanted for questioning in connection with terrorist activities in the North. The Transport Ministry has complained to the IGP that the issue of passes for private motoring during the restricted hours of 8 a.m. and 2 p.m. on

Sundays as "too liberal".—*SO*. The government has decided to invest in a big handloom silk weaving project at Pelawatte; with an investment of Rs. 13.5 million a handloom project with 100 looms will be started—*ST*. A Cabinet reshuffle is to be effected by President J. R. Jayewardene shortly, it is reliably understood; the move, according to authoritative sources, is intended to bring in what is being described as "more young blood" into the Cabinet; the lines on which the reshuffle will take place are yet to be determined. Sri Lanka voted for the ousted regime of Pol Pot to be the legal representative of Kampuchea in the United Nations. Sri Lankans who wish to visit India will now be called upon to pay Rs. 68.05 for their visas; earlier the visa fee was Rs. 7.60—*WK*. Government appointments will in future be made on the basis of proportional representation; Minister of Transport M. H. Mohamed said that as a result of this mode of appointments to government service, the minorities will receive reasonable employment opportunities in the state service.—*VK*. There are over 100,000 couples living together without being legally married and steps are being taken to get these people legally married—*RR*.

**MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 24:** Prime Minister, Mr. R. Premadasa has said that Sri Lanka will soon make a special appeal to the Organisation of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) for oil supplies at reduced prices as a temporary measure; a mammoth petition signed by Sri Lankans would be presented to the Middle East countries setting out the serious problems that have arisen from the recent oil price increases and how they had affected Sri Lanka's massive development programme, the Prime Minister said at Katana on Saturday. Aggona Chandare, who was re-arrested on Saturday night after 75 days of freedom stunned hardened Police officers when he told them of the flaws in the security systems prevailing both at Welikade jail and in the country's courts. The Government has approved the latest "Pub style" milk booth Project of the National Milk Board; in a bid to put more life into living the Milk Board will set up ten bulk vending plants in the most congested market and residential areas in Colombo before Christmas—*CDN*.

Government will this week decide on relief measures to consumers who have been hit by the recent kerosene price hike. The five per cent import duty on clinker has been removed; the move is intended to overcome the present shortage of this raw material which is essential in the manufacture of cement. The application by the Sri Lanka Freedom Party challenging the Essential Public Service Bill, will come up for hearing before the Supreme Court today—*SU*. Some foreign tour guides are sending out vast amounts of local currency and smuggling them back through tourists thus depriving the country of the hard currency which would have normally been brought into the country by the tourists according to Customs and travel agency officials—*CO*. The Minister of Transport M. H. Mohamed has appointed a Committee to take quick action in regard to the difficulties experienced at Talaimannar by repatriates to India—*VK*. There has been wide scale dissatisfaction among UNP youths in the way the elections for the executive committee of the UNP Youth Wing was held; this situation could even break the organisation—*DK*. The UNP government has decided to permit private Airlines to conduct flights inside the country; 5 companies have applied to fly private planes on local visits; they are the Upali Trading Company, Mackinnon-Mackenzies, Island Airways Ltd., Air Taxis and the Consolidated Engineers—*JD*. The People's Bank will give loans to those who want to get electricity—*DM*. The nett loss of the National Milk Board for the year 1975 was Rs. 76.9 millions; the government has transferred Rs. 86 million to the NMB to pay the deficit—*DV*.

**TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 25:** Libya has agreed to meet half the cost of joint projects to develop livestock and fisheries in Sri Lanka estimated at ten million US dollars—*CDN*. Government has sought the views of state sector employees on the proposed new working hours for the public sector—from 7.30 a.m. to 2.30 p.m. without a lunch break; the proposal, if favourably received will be first introduced on an experimental basis in the Western Province and the Galle District—*SU*. The Planning Ministry has warned the Government that the local production of Onions, chillies, ground nut etc., has seriously decreased and

that this should not be allowed to prolong further—VK. A proposition will be brought up at the Colombo Municipal Council to the effect that a water tax should be levied on those residents in Colombo having an income of over Rs. 1000 per month—DP. The Food Commissioner's Department has got to know that even rich people have got food stamps which is now issued only to those who earn less than Rs. 300 per month. The government is taking steps to set up a Laksala sales centre in England, West Germany, France and Singapore. The Minister of Mahaweli Development has decided to recruit pensioned engineers on a contract basis for the accelerated Mahaweli Project—DM. The price of rice is increasing steeply in the open market; the inflation rate which is 14% at present will increase to 20% by 1980 and the government is taking steps to check its steep increase. 4000 teachers will get transfers to their home towns next year—DV.

**WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 26:** The Student Councils of the Sri Jayawardhanapura University (former Vidyodaya) have assured parents that there would be no ragging of fresher students at this institution; the new academic year of the Universities begins in the first week of October; the Paddy Marketing Board is now maintaining a buffer stock of 8 million bushels of paddy for distribution in case of an emergency and to avoid fluctuation of prices of rice in the open market. Except for two bakers in the city all bread turned out throughout the country is sub-standard and short-weight, a Food Department spokesman said yesterday. The Ceylon Electricity Board is considering a proposal to purchase from a French firm under a deviation order equipment costing nearly Rs. 4 million in order to shift a transformer from the Free Trade Zone back to Ukuwela Grid Sub-station. A three-member delegation will represent Sri Lanka at the annual Commonwealth Finance Ministers Conference scheduled to begin today in Valletta, Malta; Sri Lanka's delegation will be led by the Minister of Finance and Planning Mr. Ronnie de Mel—CDM. Government will shortly introduce legislation for the setting up of an Employees Trust Fund in the private sector; the fund which is in keeping with the government's policy of democratising ownership,

will cater to a multitude of employee needs, Ministerial sources said yesterday. All scavenging operations in the city will be carried out only after dusk from October 1; this decision has been taken by the Mayor of Colombo Siri-rena Cooray following a directive by Prime Minister R. Premadasa. Government is to introduce legislation to prohibit smoking and the sale of tobacco in places of public performance within the Colombo city. The Price Control Department is to enlist the help of the Police to carry out raids on traders who violate the Consumer Protection Laws. The Ministry of Textile Industries has sent on compulsory leave two officials allegedly involved in a textile fraud—SU. The newest Japanese line of credit, pledged at the last aid consortium meeting in Paris, will carry a rate of 2.75 per cent interest against the earlier 3 per cent charged for similar loans, authoritative official sources said yesterday; this 3.2 billion yen credit line, worth around Rs. 230 million in terms of local currency, will be made available by the Overseas Economic Co-operation Fund of Japan—CO. Six Customs officials including a woman were discontinued from service yesterday; they were arrested in Mannar on a complaint of bribery—DP. The Paddy Marketing Board has decided to send a part of a consignment of spoiled paddy worth Rs. 1.1 million for animal feed and another part of the consignment will be destroyed by fire. The government is to set up a National Youth Service Authority to get youths involved in development programmes—DV. Mrs. Indira Gandhi in a reply to a letter from an Eelam Organisation in England has said that she was unaware of the problems faced by the Tamils and the cruel way the government suppresses Tamils in Sri Lanka and she will try to bring this to the notice of the Indian people—LD.

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#### HELD OVER

- o POSTMORTEM ON HYDROCRACKER TENDER
  - o ON RESTRUCTURING THE CUSTOMS
  - o BELIEVE IT OR NOT
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● **Asian Mass Communication**

**ASIAN MASS COMMUNICATION BIBLIOGRAPHY SERIES 9.**

**MASS COMMUNICATION IN SRI LANKA AN ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY COMPILED BY: H. A. I. GOONETILLEKE (CO - ORDINATOR) SAMUEL DEVASIRVADHAM ARIYARATNE SENADEERA**

Mass communication has acquired an important dimension with the development of satellite technology. "This capability must be viewed and used positively to exchange information and promote understanding. It is now the responsibility of social scientists to see that there is a careful balance between supplying the needs of all people for information and education and the preservation of the cultural values of the society". These remarks are attributed to H. Rex Lee, Chairman of the Board of the Public Service Satellite Consortium.

The Asian Mass Communication Research and Information Centre (Amic) commissioned the preparation of bibliographies in respect of Mass Communication in different countries in this part of the world. One of this series is the Bibliography in respect of Sri Lanka compiled by the Co-ordinator Ian Goonetilleke, Librarian, University of Sri Lanka, Peradeniya Campus and two colleagues Samuel Devasirvatham and Ariyaratne Senadeera, Senior Asst. Librarians of the same institution.

This monograph is comprehensive and covers the following areas of interest: 1. Bibliography and reference material 2. Communication theory, research methods 3. Communication; (General) 4. Media development and characteristics; 5. Newspapers; 6. Print media, 7. Broadcast media; 8. Films; 9. Audio-visual media; 10. Transitional media; 11. News Agencies; 12. Law of mass communication; 13. Communication in development; 14. Communication teaching and training; 15. Mass media in formal education; 16. Advertising, marketing, public relations and management; 17. Government communication; 18. Social contexts of the media; 19. Communication technology; 20. Mass communication periodicals.

Clearly a broad spectrum of interest has been covered. We in Sri Lanka must be thankful to Ian Goonetilleke and his two colleagues for bringing out this very valuable guide.

Government has under way massive development projects. It is indispensable that people participate in these national undertakings. This can be achieved through effective communication between the project directors and co-ordinator on the one hand and the citizen on the other. Thus the publications listed in this bibliography would be extremely useful reading for those in charge.

D.D.

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● **Iraq**

**IRAQ, THE LAND OF ARAB RESURGENCE BY DEWAN BERINDRANATH. A PRESS ASIA PUBLICATION LTD., (19/A, 1979 GULIVER PART ND RS. 50.)**

In my review of that excellent pictorial document Mesopotamia yesterday—Iraq today published in the *Tribune* of 16.06.79 I had indicated that a review of this book would follow. I have now seen it.

This book is stated to "be based on extensive research through the original sources including those in Arabic and an extensive on-the-spot study in Iraq, Syria and other Arab countries." The author, after this study, emphasises that the outstanding feature of the Arab Baath Socialist Party is its rejection of race and religious frontiers. "In its very composition the Baath leadership represents a truly composite Arab character". He demonstrates this dedication to the universality of a common heritage of the human family and gives an example. He points out that in Iraqi diplomatic missions "it is not quite uncommon to find that the Ambassador is a Lebanese Christian his second in command is a Jordanian, Syrian or Palestinian." This is truly a significant achievement in a world that at times reveals divisive tendencies.

"We Arab socialist revolutionaries are firmly committed to the popular democracy in every sense of the form. Democracy for us does not merely mean a few entries in a statute book. It has to be a living experience for the

masses" declared the Vice Chairman (at that time) Saddam Hassan in early 1978. It is just as well that the author thought it appropriate to include this declaration and thus disabuse all of any misconceptions they may have entertained in this regard. The author adds "yet another important form of direct peoples' participation in the affairs of the administration has been the very frank and critical manner in which the press represents day-to-day problems affecting the lives of the people."

A very interesting chapter on Oil has a Philosophy has been included. This should be read. Decan Berindranath refers to the correspondence between President Nixon and President Bakr on this subject, who pointed out "Oil is not the only commodity affecting the prosperity and stability of the world. The atom, iron, copper, wheat and essential industrial products, for example, are indispensable to the life of mankind. We believe that any arrangement concerning any one or other of these commodities cannot be just or permanent unless it encompasses all of them" This is the basis of the North-South dialogue. The next chapter Oil as a Weapon should also be read.

In 183 pages the author has given us an overview of developments in this country—developments which are vital in the context of contemporary history.

D.D.

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## KAMPUCHEA

### ● India Against UN Move

*New Delhi, Sept. 21.*

The present caretaker Government has directed the Indian delegation to the UN General Assembly to vote against the credentials committee's recommendation that Kampuchea should be represented by the Pol Pot regime during the current session. The External Affairs Minister, Mr. S. N. Mishra, who was faced with this Kampuchean conundrum yesterday when he heard about the credentials committee's conclusion, sought the advice of the Political Affairs Committee (PAC) of the Cabinet before giving this directive to the

Indian delegation. The PAC felt that, consistent with the stand it had taken at the Havana conference, India should continue to plead for keeping the Kampuchean seat vacant for the present. The External Affairs Ministry had to decide quickly whether India should abstain or vote against the credentials committee's recommendation since it was expected to be referred to the General Assembly to-day for a final decision. The nine-member committee had accepted by a six-to-three vote—with the United States, China, Pakistan, Ecuador, Belgium and Senegal in favour and the Soviet Union, Congo and Panama against—the credentials of the Pol Pot delegation.

There were three choices open to the Indian delegation in this peculiar situation when the consensus in the General Assembly seemed to be clearly in favour of keeping up the status quo for the present. It could take a non-committal stand by abstaining during the voting, after spelling out the Indian position that the seat should be kept vacant during this session. It could vote against the credentials committee's recommendation to uphold the Indian stand even if it meant going against the wishes of the majority in the General Assembly, especially the South-East Asian countries which continue to oppose the Heng Samrin regime installed by Vietnam through open military intervention. Or it could come forward with an amendment proposing even at the risk of being misunderstood of toeing the Soviet line, that the credentials committee's recommendation should be shelved and the Kampuchean seat kept vacant. The opinion in the External Affairs Ministry was sharply divided and the Minister was left with conflicting advice, which added to his own inhibitions as a member of a caretaker Government. So he sought the counsel of his colleagues who are members of the PAC before coming to the conclusion that India should vote against the move to seat the Pol Pot delegation. The reasoning that led to this decision was that, while, it was still an open question as to which of the two rival regimes could legitimately claim to represent Kampuchea, the Pol Pot set-up was certainly less qualified to assert this right in the present fluid situation.

The Government has, therefore, taken

the view that it cannot be a party to the seating of the Pol Pot delegation consistent with the stand it had taken at Havana that the Kampuchean seat should be left vacant, since in its view neither of the rival claimants is qualified to fill it at least during the current session. The decision to vote against the credentials committee recommendation will certainly displease the US and China, not to speak of the majority of the UN members, but the concomitant resolve not to support the claims of the Heng Samrin regime is going to disappoint the Soviet Union. The powerful pro-Vietnamese lobby in India, which expected the new Government to recognise the new Phnom Penh regime, has already started accusing Mr. Mishra of undue vacillation. It has also been suspecting the hand of the pro-American influences at work behind the hesitance. And if the new External Affairs Minister trips in any way in attempting to steer a middle course—and gets entangled in unnecessary domestic controversy over Kampuchea—there will be every danger of foreign policy becoming a contentious issue in the election campaign.

G. K. Reddy in *Hindu*

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## ● UN Seats For Pol Pot

*United Nations, Sep. 22.*

In what was clearly a victory for China and the ASEAN countries against Vietnam and the Soviet bloc, the United Nations General Assembly voted last night to seat the representatives of the ousted Kampuchean regime of Pol Pot in the world body. The move to seat the Pol Pot delegation as recommended by the credentials committee of the General Assembly earlier was approved by 71 votes against 35, with 34 nations abstaining. Among those who voted for it were China, the five ASEAN countries, the entire Western bloc, Pakistan, Sri Lanka, Bangladesh and Bhutan. Most of the Latin American countries voted in favour of the Pol Pot delegation while the African and Arab nations were divided and did not vote as blocs.

India, which had earlier lost a procedural battle on a proposal to leave the seat vacant on the lines of the decision at the Havana

non-aligned summit, voted against the proposal. The General Assembly had at the beginning of its debate three resolutions—one recommended by the credentials committee for accepting the Pol Pot delegation, another tabled by 10 socialist countries to replace the Pol Pot representatives by the delegation of the Heng Samrin Government, and a third by India that would have left the seat vacant. Singapore, China, the US and others who spoke in favour of accepting the credentials of the Pol Pot delegation argued that the UN should not legitimise Vietnamese intervention in Kampuchea even on humanitarian grounds. Most of those who supported this position condemned the brutality of the Pol Pot regime, but argued nevertheless that it was the lawfully constituted Government though ousted by Vietnamese armed intervention.

The Soviet Union and Vietnam strongly condemned the barbarity of Pol Pot and pointed out that the Heng Samrin Government was in full control of Kampuchea. The Soviet bloc later withdrew its resolution to seat the Heng Samrin Government and threw their support behind the move to leave the seat vacant. The Indian Permanent Representative, Mr. Brajesh Mishra, in his speech noted that at Havana there were three different viewpoints. One was to seat the Pol Pot representatives, the other to bring in the Heng Samrin delegation and a third view was to leave the seat vacant pending final resolution of the question. India subscribed to the third viewpoint saying that leaving the seat vacant would be the only realistic course.

It was clear right from the start of the debate, however, that the vacant seat proposal did not stand a chance of gaining approval. The final voting showed that a majority of the UN members held the principle of non-intervention more important than the fact whether a government was in effective control of a nation and were not for legitimising armed intervention to overthrow even a barbarous regime. A substantial number of 34 nations, however, remained undecided and abstained from voting.

—N. Ravi in *Hindu*

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## ● ASEAN Bid To Contain Fighting in Kampuchea

Tokyo, Sept. 23,

Fears by some of the ASEAN countries that despite their desires and efforts they might willy nilly become involved in the Indo-China dispute is reflected in a report from Bangkok that the Thai Premier Gen. Kriangsak Chomanan and the Indonesian President Mr. Suharto are planning to visit Vietnam for talks with the Hanoi leaders in an effort to keep their country out of the current fighting in Kampuchea. The situation there could become critical again when the current rainy season ends in November. "The ASEAN member countries are concerned that the forces of the ousted Premier Pol Pot might collapse totally if fighting intensifies in Kampuchea after the rains end. The five-nation grouping is supporting the Chinese backed Pol Pot regime as the lesser of the two evils and it is doing so in an effort to bring about the withdrawal of Vietnamese troops from Kampuchea. According to sources quoted in the Bangkok report, Gen. Chomanan is really worried as his country borders Kampuchea and he is expected to call on the Hanoi leaders to seek ways to co-exist with its Indo-China neighbours during his visit to Vietnam—the first by an ASEAN head of Government—which is scheduled to take place in early November.

The sources said Mr. Suharto will follow Gen. Chomanan to Hanoi to patch up his country's strained relations with Vietnam. Vietnam in an unusual warning recently told ASEAN Ambassadors in Hanoi that it might find itself in a confrontation with the five countries if they did not refrain from following a "hostile" policy towards Hanoi according to Thai Government sources. The question will also rate high in talks between Gen. Chomanan and the Soviet Premier Mr. Alexei Kosygin who is scheduled to visit Thailand towards the end of this year. In other related developments Mr. Suharto met the Singapore Premier Mr. Lee Kuan Yet this week and Gen. Chomanan will talk with Mr. Lee and Mr. Hussein Onn before his Hanoi visit in order to exchange views with them on the Indo-China conflict.

—K. V. Narain in *Hindu*

## AMERICAN VIEW POINT

### UN Vote On Kampuchea

by Ronald J. Dunlavey

In a vote which surprised more than one observer, the 34th UN General Assembly September 21, resolved the difficult question of Cambodian representation at the United Nations. It awarded the seat to the Pol Pot regime, which had been virtually driven out of most of Cambodia, and denied it to the regime of Heng Samrin, who was installed several months ago by the Vietnamese after they invaded and took over key parts of the country.

The vote was surprising because the Pol Pot regime has been repeatedly and strongly denounced by many UN members for the atrocities which it committed while in power. And they continued to denounce it during the General Assembly debate. In the words of Ambassador T. B. (Tommy) Koh of Singapore, "The Government of Democratic Kampuchea —(that's the Pol Pot government)—is terrible." Some observers were startled, too, by the fact that the vote—which was largely decided by the Non-aligned members seemed to contradict the decision taken earlier this month at the Non-aligned Summit Conference in Havana. That decision was to support the so-called "empty chair" approach to the problem of Cambodian representation—in other words, not seating either side.

Yet, in spite of deep reservations, UN members critical of the Pol Pot regime voted—and by a surprisingly large majority of two to one—to allow that regime to represent Cambodia in the world organisation. Their reasoning seems to have been that the principle of condemning foreign intervention is more important to more nations than the reality of who actually controls a government. Other members—the United States among them—voted on technical grounds to award the seat to the Pol Pot regime. The United States spokesman, Ambassador Richard Petree, condemned both regimes for atrocities, but added that: "The Heng Samrin regime, installed and maintained by Vietnam through its military invasion and continuing occupation of Kampuchea, does not represent a superior

claim." An attempt was made to have the General Assembly adopt the "open chair" solution, but there was strong opposition to this formula—largely, it is believed, because there was uneasiness about the precedent such a formula would have set.

The vote unquestionably has implications which go beyond the question of who shall represent Cambodia at the United Nations. It is being widely interpreted as a political defeat not only for Vietnam itself but also for the Soviet Union, which has supported Vietnam's invasion of Cambodia. By the same token it is a victory of sorts for China, which has backed the Pol Pot regime and condemned the Vietnamese invasion. It also apparently indicates a split in the thinking of the Non-aligned countries—a split that was foreshadowed at the Havana Conference—and an unwillingness on their part to be stampeded into one camp or the other.

The vote is also thought to indicate a growing uneasiness among the independent nations of South East Asia about Soviet-backed Vietnamese expansionism. The members of the Association of South East Asian Nations—Singapore, Malaysia, Thailand, Indonesia and the Philippines—all opposed awarding the membership to the Heng Samrin regime.

The vote on UN representation certainly does not begin to resolve the basic problems of Cambodia—the search for a peaceful rather than a military solution, the establishment of a neutral, representative and independent government, and most urgently, the need for food. The latest report from the world Food Council indicates that hundreds of thousands of tons of food—and the means to distribute it—are needed if mass starvation is to be avoided. With a new Vietnamese military offensive possible, both food and refugee problems are likely to get worse. The problem of Cambodian UN representation has been at least temporarily settled. The other problems remain—not least the strictly humanitarian problem of how the Cambodian people are to survive.

—VOA

## EXCLUSIVE

# Burchett On Kampuchea And Yugoslavia

Exclusive interview with Wilfred Burchett, noted expert on Indochina whose articles have appeared regularly in the *Tribune* on September 2, 1979 in Havana. The following is a synthesis of Burchett's views on the 6th Summit and of Yugoslavia's role there. Burchett was interviewed by S. P. Amarasingam, Editor, *Tribune*, attending the Sixth Summit of the Non-aligned at Havana. This interview had appeared contemporaneously in a number of periodicals abroad.

**QUESTION:** What are your first impressions of what has happened so far up to the end of the Foreign Ministers' meetings and on the eve of the start of the Summit on September third?

**ANSWER:** Proceedings have been dominated unfortunately by the insistence of a number of countries in seating the representative of the ousted Pol Pot-leng Sary regime. Many delegates have pointed out that the regime ceases to exist and under normal international criteria—as to who controls the capital and the overwhelming territory of a country—the only legitimate occupier of Kampuchea's seat is the government of Heng Samrin. Others have also pointed out that it would be a blot on the image of the Non-aligned Movement to seat such a bloodthirsty and tyrannical regime as that of Pol Pot which has exterminated at least forty percent of the population of Kampuchea, at least ninety percent of its intellectual and almost one hundred percent of its ethnic minorities. In any case the debates which took up most of the time of the meetings of the Co-ordinating Bureau and Foreign Ministers, should never have taken place. There was a clear decision at the meetings of the Co-ordinating Bureau at Colombo in June and at New York that as there was no consensus as to who should have the seat, the question should be left for the



Havana Summit to decide. But many important questions were held up here because of a handful of countries who insisted on fighting for the Pol Pot regime.

**QUESTION:** How was the question of Kampuchea dealt with at the Belgrade Foreign Ministers' meeting in July 1978 and at the Maputo meeting of the Co-ordinating Bureau in January 1979?

**ANSWER:** At Belgrade Pol Pot held the capital, Phnom Penh and the overwhelming majority of the countryside so the question of representation was not posed. But a key question was an attempt by the Pol Pot delegation to have Vietnam expelled from the Non-aligned Movement. Not a single one of the 87 participants supported—openly at least—such an absurdity. Another straw in the wind as to the future conduct of Yugoslavia, however, emerged at the Belgrade Conference. It took place at a time of heightened tension along the Vietnam-Kampuchean frontier. There had been repeated and murderous attacks by Pol Pot forces deep into Vietnamese territory amply confirmed by western correspondents including TV teams. For the previous three years, Vietnam had vainly tried to negotiate and settle whatever differences Kampuchea claimed existed between the two countries. The reply was a continuous stepping-up of the attacks.

Two months before the Belgrade Conference, Vietnam proposed that each side withdraw its troops five kilometers behind the agreed frontier. The demilitarised zone thus formed could be supervised by joint forces or by an international force. In the meantime, top level talks could go on in Hanoi, Phnom Penh or any other mutually acceptable place. Pol Pot flatly refused the offer. Vietnam asked for UN mediation. Also rejected. At Belgrade, Vietnam proposed mediation by countries nominated by the Non-aligned Movement. Under pressure from Yugoslavia as the host country chairing the Conference, also by Sri Lanka as president of the Non-aligned Movement, Vietnam was requested to withdraw the proposal and did so in the high interests of Non-aligned unity. The vague pretext was that mediation "could be interpreted as interference in other countries' internal affairs." The result was to en-

courage Pol Pot to pursue the cross-border attacks on an ever-larger scale. If Yugoslavia can take any pride in having directly contributed to Pol Pot aggression on such a scale that Vietnam had to evacuate over one mil-

## POL POT

Sir,

Now that we have voted for Pol Pot at the United Nations, the following quote taken from the *Guardian* of 20th May of this year should make interesting reading.

The writer Wilfred Burchett writing from Phnom Penh, "The victims, tortured before death, included Prince Sihanouk's first Ambassador to the United Nations... and almost every Cambodian diplomat or intellectual known abroad who was unwise enough to respond to the invitation for the 'consultations.' In sixteen spacious rooms, the torturer-executioners were at work, like other Cambodians, for seven days a week. Each seem to have disposed an average of at least eight victims a day.

"A long list of guidelines, presently drawn up by Pol Pot in his own handwriting, stipulating that victims, once in the torture chamber, 'Must know that they are going to die. They might as well make a quick confession and get it over quickly, but they must not be killed until a full confession had been extracted'....."

"The torture chambers were simple. A bare iron bedstead with padlocked leg chains, a table with two chairs, one for the interrogator, another with a typewriter in front of it for the note taker. A favourite type of torture was said to be plucking out head hair with pinchers. Tufts of it lie at the head of each bedstead and there are copious bloodstains underneath. Executions were carried out with axes, hammers, short-handed spades and jungle knives."

What price Dharmista?

Bryan de Kretser

Prithipura,  
Hendala.  
20.9.79

lion people from its border areas, abandoning two hundred thousand hectares of valuable rice lands, then she is welcome to it.

The second of the seven fundamental principles of Non-alignment, adopted at the Movement's inaugural meeting in Belgrade, September 1961, is the promotion of "international detente". Yugoslavia has pursued a totally contrary policy in every stage of the Kampuchea-Vietnam dispute. It never condemned the attacks by Pol Pot forces; its voice was notably lacking when China committed large-scale aggression against Vietnam in February 1979.

**QUESTION:** Do you believe that Yugoslavia was aware of the situation in Kampuchea under the Pol Pot-leng Sary regime?

**ANSWER:** During the Belgrade Conference of Foreign Ministers, I was informed by a Yugoslav diplomat whom I had known when we were both stationed in Phnom Penh, that Yugoslavia, of all western countries "was by far the best informed as to what was going on in Pol Pot's Kampuchea. We have had an embassy there all the time," he said, and went on to enumerate mutual friends who had been executed. Heading the list was Huat Sambath, Sihanouk's Ambassador to the UN and later Pol Pot's Ambassador to Belgrade. "He left for Phnom Penh full of enthusiasm, thinking he was to attend a conference of Kampuchea's Ambassadors. He and all the others were arrested shortly after arrival and then executed." Among other mutual friends in the diplomatic service, named by the diplomat were Chau Seng, Ambassador-at-large for Sihanouk's resistance government (GRUNK), Chea Sann, GRUNK'S Ambassador to Moscow and numerous others, including some leading intellectuals known to both of us.

Also at Belgrade, the Yugoslav TV film producer, I met, Vittorovitch, was the only westerner permitted to travel in Kampuchea with a film team. As his film had been widely shown abroad, he asked if his message had been clear enough. I assured him that for anyone who knew Kampuchea, the horrors were evident enough. "It is a hundred times worse than anything I could show on film or express in my commentary", he said.

Thus, in answer to your question, there is no doubt that the Yugoslav government

was well-informed, as to the unprecedented ferocity and barbarity of the Pol Pot-leng Sary regime. Because of this I was astonished at the fervour with which Yugoslavia took the lead in demanding the seating of the Pol Pot delegation. Because between Belgrade and Maputo the Pol Pot regime had been overthrown. Kampuchea had been liberated in the truest sense of the term from a primitive fascist and racist regime. Yugoslavia knew but preferred to keep silent.

Incidentally among the high-level victims was Norodom Sihanouk, founder member, together with the Heads of State of Yugoslavia, Egypt, India, Cuba, and twenty others, of the Non-aligned Movement in Belgrade, 1961. Did Yugoslavia lift a finger to rescue Sihanouk during his three years in prison? Perhaps something was done behind the scenes of which fellow-members of the Non-aligned Movement were not aware. But Sihanouk remained in prison until the eve of the collapse of the Pol Pot regime.

**QUESTION:** Why do you think that Yugoslavia has adopted its present position as a main champion of the Pol Pot regime?

**ANSWER:** I do not know. What I do know is that—having visited Kampuchea twice during the past four months—the truth will soon be out in all its irrefutably, atrocious detail. The truth that Yugoslavia helped to cover up. Other countries who have been voting with Yugoslavia can be excused for lack of ignorance. Yugoslavia, and a few other countries who knew but did not speak out, will be seriously compromised for supporting a regime that was at least as bad as that of Hitler. History will certainly confirm this.

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

## Why Bureaucracies Fall Short—3

by Dr. W. Howard Wriggins

A colleague of mine at Columbia University recently completed a major research study on the "brain drain," not only from developing countries, but also the two-way

flow across the Atlantic between North America and Europe. It was recently reported in several of your newspapers. Bill Glazer concluded that better pay was only part of the explanation for seeking greener pastures. In addition, many of the energetic and talented believed that their skills were not properly recognized at home. There was not enough professional scope within their universities, their career services or their home businesses to permit them to use their talents and energies to the full. Too many had experienced frivolous, arbitrary transfers or personal or political judgement determining whether a man would be promoted or sidelined. They sought reward in the form of greater scope for their talents, more security in their careers and more recognition for superior performance than they were receiving at home.

*Fifthly, regulations become obsolete and impede implementation as tasks grow and the pace of activity accelerates.* One way in which our bureaucracies stand in their own way grows out of their role as protectors of precedents. Max Weber, the great German sociologist, has written major essays on bureaucracies. He stresses the bureaucratic qualities of orderly, predictable behaviour based on hierarchy, precedent and specific regulations. Regulations are indispensable to give consistent guidance to individual officials dealing with diverse and unique human circumstances. There is bound to be tension between what the regulations call for and the individual's peculiar, indeed unique, circumstances. All students of bureaucracy comment on the obsolescence of regulations. Particularly traditional regulations regarding accounting procedures, paper work to permit someone some day to check up on every transaction become more burdensome as bureaucracies grow and the once leisurely pace of years gone by is replaced by a far larger and accelerating flood of transactions.

Procedures and regulations must be subject to periodic review. The difficulty here, however, is that the people who know enough about the regulations to understand how they are applied in practice are usually the very people who are most used to those regulations, who feel comfortable with them, and who therefore, typically, are loath to change them. There must be some source of dynamic

change within the bureaucratic system, despite its commitment to precedent, so as to ensure a periodic review and updating of the regulations.

*Sixthly, bureaucratic performance is affected by the shift in power between legislative and executive.* In my country we have a constant shifting of influence between the civil servant bureaucracy and the elected politician. And I take it that here there has been a long run shift favouring the elected political sector. In America now the elected legislators gain influence at the expense of the bureaucratic authority. At other times, particularly times of national crisis such as economic depression and war, the administrative authorities increase their influence. Life is flux, after all, we all know.

I have chuckled at my own shifting views on this matter. I must own that when Presidents Kennedy and Johnson were in power and I worked in their Department of State or the White House staff, I thought it a fine thing for the President to be able to evoke governmental energy responsive to his goals. I then felt that Congressmen and Senators who contended against them were nuisances. I was persuaded they did not understand the real world. Dr. Johnson also spoke for me in that incarnation when he noted that "whatever is proposed, it is much easier to find reasons for rejecting than embracing." But then I discovered when Mr. Nixon was President—and I was back at my University—that too much power had gravitated to the White House and that the elected representatives of the people were not having sufficient say about national policies. As a colleague of mine once said, "Where you stand depends very much upon where you sit."

Finding a liveable balance between these two differing approaches to public life is difficult, never finalized. The typical caricatured bureaucrat may be stodgy, fixed to his regulations, more aware of the difficulties in the way of a proposed program than of how its virtues might be realized. He may be more concerned with the integrity of the career service than with getting the job done.

The typical caricatured elected official, for his part, is usually impatient—understandably so—since he has only a few years before



he has to face the hustings again. It is assumed he is an amateur in administrative matters and therefore usually has not worked in large bureaucratic organizations. He has less of what might be called a "programmatic sense" of the momentum that can come from programs sustained over a number of years. The elected official may feel impelled to demonstrate over and over the power he has gained by being elected. He may do this in large ways by helping to shape large programs and major policies. But the results of this are not likely to show up quickly enough for him. Hence, far more likely, he will prefer to show his stuff by effecting administrative detail as it affects citizens—the teacher to be transferred, the exception to be made to the regulation that favours a supporter, particularly an exception which shows how big his heart is compared to the heartlessness of the bureaucratic professional. (Michael Hill, *The Sociology of Public Administration*. (N. Y. Crane, Russack 1972, Chapters 1.8.10).

One hazard is the bureaucratic or the legislative steamroller, crushing all in its way. The opposite hazard is the stalemated policy process that results from so much contention and criticism or such a lethargic bureaucracy that nothing can get done. Somewhere between these two extremes is the range where viable and effective governance must be found.

There is, of course, much more to be said on the problems of development bureaucracy, but I have tried your patience already. You will note I have presumed to give little advice. The answers remain the object of an endless search. Temporary answers will be found for some of the problems I have noticed. While some problems are being dealt with, new perplexities will arise. In a world of change and flux, one must strive to cope with problems. It is foolish to presume to solve them.

But my conclusion is in the way of advice—before condemning easily, or frivolously proposing radical reforms, examine the political setting of a bureaucracy, the working and practical conditions of the people who labor within it, the many peripheral tasks that are imposed upon a bureaucracy by its community.

Only then is it fair to criticize—and maybe one's proposals could be helpful to those

hard-pressed men and women in the bureaucracy and the political sector who willy-nilly ultimately share responsibility for the results.

Concluded.

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IFDA DOSSIER 4

## We All Need A New International Order—4

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.

AS FAR AS A FORWARD looking policy is concerned, the course that the restructuring process is to take should be recognized in good time; it should be taken to anticipate the course of events so that restructuring can take place with a minimum of negative effects. At the same time, trade and other barriers erected against the competing imports from the developing countries should be removed in order to enable these countries to gradually take over the production of those goods and services in which the industrialised countries are not competitive and which are to be cut back. This should also be done by means of planning and international consultation so as to avoid destroying the sections of the production structure in the industrialised countries which should be preserved but which are technically, economically or institutionally linked to the marginal sections. EMPLOYMENT. Even if planned properly, the readjustment of productive activities in the framework of a changing international division of labour will, at least in the short term, add to the unemployment in the industria-

lised countries. I say "add" because increasing imports from so-called "low-wage countries" are by no means the only or even the most important cause of unemployment. Increasing-scarcity and therefore higher prices for basic commodities, including, energy, saturation of demand for certain goods and services (in particular consumer durables), inflation, labour saving investments and structural shifts towards the tertiary or commercial services sector where productivity increases are also limited contribute to structurally lower growth rates and thus to a worsening of the employment situation.

Given this multiplicity of unemployment causes in the industrialised countries, the way in which unemployment is tackled is clearly of crucial importance. After all, a rational and more equitable international division of labour can only in the long run contribute substantially to employment creation in the industrialised countries, whereas the adjustments needed in the short run will lead to a deterioration in the situation. In this sense, the address of present employment problems is a condition for the establishment of the NIEO.

Two main employment policies have so far been implemented in the industrialised countries. *First*, there is the old Keynesian policy of stimulating effective demand. In so far as this policy has been aimed at stimulating private demand, its effects have been insufficient. Part of the increased purchasing power is used for imports or for the production of "nonsense goods" which does not contribute to a structural and long term increase in employment. Moreover, there seems to be a structural decline in both the growth rate of private consumption and in the propensity to invest, which seemingly cannot be influenced by a policy of stimulating private demands.

*Secondly*, there is the neo-classical approach of the relative decrease in production costs, in particular labour costs. In as far as this approach leads to higher business profits, it is becoming increasingly clear that there is no such thing as an automatic link between higher profits and increased employment. In a number of cases, higher profits are not reinvested (but consumed or transferred abroad) or are only invested in labour-saving processes. Unless

there are provisions for social assessment of the allocation of business profits, the neo-classical approach is also bound to fail.

CONVENTIONAL APPROACHES seem thus to have either no effect or to have effects which run counter to the interests of the weaker sections of the population. New ways of dealing with unemployment should be added to a more socialized application of the conventional approaches. I see two of them.

*Firstly*, a selective growth policy should be pursued with respect to production. Such a policy implies the provision of government support to specific investments on the basis of certain criteria designed to reconcile the objective of growth and employment with the need to be selective on the grounds of considerations with regard to the environment, the use of energy and other scarce commodities, the spatial distribution of activities and the international division of labour. Special instruments, such as investment subsidies and investment controls, the promotion of technological innovation in some and of small scale production in other sectors, are in this case necessary.

In the *second* place, new ways of dealing with the employment problem should be applied to the consumption side. We see at present tendencies towards a saturation of demand for certain consumer goods. However, there is at the same time an unfulfilled demand in the so-called developed countries for certain non-material goods which cannot be bought on the market. There are many unfulfilled needs in the spheres of education, health, welfare, culture, urban renewal to mention but a few. They are rapidly increasing, due in part to certain over-development tendencies in the rich countries, and they lead to social inequities and to a growing gap between economic growth and technological innovation on the one hand and individual psychic well-being and social welfare on the other. These needs have as yet not been identified fully, and virtually no progress has been made in their measurement. This, together with the fact that they have in common a lack of endogenous individual demand, points to the need for a socialization of demand, whereby society itself creates a demand for the satisfaction of needs that cannot be fulfilled via the market. Such a

creation of demand would require an expanded service sector, in particular the non-commercial or "quaternary" sector, which offers important employment possibilities. Here, perhaps, also lies an answer to the burning question of where to find alternative investment opportunities in a restructuring policy leading to a reduction in investment in marginal sectors. Such a lack of investment in new sectors, substituting declining ones, during the recession prevailing since 1972 has constituted a serious impediment to the implementation of a new international division of labour as an essential element of a NIEO.

**THE MORE EFFECTIVE USE** of conventional employment policies combined with the non-conventional approaches described above will not solve but only lessen the unemployment problem. The structurally lower growth prospect will not enable a return to full employment, not even when an integrated employment policy is implemented. The problem thus calls for more than the adaption of employment policies: it calls for modifications to the very concepts of labour, consumption and our way of life.

When unemployment becomes a long term and structural phenomenon, a better distribution of existing employment will be necessary. This should not in the first place be achieved by decreasing the number of hours worked per day because of the productivity losses this will mean. A better distribution will have to be achieved primarily by decreasing the number of years a person is involved in the labour process. Earlier retirement, longer schooling, sabbatical periods and re-education are among the ways to achieve this. It will in any event require that the population of the industrialised countries be prepared to afford a less central position to materially productive labour. These countries have, after all, entered post-industrial stages in their economic development, with an increasing part of the national income to be spent on collective services. The production of these services in the transitional period is being left to volunteers. Their efforts should be professionalized and rewarded. All this will affect our way of life: less material consumption in general and of "nonsense goods" in particular, creative leisure and more consumption of education culture etc.

**A NEW NATIONAL ECONOMIC ORDER.** The required changes in the industrialised countries go further than the structure of production and employment. The population of these countries, and especially their economically weaker parts, will only accept, let alone support, a NIEO if they are sure that they will not become weaker as a result of change in international economic relations. For that reason it is important that the employment and income effects of this change for the industrialized countries, which in the short run may be negative and will only become positive in the longer run, are spread among their populations in an equitable way, whereby the heaviest burden is carried by the strongest shoulders. A policy aimed at increased income equality and social security within the richer countries is, therefore, a condition sine qua non for the construction of a NIEO, in itself the basis for attaining more equality and security in the world as a whole. And it goes without saying that such a policy should go hand in hand with policies aimed at the economic, social, cultural and political emancipation of women, minority groups and foreign labourers (the latter category providing an additional human link between the industrialized and the developing countries).

From what has been said concerning the required changes in investment, production, employment and income policies, it will be clear that these changes imply an expansion of government activities. This points to the necessity of a change in the national economic order of industrialized countries to enable them to implement the right domestic policies, complementary to changes in the international economic order. An increasing part of what used to be private decisions will henceforth have to be taken by the government, whether it concerns decisions on major industrial investments, the conversion of profits into employment, the kinds of demand which should be stimulated, what constitutes fair personal income, and so on.

According to some critics in the industrialized countries, the government sector has already reached a critical limit. In their view, an expansion of this sector would be detrimental to the economic potential of the private sector. This criticism, however, neglects

the fact that the government sector itself is part of the economic potential of society. The government produces goods and services that contribute to national income and wealth and its consumption is consumption by private individuals, but not on the basis of the primary income distribution.

The centralization of decisions at the governmental level, however, requires a democratization of the decision-making process. Participation by those affected by the decisions is essential. The ultimate aim; the greatest possible material and non-material welfare for as many people as possible. This aim cannot be attained in a decision-making process dominated by a small group of powerful individuals remote from the masses, nor can it be reached by a government which takes decisions on a level far above the heads of its people.

Creative thinking about the possibilities of obtaining a higher degree of participation in political and economic decisions which must be made at higher levels is a very important challenge. It is obvious that the educational system is in this respect very important (and also to enable society to implement the necessary employment and income policies).

## CONCLUSION

In recent years, the link between the NIEO and policies within the developing countries aimed at the satisfaction of basic human needs has been stressed. That link indeed exists. It is, however, equally important to stress the link between a NIEO and the required changes in the policies and structures of the industrialized countries. Without these changes a NIEO simply cannot be brought about; without them the powerful interest groups and the weaker sections of the population in the richer countries can be expected to resist efforts aimed at the establishment of a NIEO.

For some decades now, Jan Tinbergen, on the basis of careful research, has made proposals for changes both in the international economic system and in the structural policies within the industrialized countries. Not only his ideas on 'shaping a world economy' and on an optimum international division of labour, but also his creative thinking on employment policies on income distribution,

on education and on an optimum economic regime may serve to guide us.

It is high time. The spirit of 1974/1975 appears to have faded. The power of the developing countries to demand a new international economic and political system is diminishing. That power was based on oil, solidarity and reason. It is being confronted by the industrialized countries' nuclear energy arms deliveries and sham deafness. It is crucial, therefore, that within the industrialized countries a new process of awareness-building starts to identify longer term interests and to understand what justice really means, both between and within nations.

Concluded.

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

Ref. No. 2/6/NUA/32/70

It is intended to acquire the land described in the Schedule below for a public purpose. For further particulars see Part III of the Gazette of the Democratic Socialist Republic of Sri Lanka No. 57 dated 04-10-1979.

#### Schedule

*Situation*:— Situated at ward No. 4 in the Municipal Council of Nuwara Eliya of Nuwara-Eliya District.

*Name of Land*:— Westward Ho! Estate, Unique view division

*Plan & Lot No.*: Lot No. 1 in P.P.NU. 352

*Situation*: Situated at ward No. 4 in the Municipal Council of Nuwara Eliya of Nuwara Eliya District.

*Name of Land*: Single Tree Road

*Plan & Lot No.*:

Lot No. 2 in P.P.NU 352

**P. G. Amarakoon**

District Land Officer,  
Nuwara Eliya District.

The Kachcheri,  
Nuwara Eliya.  
September, 1979

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## FOREIGN MINISTERS' MEETING

by S. P. Amarasingam

August 30—September 2.

The Meeting of the Foreign Ministers of the Non-aligned countries, originally fixed for three days, began on Thursday, August 30 and was in session until the morning of Sunday, September 2. This meeting marked the final stage of the preparatory work for the Summit scheduled to begin on Monday September 3. (There was a further and final session on the question of Kampuchean representation on Wednesday, September 5, whilst the summit meeting of the Heads of Governments and States was in progress). The Foreign Ministers had a heavy agenda and discussions were often lively and heated. On the first day of the meeting, there were over 50 foreign Ministers present, but nearly all of the 90 odd Foreign Ministers had come in by the second and third day.

Sri Lanka's Hameed's speech at the opening of the Foreign Minister's Conference on August 30 was extremely well received by all delegates. His references to Latin America and Cuba evoked warm responses. He also referred to some of the challenging problems of the period he was Chairman and growing complexities of the concept of consensus.

Isidore Malmierca, the Cuban Foreign Minister, who took over, paid a generous tribute to the work Sri Lanka had done in the last three years. He said that the Non-aligned Movement had become an outstanding force in the struggle against imperialism, colonialism, neo-colonialism, racism, zionism, and the existence of blocs and in favour of peace and the establishment of a New International Economic Order. Cuba was aware of the heterogenous nature of the movement and would promote its fundamental principles. The Movement had been greatly strengthened since the Fifth Summit.

He criticised the USA and China for their efforts to prevent the Summit which was being held in Latin America for the first time. Washington and Peking, he said, had taken upon themselves the role of self-styled defender

of the Movement against Cuba's alleged bid to change its orientation. All these manoeuvres had been defeated and Havana had donned the festive garb to welcome all members of the Movement.

Panama's Foreign Minister Carlos Ozores said that the people of Latin America had profound confidence in the Non-aligned Movement and were happy about the admission of five countries from that continent—Nicaragua, Bolivia, Grenada, Surinam and Santa Lucia. Liberia's Cecil C. Dennis said that the African countries had come to Havana to make the sixth Summit a success. Nicolas Rolandis from Cyprus said that Cuba was a symbol of solidarity of peoples. For Asia, Farook Koddoumi of the PLO said that everything would be done to make the Summit a success.

One of the first matters decided on by the Foreign Ministers was the question of rapporteur. It will be recalled that Yugoslavia, which was playing an aggressive role at the Conference (as a founding godfather determined to keep Cuba in its place within non-aligned confines as understood by Belgrade), had at the Ambassador's meeting suggested that she should be the rapporteur of the Conference though it was customary for the host country to discharge the function. Yugoslavia had received support from a few countries which had formed themselves into anti-Cuba lobby, and the Ambassador's meeting had sent the matter up to the Foreign Ministers. Here, surprisingly enough, a compromise suggested by Cuba, that a new member, Surinam, be rapporteur, was accepted, although Yugoslavia had at the last moment tried to push an unwilling Cyprus into being made the rapporteur. The appointment of Surinam as rapporteur was certainly a minor setback for Yugoslavia, but in Havana as in all earlier meetings of the non-aligned elsewhere, this ding-dong battle between the main groups goes on all the time, now tilting this way, next another.

The Foreign Ministers also had no difficulties in approving the Co-ordinating Bureau's recommendation for new members; Nicaragua, Grenada, Iran, Bolivia, Pakistan, the Zimbabwe Patriotic Front and Surinam; and observer status for Costa Rica, Dominica, the Philippines and Saint Lucia. They also approved the increase in the number of the

Co-ordinating Bureau, which meets between Summits, from 25 to 35 (with an additional 36th). The Foreign Ministers also decided to submit their recommendation on the geographical distribution of the seats to the Summit—the highest number was to go to Africa which is clearly the region with the greater membership with 50 full members. The Foreign Minister's Meeting was presided over by Cuba with seven Vice-Presidencies held by Asian countries, seven by African countries, four by Latin America and two by Europe.

Among the matters that Foreign Ministers had to decide was the agenda for the Summit and the final declaration to be adopted by the Conference. Certain quarters had insisted on prominence being given to item 13 (unlucky thirteen!) of the agenda concerning ways and means to strengthen the unity, solidarity and co-operation among non-aligned countries on the basis of the principles of non-alignment and to improve the functioning of, and decision-making in the non-aligned movement. The amended draft, drawn up by Cuba after receiving comments, criticisms, suggestions and amendments from member countries, was circulated at the end of the first day (August 30).

President, Tito who was one of the earliest arrivals, is reputed to have met a large number of Foreign Ministers even before their Heads of States or Governments had arrived. One question he had canvassed was support for Pol Pot. It is known that many Foreign Ministers including India had told him that they could not support Pol Pot and that they did not favour a seat either for Pol Pot or Heng Samrin.

As of today, about 60 Heads of State or Governments or persons of equivalent rank were expected—31 from Africa, 16 from Asia, 9 from Latin America and the Caribbean and 3 from Europe. (Ultimately 54 Heads of States or Governments were able to come). Ninety five (or ninety six) countries were expected to participate in the Conference and they did. When the Foreign Ministers began their meeting, the arrival of President Jayewardene outgoing Chairman on the next day (August 31) was awaited. There is much goodwill in Cuba for Sri Lanka especially after she helped to thwart attempts to prevent the Summit

taking place in Havana. There is also universal praise among all nonaligned for Sri Lanka's term as Chairman especially for Foreign Minister Hameed. The excellent arrangements here in Havana to receive, accommodate and look after visitors, from Heads of State to journalists, have impressed everybody. Press facilities are excellent and bureaucratic snarls are remedied expeditiously and effectively. Havana has been spruced up and only slogans about "no alineados"—the non-aligned—are now displayed.

Gloomy predictions that Havana will see the end of Non alignment are not heard among the vast majority of delegates. Differences and disputes there will always be, but all delegates I have met from a large number of countries are confident that Havana will be a success and that unity will not only be preserved but further strengthened. Undoubtedly, the most polemical issue before the Foreign Ministers was the question of Kampuchea representation. The Pol Pot delegation which is in Havana issued a press statement just before the meeting of the Foreign Ministers. It complained of discrimination by Cuba—discrimination which it said was aimed at denying democratic Kampuchea of its full membership of the non-aligned movement. The statement also said that democratic Kampuchea was barred from the ambassadorial level preparatory meeting for the Summit. The delegation was turned back, it complained, when it was on its way to a meeting of an Asian group of Non aligned countries. The statement stressed that by assuming such an attitude toward democratic Kampuchea, "the host has abandoned all the principles and decisions of the Non aligned Movement and that by imposing on the Non-aligned Movement the pro Vietnam Phnom Penh regime it seeks to legalize the Vietnamese aggression in democratic Kampuchea." The members of the delegation also complained that they were provided accommodation some 30 kilometres outside Havana and that they were refused accreditation badges for access to the conference centre.

President J. R. Jayewardene of Sri Lanka arrived early on the morning of August 31 in Havana. He was received at the airport by Fidel Castro with all honours due to a Head of State. As the outgoing Chairman of the Non-

aligned Movement, his arrival aroused a great deal of interest. Will he be able to help to smoothen out the Kampuchean problem which is now hanging over the Summit like a ghost that cannot be exorcised? A note in my diary on the day President Jayewardene arrived merits citation. "Marshall Tito, who arrived very early, has been lobbying hard on behalf of the Pol Pot regime. Singapore, the tiny little island, has assumed the role of Champion and Saviour of the Pol Pot regime and denounces Communism at every turn. The Heng Samrin government also has strong and vociferous supporters although they appear to be numerically fewer. A very large number of countries are neutral on this question and indications are that the Kampuchean affair may remain frozen until the next Summit or the Ministerial meeting of the new Co-ordinating Bureau. Will President Jayewardene, ably assisted by Foreign Minister Hameed, find a solution to the question of the Kampuchean representation?"

I had gone on to note at the same time, "I asked many Cubans, some directly (many speak English) and others through Spanish-speaking foreign journalists here whether the vast and massive expenditure incurred by the Castro government to host this Summit had not evoked criticism and discontent among ordinary people—because it must entail great sacrifices on their part. The answer was straight and simple. Cuba had suffered economic blockade by the USA and other forms of harassment for twenty years. The US had endeavoured to put Cuba into a dog house. The US had compelled nearly all countries in Central and South America to break off diplomatic relations. Slowly over the years the situation had changed and people felt that it was the Non-aligned movement that had enabled Cuba to assume her rightful place in the continent and the world. The Sixth Summit was a symbol of Cuba's emancipation and the opening of a new path for the people of Latin America."

Whilst the Foreign Ministers' meeting was in progress, messages and greetings were received from nearly all countries of the world were made public. In view of the sharp criticisms levelled at the USA and China, it is interesting to note that Premier Hua Quo Feng warmly greeted the convening of the Sixth Conference of the Heads of State and Govern-

ment of Non-aligned countries in a message sent to the Conference which read: "On the occasion of the convocation of the Sixth Conference of the Heads of State and Government of Non-aligned countries, I wish to extend warm congratulations to the Conference on behalf of the Chinese government and people. Since its inception, the broadly-based non-aligned movement has played an important role in the struggle to combat imperialism, colonialism, hegemonism, racism and Israeli expansion and aggression, safeguard state sovereignty and develop national economy and culture, build a New International Economic Order and strive for world peace. The Chinese Government firmly supports the just position and positive actions of the non-aligned countries. We believe that the numerous non-aligned countries, relying on their united strength, adhering to the independent, autonomous and anti-bloc principles and policies of the non-aligned movement and eliminating imperialist and hegemonist interference, will make a greater contribution to bringing into fuller play the positive role of the non-aligned movement."

The US, day after day, had kept up a continuous and sustained propaganda barrage directed at Cuba and the so-called "radical" elements in the non-aligned movement. One typical propaganda outburst reported by AP from Washington said: "The United States expressed support for 'genuine non-alignment' and hoped that the Non-aligned Summit 'will contribute constructively to world peace.' A statement read by State Department spokesman Hodding Carter to reporters said that 'the meeting of representatives and leaders of over 80 non-aligned nations in Havana is an important event. We share with the vast majority a stake in many global issues they are considering.' He added that the Carter administration 'understands and supports the principles of genuine non-alignment.' When asked about the Cuban Foreign Minister's speech to the opening session of the Non-aligned Foreign Ministers' Conference in which he strongly condemned US imperialism, the spokesman replied, 'I found it to be fascinatingly selective and somewhat lacking in evenhandedness.'....."

Before the Foreign Ministers began their meeting, the USA had raised a hue and cry

about the presence of about 3,000 Russian "combat troops" in Cuba. It was in this setting that on the first day itself of the Foreign Ministers' meeting that the Kampuchean question was raised. This time, the ball was set rolling by Singapore's Foreign Minister Rajaratnam. A delegate from a Caribbean country told me that it was like listening to the voice of John Foster Dulles all over again—brought up to date by Brezezinski.

Rajaratnam in his hate for Cuba and everything "radical" unfortunately overstepped the rules of propriety. Waxing eloquent about the unilateral and arbitrary action of Cuba in keeping the Pol Pot delegation out, he said that if this kind of conduct was tolerated, every host country would become a dictator and that countries would have to bring gifts to receive invitations to sit at a Conference. In spite of the circumlocutory verbiage, many delegations regarded Rajaratnam's words to mean that gifts and bribes had to be given to the host country for invitations. A large number of countries which cannot be said to be in the pro-Cuba lobby had protested vigorously.

Even Sri Lankan officials prone to look on everything Singaporean favourably, told me that Rajaratnam's remarks were "in very bad taste". Word about the brick Rajaratnam had dropped quickly went round the delegations and the journalists. At a press conference he held the next day to present Singapore's views, he was heckled, and journalists from some countries who tried to go to his rescue failed to bale him out. A veteran journalist from India commented that Rajaratnam from tiny Singapore displayed (showed) far greater arrogance in his cold war polemics than Dulles in his heyday. Several Western correspondents confided in me (from the beginning) that Rajaratnam's speech at the plenary session of the Summit would be the finest speech of the Conference. They already had advance copies of this speech—as they had of Boutros Ghali's, the Egyptian Foreign Minister—but kept them as secret classified documents. These speeches were said to be the wonder speeches of the Sixth Summit.

As in the Ambassadorial level Preparatory Committee meeting, the ASEAN group led primarily by Singapore and supported by Malaysia and Indonesia made the Kampuchean

issue the most important item on the agenda. They were supported in varying degrees of weak, hesitant and vacillating logic by Burma, Nepal, Bhutan and Pakistan—countries on the border of China with India. Some Francophone African countries also backed Singapore on the Kampuchean issue, but unlike at the Colombo Ministerial meeting in June only four of them were as strident and vigorous as before, viz., Zaire, Senegal, Ivory Coast and Gabon—(Mali which had made the most noise in Colombo was relatively silent). Some of the Francophone countries like Benin and Madagascar enthusiastically supported Cuba. Yugoslavia and North Korea were the two countries from the Socialist camp that supported Pol Pot and even encouraged Singapore and ASEAN on this matter. A few non-Francophone African countries like Nigeria, Sudan and Zambia half-heartedly backed the principle of status quo to keep Pol Pot seated (shades of the Lusaka Commonwealth PM's conference) whilst Somalia missed no opportunity to attack Cuba as its arch enemy for supporting Ethiopia over the Ogaden dispute.

The arguments used in the Foreign Ministers' meeting were the old and threadbare ones used several times over at the earlier meetings of non-aligned movement. The only new one was that Cuba had arbitrarily unseated a sitting member. Cuba's reply was the stock one that she had not excluded Kampuchea from the Non-aligned Movement but wanted the Conference to decide which group should be seated.

One noteworthy feature at the Foreign Ministers' meeting was the growing impatience shown by a large number of member countries that a great deal of time was being deliberately wasted by countries like Singapore, Yugoslavia and others over the Kampuchean issue to the neglect and detriment of a more important matters before the Conference. It was felt by many Middle Eastern, African and Latin American countries that the Kampuchean issue was being used by the obviously pro-western ASEAN and Francophone countries to wage a cold war against Cuba and thus disrupt the Conference.

By the middle of the second day of the Foreign Ministers' meeting 44 or 45 countries had spoken on the Kampuchean issue. Of this only 19 or 20 had spoken in favour of the status



quo to seat the Pol Pot regime (one or two of them were so vague that it was not clear what they wanted). Opposed to this were 24 or 25—some backed the Heng Samrin government whilst others pressed hard for a no-seat-for-either-group-now formula. The balance of just over 50 countries were not interested either way—they were only getting impatient that the work of the Conference was being held up or even sabotaged.

At this stage, there was a general "consensus" that the matter should be referred to the Summit of the Heads of States or Governments for a decision. (This particular "consensus" was revived later by the ASEAN group which wanted a further debate in the Foreign Ministers' meeting. This led to another meeting of the Foreign Ministers on September 5 which I shall deal with later).

Immediately after the decision to refer the Kampuchean issue to the Summit, I made this entry in a kind of log-book I kept of the more important developments. "The Kampuchean ghost, which has been haunting the Sixth Non-aligned Summit, has been partially if not completely laid to rest by the Foreign Ministers sending up the matter to the Heads of State whilst concerning themselves with the other serious and more important political and economic problems facing the conference. At the meeting of the Foreign Ministers twenty five countries spoke against the seating of the Pol Pot regime but some of them said that as their governments had still not recognized the Heng Samrin government the seat should be kept vacant. Only twenty countries spoke in favour of retaining the status quo and the Pol Pot regime.

"There has been a slight swing against the hardline supporters of the Pol Pot regime in the last forty eight hours. A large number of delegations have begun to complain that certain countries which took up the matter of the Pol Pot regime as the first priority were distracting the conference from its main and essential matters of importance. This is probably the main reason why the Foreign Ministers disposed off the Kampuchean question and turned to other matters. Another reason for the swing against those who had been pressing hard for Pol Pot and had been plugging the anti-Cuba line is the overkill tactics adopted by Yugoslavia to rub Cuba's nose on every issue

big and small. This has brought a great deal of sympathy from African and Arab countries for Cuba.

"Another matter that has evoked sympathy for Cuba is the American story that there were 3,000 Russian 'combat troops' here. Even those who had felt that Cuba should not have named the USA and China as the enemies of the Havana Summit now feel that Malmierca was justified in his remarks. American correspondents are the most embarrassed because their editors keep telephoning to them to go and find these troops which everybody, including the Americans here, know there are no 'combat troops' here.

"Last night President Fidel Castro met Marshal Tito for four hours no doubt in a bid to smoothen out some of the controversial and contentious matters before the conference. This is the second meeting after President Tito's arrival in Havana. Nothing is known about the outcome of these talks. But there is a general expectation that there might be a lowering of the tensions between Yugoslavia and Cuba."

About the discussions on the Draft Declaration and the work of the Political and Economic committees at the Foreign Ministers level, I will deal with in the next instalment.

(To be continued)

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### OFFICIAL EXCHANGE RATES

Official Exchange Rates of Commercial Banks to their customers for Telegraphic Transfers fixed on Tuesday this week were as follows:—

CURRENCY	PER 100 UNITS	
	Buying Rate	Selling Rate
U.S. Dollar	Rs. 1562.50	Rs. 1565.50
Sterling Pound	Rs. 3429.90	Rs. 3435.90
Deutsche Mark	Rs. 901.65	Rs. 903.25
French Franc	Rs. 383.55	Rs. 384.25
Japanese Yen	Rs. 6.9495	Rs. 6.9645
Indian Rupees	Rs. 189.10	Rs. 189.50

# Confidentially

## What Is To Be Done?

IS IT ANY WONDER that Migara after making gruesome revelations about the smuggling syndicate (Mafia) should indulge in philosophical speculations? That in the same column in his article in the *Weekend* of July 1, he went on to say "it is pitiful that in a democracy as we are in today, though these are facts known to many, including the higherups, the press is unable to mention who's doing what so that all may know. Thus within these boundaries, the public should be contended to read between the lines, unless they make generous contributions for a libel case. Much worse is unsaid here than is said. Still, these happenings are not entirely new to Sri Lanka as much as to several other countries. President Jayewardene has said often than any complaint made against any MP or Minister dabbling in corrupt practices will be inquired into and necessary action would be taken. Already he has one report before him of a Government MP. Why do politicians have to go to powerful Moghuls for money and whisky? Cannot they do with the salary they get, the free warrants the allowances etc? Are they having to live beyond their means? If that is so should not Parliament vote more money for themselves? After-all today MPs and politicians do not come from exclusive elite classes. There is no income qualification to serve the people. With their income can they maintain their unblemished records. Some MPs when elected are symbol of purity. They become exposed to Mudalalis in the villages and tycoons in the cities. Ultimately, the weak one give in to the temptations held out to them in return for 'favours' when they face the polls again they lose not only their seats but their self respect as well."

That Migara thereafter turned his attention from politicians to public servants He said: "Every Government since Independence was regained has not been able to get the cream of talent for public service and public life because many are lured by the attractive salaries in the private sector and

the easy money businessmen earn. This Government has exempted public servants from income tax. Therefore, at least to some extent the Government has the moral right to require more exemplary conduct from them". That he concluded the piece with a homily? That "there are widespread rumours often floating on various syndicates operating in Sri Lanka. A few men, but powerful in their own way, are eroding the very structure of the institutions of democratic principles. Some government action is mandatory if we are to purify these principles where powerful men are not only honest but beyond the reach of suspicion of being dishonest. This, as often has been said, is the golden thread that runs through the fabric of democratic government. This is just one instance where the working of a single Sri Lanka Odessa came to the public eye because some incorruptible Customs men blew the lid off. Do we carry on regardless?"

That it is becoming clearer day by day that some special laws like the anti-terrorist laws must be enacted to end this underworld menace?

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

Reference No.— 11/7/1/127

The Government intends to acquire the land described in the Schedule below, for a public purpose, for particulars, please see part III of the Gazette of the Democratic Socialist Republic of Sri Lanka No. 57 of 04-10-1979.

#### Schedule

District:	: Anuradhapura
D.R.O.'s Division	: Nuwaragam Palatha (East)
G.A.'s Division	: 23 B
Name of land	: Kudanelunkulama Mukalana
Plan No.	: F.V.P. 268
Lot No.	: 19

#### Chandrasoma Weerasinghe

A.G.A. (Lands) & Acquiring Officer and Anuradhapura District Land Officer, for Government Agent, Anuradhapura District, The Kachcheri, Anuradhapura.  
10/09/1979.

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OBJECTS

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

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

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**Tel; 29118.**

# SAPUMAL FOUNDATION

**APPROVED CHARITY**

(See Govt. Gazette No. 10 of 10-11-1978)

## OBJECTS

**(a) The Advancement of Education, Educational Scientific, and Cultural Activities.**

- (i) The grant of assistance in the form of scholarships, bursaries, loans, allowances, payment for or in reimbursement of the cost of books, equipment, fees and other expenses incurred in the prosecution of studies or artistic and cultural activities in research conducted thereon.
- (ii) The grant of assistance to deserving local artists, musicians, writers, dramatic artists, scientists and the like towards the publication or promotion of their work; and by way of assisting in or undertaking the sale or performance of such works.
- (iii) The establishment, maintenance and management of a permanent gallery for the fine arts and a library of books and musical scores of oriental and western classical and operatic music for the use of the public of Sri Lanka.
- (iv) The carrying on and maintaining of any undertaking, by itself or in association with any other organisation, Government or private, and whether affiliated to any foreign or international organisation or not, to promote development of and encourage interest in dancing (other than ballroom dancing), music, dramatic works, sculpture and other fine arts.

**(b) The Relief of Poverty** by providing financial or other assistance to needy persons and to institutions engaged in caring for and looking after such persons and to service clubs or organisations (whether affiliated to any foreign or international organisation or not) engaged in the promotion of activities involving the relief of poverty and/or other charitable purposes for the benefit of poor and needy or handicapped persons in Sri Lanka.

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