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TRIBUNE



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Letter From The Editor

Many readers will wonder what the picture on the cover is all about. Only a few city dwellers will know and some of the older folk in the rural areas will recognize the little circles of earth round tiny holes as the homes and dwellings of the humble earthworm—a species fast disappearing under the destructive impact of mighty earth-moving giants, powerful bulldozers and even smaller tractors. The excessive use of pesticides and weedicides have also taken their toll. Agronomists, soil scientists and environmentalists will tell you that the presence of the earthworm is a sign of soil fertility, that the humus, in which the micro-organisms essential for a good soil thrive, has not been destroyed. We invite our readers and others interested in agriculture and who have opportunities of going round our colonisation schemes, including Mahaweli, to see whether earthworms are as plentiful as they should be or whether there are any left in some areas. Even a cursory survey of our earthworm population will show that our soil needs a great deal of environmental regeneration. In spite of the blah blah talk and sunshine stories of increasing agricultural production, realists know that rice production has not gone up (the drought is always a convenient excuse)—and that subsidiary food crops have definitely gone down considerably. In a recent SLBC broadcast in the *Down to Earth* series, Derrick Schokman, the knowledgeable commentator on agricultural matters, had drawn attention to the fact that the subsidiary food crop production had dropped in the most alarming manner. It is an admitted fact that from 1973/74 when the imports of such food crops which could be grown here was banned or restricted, the acreage in which they were grown had increased in a phenomenal way. With the liberalisation of imports, acreages cultivated have dropped to levels far below earlier levels. Under the slogan that chillies had risen to Rs. 40 a lb.—for two months in one Christmas season—vast quantities of chillies and onions were imported and local prices were depressed—far below the economic level, in the context of the current increase in the cost of production. Except the purblind and those who refused to face to realities knew that farmers had stopped growing chillies and onions and had turned to other crops where such price limitations were not imposed by imports. And now for some weeks, there is no talk about importing onions and chillies. The *Observer* last week had a front page story—ONIONS—HIGH PRICES TILL NEXT YEAR: “Marketing Commissioner, Mr. N. Vamadeva is not able to hold out much consolation to housewives now paying between Rs. 4 and 4.50 for a pound of onions. He says it is unlikely that prices will drop to last month’s level when a pound could be bought for 75 cents until July next year when the season gets into full swing. Last year the Marketing Department bought over 450 tonnes of onions. But this July inclement evening showers in Jaffna—Sri Lanka’s onion country—put a spanner in the works. The Department was able to collect only a mere 150 tonnes and half of that too is now exhausted.” Why the Marketing Department was able to buy only 150 tonnes instead of 450 was not due to “evening showers”—there were none in the relevant months—was because less was grown.

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CONTENTS

EDITOR'S NOTEBOOK	
—Pre-Budget Blues	p. 2
INTERNATIONAL	
—Iran, Zimbabwe	p. 4
WORLD PRESS	
—India	p. 7
LETTER	
—Forest Reserves	p. 8
SALT—2	
—U.S. View	p. 9
INDIAN OCEAN	
—Soviet View	p. 11
MAHAWELI	
—Wild Life	p. 13
BIG DAMS	
—Dangers	p. 16
CHRONICLE	
—Nov. 1—7	p. 18
HOW MANY SOCIALISMS?	
—Point Of View	p. 24
FOREIGN CONNECTIONS	
—Sri Lanka	p. 27
HAVANA DIARY—7	
—September 3	p. 29
CONFIDENTIALLY	
—Orchids & Ada—5	p. 32

EDITOR'S NOTEBOOK

PRE-BUDGET BLUES

Colombo, November 12,

By the time this issue of *Tribune* is out, The Finance Minister would have made his Budget speech (on the afternoon of November 14). But as most of *Tribune* goes to bed by Tuesday, it will be virtually impossible to comment on the Budget in this issue. There is much speculation about what the Budget with a Rs. 11 billion deficit will have. On the basis of the estimates tabled last week, the Finance Minister has said that 40% of the Budget (Rs. 12 billion) is devoted to development and that about Rs. 2.8 billion will go on food subsidies. In press statements the Finance Minister made much of the point that Sri Lanka would persist in food countries in spite of opposition from the World Bank, the IMF and donor (and lender) countries. There is no doubt that Sri Lanka is being given a certain amount of leeway in the matter of food and other subsidies. For how long this favoured treatment will go on is yet to be seen—before the IMF squeeze and “conditionalities” screw are applied as they have been in certain other countries.

It would be interesting to place on record an interview of the Finance Minister, Mr. Ronnie de Mel, published in the *Sunday Observer* of October 21, 1979. Below is the full text of the interview. “Sri Lanka is lucky to have got the aid she had at the time she did. With the world heading for a recession—the experts only argue about how bad it is going to be—future overseas assistance is going to be very very tight. This is what Finance and Planning Minister, Ronnie de Mel, just back from the Belgrade meetings of the World Bank and the IMF, and grappling with the budget he would present on November 14, said in an interview. ‘The view from the top is one of unmitigated economic gloom. 147 Finance Ministers, including four Prime Ministers who hold the finance portfolios in their countries, attended the Belgrade meetings. As I saw it, there were two clear lines of tho-

ught; one was that the situation was bad; the other was that it was very bad..... With regard to overseas development assistance and foreign aid, the situation is becoming more and more difficult. We are lucky to have got most of what we need for the next four years in time.’ The talks had focussed on inflation, slow growth, growing unemployment and a recession in the developed countries. Even powerful economies like those of the US, Germany and Japan were unlikely to grow more than 1 to 2 per cent. Some countries expect minus growth, double digit inflation and higher unemployment. The trend had already begun. The brightest outlook was 3-4 per cent growth in some developed countries.

“The picture for the third world was gloomier. Brazil, one of the most advanced of the developing countries, is fighting galloping inflation expected to leap from 25 per cent last year to a projected 58 per cent this year. Her debt service ratio is expected to be a frightening 80 per cent of export earnings. Mr. de Mel also had meetings with colleagues from the oil producing world. Sheikh Mohamed Abdel Kail of Saudi Arabia and Ali Ardalen of Iran had left the impression that oil prices will rise further this year. Kuwait, Iran and Mexico have already upped prices. A mild winter may help hold prices. Burning fuel to cope with severe winter this year can send prices shooting.

“World Bank President Robert McNamara and IMF Managing Director Larossiere had been pleased about Sri Lanka’s 8.2 per cent growth rate last year and the IMF had, in fact, offered further balance of payments support. ‘We thanked them for the offer and said we did not need any further support. But there is no room for complacency and euphoria. We have to be extremely careful and increase both production and exports. This is the only way to counter inflation.’ He explained that Sri Lanka will have to contend with both imported inflation and domestic inflation arising from the pumping of a large volume of money into the economy. ‘As long as this money goes into development and quick production it does not matter. But we must be careful about public expenditure cutting out inefficiency, waste and non-productive spending. The next year is going to be difficult

for all countries including Sri Lanka's, he said." The ideas set out in this interview will be undoubtedly reflected in the Budget speech.

In a question and answer interview in the *Sunday Observer* of 11th November, Mr. Ronnie de Mel set out the major features that emerged from the Budget estimates. He was at pains to stress (1) that 40% (Rs. 12 billion) was earmarked for 'development'; (2) that Rs. 2.8 billion was for subsidies; (3) that the foreign debt would not be burdensome because they were got on concessionary terms (unlike the foreign debts incurred by Mrs. Bandaranaike); (4) that once the country was developed and was able to generate its own capital, no further reliance will be placed on foreign aid or loans; (5) that the panacea for all Sri Lanka's ills was to increase local production and cut down unnecessary public expenditure and unnecessary vehicles; cut out inefficiency, waste and corruption and end the over-staffing of public sector organisations; (5) that the new currency notes were not intended to balance the budget—that orders for these notes had been placed even before the last budget. Naturally, he refused to say how he proposed to bridge the Rs. 11 billion deficit.

This is something of a curtain raiser before the Budget. The *Sun* on 12.11.79 had what some people may call "intelligent anticipation" by stating that the Budget will authorise the issue of "Bearer Bonds" to mop up undeclared money—an exercise that was started by N. M. Perera in 1971 and is being repeated year after year in every Budget through various devices, while the Black Money in Sri Lankan hands, here and abroad, continues to proliferate.

Much will be made in the Budget about 8.2% growth rate and the GNP increase of 6.0%. The Governor of the Central Bank, Rasaputram, had declared that this growth was on the footing that the inflation was 15%—and to curb this inflationary trend he said that there must be increased investment and more production of commodities and services. Minister of Trade, Lalith Athulathmudali, however, has said that in his view current inflation was running at 30%. If this is correct, the growth rate and GNP increase will be about half the 8.2% and 6.0% respectively. This is how it strikes a layman, but statis-

THE SRI LANKA
SOCIETY FOR LABOUR LAW
AND SOCIAL LEGISLATION

announces a

PUBLIC SEMINAR

on

TRADE UNIONS AND
FREEDOM OF ASSOCIATION IN
A DEVELOPING ECONOMY

at the

Sri Lanka Foundation Institute

ON 24th NOVEMBER 1979

at 9-00 a. m.

Keynote Address:

CAPT. C. P. J. SENEVIRATNE
Minister of Labour

Chairman:

MR. V. TENNEKOON
Chairman, Law Reform Commission

Speakers:

MR. K. RAMA MURTHY
Chief Technical Advisor (ILO)

MR. BATTY WEERAKOON

Secretary,
Ceylon Federation of Labour

MR. ERNEST APPADURAI
Secretary,
Employers' Federation of Ceylon

MR. H. L. DE SILVA
Attorney-at-Law

MR. N. SATYENDRA
Attorney-at-Law

ticians have a way of juggling with figures in a way that leaves ordinary folk mystified.

We have also been told that since July there has been a 26% drop in use of oil in Sri Lanka. The President more recently said that Government would consider stopping of all imports of oil if world prices of petroleum products kept rising at present rates.

Meanwhile Opposition Party papers, *Janadina*, *Aththa*, and *Dinakara* have proclaimed that the prices of essentials would be raised in Budget—sugar to Rs. 5 a lb, bread to Rs. 2 a lb, rice to Rs. 4.50 a measure, petrol to Rs. 47.50 a gallon and so on and so forth.

What the Budget will bring on Wednesday is hard to say, but it can by no stretch of imagination be termed a sunshine budget. Ordinary people will have to find comfort and solace in the ethos of a Rs. 12 billion for development with Rs. 2.8 billion for subsidies—whilst tightening their belts in austerity owing to stunning increase in the prices of essentials waiting for the millenium.



International Affairs

by Ariel

● Iran ● Zimbabwe

World attention has been focussed on the events in Iran—the occupation of the American Embassy in Teheran by students at the behest of Khomeini and holding as hostages a 100 of the Embassy staff including 60 Americans. Khomeini wants the Shah who is in New York to be extradited to stand a trial in Iran. The semi-civilian government of Bazargan has resigned in protest. This is understandable because Khomeini's action savours of a barbaric dark age which permits the total violation of the basic tenets of international law and the rules of diplomacy. The premises of an embassy and the grounds round it are extra-territorial and if this sacrosanct principle is violated, then civilized relations between countries will cease to exist.

Whatever the crimes of the Shah—he was guilty of many—this Khomeinian attempt to get him back to stand summary trial is not

the way. With this totally unjustified conduct, Khomeini's Iran has put herself outside the pale of the civilised world community. Millions throughout the world had sympathy for the Iran Revolution, but Khomeini's ruthless killing of political opponents and now the seizure of the US embassy coupled with the enactment of archaic laws under cover of Islam have disappointed them. The Iranian Revolution is no more and friends of Iran wonder what will happen next.

The United States, no doubt because 60 American lives are at stake, has acted with caution, tact and patience and has sought to resolve the problem through diplomacy. In the final analysis, the way the US had collaborated with and backed the Shah to exploit many millions into poverty while a handful of the elite had enjoyed all the good things of life is partly responsible for the situation. But this is not enough reason to justify Khomeini's conduct. It is nothing short of catastrophic and brings discredit to Islam.

Though Iran has held the centre of the international stage for the last two weeks, the Zimbabwe conference in London is pregnant with fateful consequences. Batuk Gathami in a despatch to the *Hindu* on October 16, stated: "In the background of the latest British decision to take the initiative with the Muzorewa faction to resolve the future of Zimbabwe-Rhodesia, the current Lancaster House conference is bogged down in a quagmire of many imponderables. The fact that the British have been successful in driving a permanent wedge between the warring African factions highlights their diplomatic tactics as much as the weakness of the divided and squabbling African nationalists—perhaps equally split between the Muzorewa, Nkomo and Mugabe banners. What Britain has done is essentially to go ahead without the Patriotic Front and push a deal with Bishop Muzorewa's Government in Salisbury—hoping that the world will see reason and buy its argument. But Britain's case is as hollow as it is divisive, and the first salvo of protest was fired last night by the Commonwealth Secretary-General, Mr. Sridath Ramphal, who ruefully lamented that the British Foreign Secretary, Lord Carrington's action was 'not within the letter or spirit of the Lusaka agreement.' The essence of it all is that last night the British Foreign

Secretary brought down the guillotine on the first stage of the negotiations and has technically barred the Patriotic Front from participation in further talks until it accepts the British proposals. This morning, Lord Carrington moved ahead with bilateral talks with Bishop Muzorewa's delegation. The Patriotic Front leaders will be free to join them only if they accept the British plan."

The negotiations have seen many guillotines and many ultimatums. The latest ultimatum was on November 12 and the Patriotic Front was asked to collaborate with the British or get out. Even the most insignificant amendments to the draft constitution were sabotaged by the British and Southern Rhodesians. As to major issues of the transition period, notably reorganisation of the army and state bureaucracy, the British and the white racialists do not seem to have any intention to abandon a rigid and irreconcilable position in order to force the Zimbabwe Patriotic Front to surrender and to make one-sided concessions or to discredit it and force the ZPF to leave the conference table.

There is also no doubt that tremendous pressure has been brought by the UK, US, France and other interested Western powers to compel the OAU to be silent in respect of British and South Africa's intrigues and machinations regarding the Zimbabwe settlement and not to be against states that will recognize the Smith-Muzorewa regime if the London negotiations fail—especially the attempt to declare it lawful. Naturally Africans and all others are puzzled at OAU silence—especially because the British plan appears to connive at the perpetuation of racist policies.

On the eve of the conference and during it the British have been exerting an unmasked pressure on the frontline states, first of all on Zambia, Angola and Mozambique trying to force them not to back the ZPF and make them accept completely the British proposals on Rhodesia. In London diplomatic circles it is pointed out that the British promising wide economic assistance and using military blackmail, succeeded in enforcing Kaunda and Nyerere to back the western tactics as regards the national liberation movements in southern Africa.

Batuk Gathani had this to say about the situation inside the frontline states: "In Dar-

es-Salaam, the Presidents, of the five African frontline States are meeting to discuss the consequences of Lord Carrington's decision and plan a strategy to contain the British challenge of imposing a bilaterally negotiated Anglo-Muzorewa deal on the people of Zimbabwe. It is obvious that the leaders of the Patriotic Front—Mugabe based in Mozambique and Nkomo in Zambia—will now direct their guerilla forces to step-up an offensive on Zimbabwe. The scenario of Lancaster House this morning looks as grim as it is depressing. Although the Patriotic Front leaders are stunned by Lord Carrington's decision, there are rumours of a possible split in their camp. The unity in the Patriotic Front will largely depend on how united are the OAU States, for it is an open secret that President Kaunda of Zambia is disenchanted with the doctrinaire Tanzanian and Mozambique approach to the Rhodesian issue. As much as President Kaunda would want to see Mr. Nkomo emerge as the President of new Zimbabwe, Mozambique and Tanzania would prefer Mr. Robert Mugabe to take over, not because the common bond is marxist socialism but for all concerned Zimbabwe is a major economic asset. Zambia

QUIDNUNC

HAMBANTOTA PROJECT

In our last week's issue of November 10th we carried under this column a reference to the Integrated District Development Project of **Hambantota**. Since then the Ministry of Plan Implementation has contacted us and explained the circumstances under which the preparation of a project report relating to the Hambantota district was entrusted to a firm of local consultants named Resources Development Consultants.

On the facts disclosed to us by the Ministry of Plan Implementation we are satisfied that the normal tender procedure was followed in this instance and that the consultancy assignment was carried out in terms of the Agreement entered into with the Ministry and the firm of consultants.

We regret any embarrassment that may have been caused to the Ministry of Plan Implementation, its Secretary and the firm of consultants.

has traditional economic links with Rhodesia which were disrupted after the 1965 Rhodesian UDI (Unilateral Declaration of Independence). Then landlocked Zambia had no way out but to arrive at a working arrangement with Tanzania and use Dar-es-Salaam for its copper exports and vital imports. But chronic Tanzanian inefficiency and lethargy resulted in never-ending bottlenecks at Dar-es-Salaam port with dire consequences on Zambia's economy. This reality, more than anything else, has prompted President Kaunda to be more pragmatic. His cherished desire is to resume Zambia's traditional economic links with Rhodesia, without losing political face. This is why he so ardently tries to ensure that momentum towards a settlement is maintained. President Kaunda played a significant role in this direction at the Lusaka Commonwealth meeting where the British Premier, Mrs. Thatcher, was persuaded to give a final try to a negotiated settlement. President Nyerere of Tanzania often accused of harbouring "expansionist socialist ambitions" would be pleased if Mr. Mugabe emerged as the leading light in Rhodesia. But Tanzania's 'Uganda episode' and destabilisation of the Lule Government followed by consolidation of Tanzania troops' presence in Uganda, has prompted most black African OAU Heads of Government to wonder about the Tanzanian intentions even in Zimbabwe. The British are acutely aware of the dilemma which the front-line OAU States and the Zimbabwe nationalists are confronted with. To divide them is as easy as driving a knife through butter; this is exactly what Lord Carrington has done."

It has also become evident that as the British and the Southern Rhodesians oppose the firm position of the ZPF representatives defending the interests of the indigenous population, they are rather using their favourite tactic of promoting disunity among the organisations of the National Liberation Movements of Zimbabwe. The massive raids conducted on the Southern Rhodesians on the ZANU camps in Mozambique; concentration of military units of South Africa and Rhodesia on the border with Mozambique, reconnaissance flights of the Rhodesian Air Forces planes over the territory of Zambia and the acts of sabotage which followed immediately after that on industrial sites in the inner districts

(in particular, blowing up of essentially important railway and road bridges). Sabotage in the frontline states are aimed at undermining their economy and enforcing them to abandon the backing of ZPF. At the same time the British are trying to compromise ZANU and ZAPU leaders by disseminating among OAU members slanderous rumours.

It is also known that the Rhodesian leaders defending their interests have put on the state of combat readiness over 15,000 mercenaries presently serving in the armed forces in Salisbury. The greatest bulk of the hired mercenaries is known to be from South Africa—about 5,000 men. Then there are Portuguese (numbering 3,000), Americans (2,800) greatly experienced in the warfare in Vietnam. 1500 members of the neo-nazi organisations of the FRG have offered their assistance alongside with 900 Israeli commandos. Furthermore, it is also known that the assistance of the mercenaries from Britain, Chile and Canada have been sought in order to suppress the national Liberation Movement of Zimbabwe.

Batuk Gathani refers to the options before the Thatcher government: "At the Tory annual conference in Blackpool a few days ago, the rightwing factions not only made their presence felt but both Mrs. Thatcher and Lord Carrington were left in no doubt about the consequences of their own political future if economic sanctions against Rhodesia were not lifted by the middle of November. They are in a desperate hurry to come to terms with anybody to give Rhodesian independence some semblance of legality. Bishop Muzorewa is the obvious choice and is willing to play the game the British way. The Carter Administration has let it be known that it would go along with the British package with the Muzorewa faction. In a simplistic way it looks so easy and cosy but even the British agree that the consequences would be far-reaching for all concerned and the spectre of a communist backed and more fierce guerilla war on the Rhodesian front looms large."

The possibility that the Thatcher government will not stop at carrying out an armed intervention in Rhodesia if the negotiations turned unfavourable to London is not ruled out by the circles close to the British Government. In particular, a combined operation of

the British military and the South African army to secure so-called law and order in Rhodesia has been studied. There have also been leaks in the press about concentration of military units and aircraft of the South Africa in the region between Gatooma and Hartley; about activity at the secret US air forces base situated near the railroad Salisbury/Bulawayo; and the speedy completion of construction of 4 military airfields having been built with the help of the US firms since 1977.

Fears have also been expressed that Western cloak and dagger services would be used to assassinate key African leaders. This fear has grown after the abortive attempt on the life of the African Nationalist Congress (ANC) leader A. Nzo, allegedly by agents of the Pretoria government. More such attempts are expected to physically eliminate undesirable leaders of the National Liberation Movement.

x x x

FROM THE WORLD PRESS

INDIA

Minister Charged For Accepting A Bribe

FORMER SHIPPING MINISTER, CHAND RAM, has been charged with having accepted over one lakh rupees and other gifts as illegal gratification from a Japanese firm for awarding the contract for preparing a detailed project report for consideration of shipyards in India, reports *UNI*. Mr. P. N. Balasubramaniam, a Delhi businessman, and some other persons have also been charged for having received large sums of money for getting the contract awarded to the Japanese firm even though there was a lower offer from a Swiss firm. Mr. Chand Ram, Mr. Balasubramaniam, Mr. Chand Ram's private assistant Duli Chand and some others have been charged under the Indian Penal Code.....Among some other officers and private persons, the first information report, which has been filed, names the accused as Messrs Abdulla Sayad Bashim Sons, Kuwait; Managing Director K.T.B. Menon, messrs Tukushu Menon Paper Manufacturing Com-

pany Limited, Madras; Managing Director Raj Kumar Menon; and Messrs Ishikavajima Harima Heavy Industries Company Limited (International Division, Tokyo.) Deputy General Manager N. Handa.

According to the FIR filed by CBI special investigation unit Superintendent B. P. Sha on 21 October, three firms—Messrs A and P Appledore International Limited of Britain, Messrs Shipping Research Services of Oslo and Messrs Uljami Shipyards of Yugoslavia—prepared preliminary project reports for construction of shipyards in the country. The Public Investigation Board and the Union Finance Ministry in June 1977 approved the terms of reference for commissioning the detailed project reports (DPR) for setting up new shipyards in the two sites at Hajira in Gujarat and Paradip port in Orissa. The fee quoted by Japanese firm in the tenders was about Rs. 30 lakhs higher than the lowest offer by Messrs Havelink of Switzerland. However, the Evaluation Committee of the Shipping Ministry recommended the award to the Japanese firm after fresh revisions by the two firms on the ground that the Japanese offer was lower considering that it was the combined offer for both the DPR and the construction stage. Later, the Swiss firm also reduced their fee to the extent that their combined fee was lower than that of the Japanese firm. However, under orders of Mr. Ram of 20 June last year the Swiss offer was not considered and despite objections by the Secretary (Expenditure) in the Finance Ministry the work was entrusted to the Japanese firm on 23 August last year.

On 24 June 1978 Mr. Balasubramaniam sent a message to Mr. K. T. B. Menon at Madras to fulfil obligation to Mr. Chand Ram as Mr. Chand Ram had already carried out his part. Mr. K. T. B. Menon arranged to send a cheque of Rs. one lakh, which was received personally by Mr. Chand Ram at Delhi and was credited on 17 July last year to the account of All-India Antodaya Education Society, New Delhi, of which Mr. Chand Ram was the patron.

Mr. Menon had also paid in Kuwaiti currency to Air India at Kuwait an amount equivalent to Rs. 11,260 but the advice issued by Air India on this amount for a journey to London and back from New Delhi was returned undelivered because of the wrong address.

In addition to this Mr. Balasubramaniam obtained some electronic equipment and a costly necklace (duly given to Mr. Chand Ram) from the Japanese firm, who also paid large sums of money to Mr. K. T. B. Menon and Mr. Raj Kumar Menon. The CBI had conducted raids on Thursday at the residence in Delhi and Rohtak of Mr. Chand Ram and Mr. Balasubramaniam and seized various documents. Mr. Chand Ram had, in September 1977, approved the suggestion of the Finance Ministry to entrust the preparation of DPR to Messrs A & D Appledor International Limited at an estimated cost of Rs. 12 lakhs. The fact that this firm had also investigated both the sites also weighed with the Ministry while awarding the work to it. On 12 January 1978 formal letters were issued to the three consultant firms along with the terms of reference after getting the approval of the Department of Economic Affairs and the Minister earlier on 7 January. The last date for receiving the offers was set 13 February but subsequently extended to 20 February.

However, on 8 February, Mr. Chand Ram wanted the matter to be reopened to include the name of the Japanese firm, Messrs Ishikavajima-Harima Heavy Industries Company Limited, whose representative had met the Minister a few days earlier. Mr. Chand Ram did not approve the explanation given by Development Adviser (Ports) Brig. O. P. Narula for entrusting the work to one of the three consultant firms. Instead, Mr. Ram, on 1 March, last year, accepted the suggestion by the joint secretary in the Shipping Ministry S. S. Gill to float global tenders instead of adding a name or two. Meanwhile, through Mr. K. T. B. Menon (of the Kuwait firm) the Japanese firm appointed Mr. Balasubramaniam (of Messrs Pan Asian Technical Services Private Limited of New Delhi) and Mr. Raj Kumar Menon (Managing Director of Messrs Tukushu Menon Paper Manufacturing Limited of Madras) as their representatives in India to negotiate for getting the contract. According to the FIR, they on 10 February last year paid a sum of Rs. 500 to Shri Chand Ram as illegal gratification in connection with the said work.

—Patriot, New Delhi.



LETTER

Forest Resources

Sir,

Posterity will be grateful if the authorities respond as they should, to your editorial of the 20th October. There are further considerations along your line of logic.

1. Those who deal with renewable resources, at a commercial level, must be made responsible for renewing them. It should be mandatory for a company that consumes the commercial timber of say 100 acres each year, to replant and maintain 100 acres too. This notion should be applied to fish—as we approach a maximum sustainable yield catch; pasture as herds grow larger and every other similar resource.

2. The price of non-renewable resources is probably immeasurable in small countries like our's. Is it fair to future generations to exhaust any national asset, in order to collect foreign exchange and generate jobs for the short time till the resources lasts at greedy rates of extraction? Kaolin, which we had in its purest form, may be all gone from wherever it is feasible to mine it, by AD 2000. The return on a vanishing resources, must contain sufficient to cover research into alternatives; and those who receive the return must be obliged to push and pay for such research.

This renewal and replacement mechanism must be built into the commercial use of every natural resource. At the heart of this necessity—is growth of human numbers—with legitimate needs for food, shelter, fuel and jobs; as contrasted with the limits of available biological capacity to meet these needs, within the sovereign boundaries of each state.

Perhaps a peripheral point is, that some research must have the far future in mind, eg. If there is only a fixed sum available for energy research, should it be spent on a fossil fuel, the use of which carries the seed of it's own end? Or should it be spent on resources such as wind and tides, upon which an island like our's may reasonably depend upon for ever?

Nimali Kannangara

Audio Visual Data Bank,
96, Wijerama Mawatha,
P.O. Box 4,
Colombo 7. Sri Lanka.
29th, Oct. 1979

SALT TWO

— and global stability —

by Dr. Jol Husbands

Dr. Husbands is Senior Research Associate with Consolidated Analysis Centers, Inc., of Arlington, Virginia, a Research Development and Problem-Solving Company that contracts its services to business and Government.)

OVER THE NEXT SEVERAL MONTHS, as the US Senate debates the ratification of the SALT TWO Treaty, the focus will be, appropriately, on the importance of the new strategic Arms Limitation Pact for US national security interests and the US-Soviet strategic balance. Much of the debate will thus be consumed with the esoteric language of nuclear deterrence and the excruciatingly technical details of verification and nuclear weapon performance. All this may operate the impression that SALT TWO affects only US-Soviet relations, with only a marginal impact on the rest of the world and its problems. Such an impression would be false.

In one sense, the significance of SALT TWO to non-signatory nations is simple, for as President Carter said in presenting the treaty to the Congress, *"In this age of the hydrogen bomb, there is no longer any meaningful distinction between global war and global suicide."* It might be possible to fight a "limited" nuclear war, but no sane person wants to find out. During the 34 years since Hiroshima and Nagasaki, the technology of nuclear destruction has threatened to out-run man's capacity to find the political means to contain it. *The destructive potential of the current nuclear weapons held by the two super powers exceeds even the most dreadful visions of the creators, of those first atomic devices.*

SALT TWO will not dismantle the nuclear arsenals of the United States and the Soviet Union, but it will check their head long expansion. It is a modest, vital step in the direction of halting the nuclear arms race, and on its success rests far more than just the

fate of the superpowers. The SALT Treaty covers only one aspect of US-Soviet relations and does not spell the end to competition between the two nations. As the representative of Mauritius noted during the United Nations' Special Session on Disarmament, "it is to be stressed that we do not regard disarmament as a universal remedy to contemporary problems. It does not and cannot solve the opposition between rival ideologies, nor does it solve territorial disputes or conflicts of economic and political interests among nations."

FUNDAMENTALLY different values and visions of society and politics ensure that some level of tension will always persist, and that tension directly affects the political future of the rest of the world. The SALT process, with SALT TWO as its latest achievement, signifies the determination of the United States and the Soviet Union that competition will never find expression in the awful destruction of nuclear war. As President Carter has said, *".....SALT TWO does not end the arms competition, but it does make that competition safer and more predictable, with clear rules and verifiable limits where otherwise there would be no rules and there would be no limits."* As such, SALT TWO represents one more payment on US and Soviet pledges to the world to bring the nuclear arms race to a halt.

The fate of SALT TWO will directly affect the fate of other important arms control measures currently under negotiation. The prospects for a comprehensive test ban, first raised as an arms control issue by the Non-aligned nations in the 1950's, depend in large measure on the restraints embodied in SALT TWO and the confidence these may give the world's nuclear powers to finally forego all nuclear testing. Other advances also will depend on the climate of co-operation bred by a successful SALT agreement, as well as on the attention available for other projects after the consuming task of SALT. These are measures of concern to both industrialized and developing nations, such as arms control in the Indian Ocean, and an agreement on chemical weapons. The recent announcement of a Joint US-Soviet draft treaty on radiological weapons may reflect the positive effects of

concluding SALT TWO, with more such development perhaps to follow.

BUT THE CLEAREST LINKAGE between SALT TWO and other arms control measures lies with nuclear Non-proliferation. The second review conference of the Non-proliferation Treaty (NPT) is to be held next year in Geneva, and SALT TWO is evidence of the superpowers' commitment to place controls on their nuclear rivalry. That commitment was a fundamental demand of the non-nuclear weapons states during the treaty negotiations; in return for their pledge to forsake nuclear weapons, they insisted that the nuclear powers take steps to check their own vertical proliferation. Article Six of the Non-proliferation Treaty thus commits its parties "to pursue negotiations in good faith on effective measures relating to cessation of the nuclear arms race at an early date and to nuclear disarmament." As the special SALT adviser to the secretary of state, Paul Warnke has said: *"I think we would be kidding ourselves if we thought that we could wait indefinitely to bring about meaningful measures of nuclear arms control and still expect the rest of the world to continue to forego the acquisition of nuclear weapons capability of their own. They won't indefinitely listen to lectures about non-proliferation without seeing hard evidence that we ourselves and the Soviet Union are prepared to accept nuclear restraint."*

The New SALT Treaty demonstrates the US and Soviet commitments to such restraints. SALT TWO does not address directly the pressures for proliferation felt around the world, but the credibility of the further non-proliferation efforts of the superpowers quite properly rests on its successful conclusion. Beyond the urgent issue of nuclear arms limitation, SALT TWO will produce other benefits for international politics. The US-Soviet nuclear competition represents only one portion of their broader competition, and those other aspects intrude directly into the daily political lives of many nations. During the worst years of East-West tension, the United States and the Soviet Union, in pursuit of their cold war conflicts, constructed networks of friendships and alliances throughout the world. Regional political tensions and conflicts then became extensions of the cold war, viewed through cold war lenses with distorted perceptions,

and therefore often with inappropriate responses by both sides.

OVER THE YEARS, however, both the United States and the Soviet Union have learned painful lessons about the folly of simply imposing their own competition on complex local situations. Fears that a regional conflict, where each side had its superpower sponsor, could escalate to direct US-Soviet confrontation have forced further restraints. The dangers have not disappeared, particularly in tension-ridden areas such as the Middle East, nor has this new realism meant a diminution in commitments to the security of friends and allies. But the lessons learned do signal a greater awareness and sophistication in dealing with essentially regional issues. The world can only benefit from this hard-won wisdom, and SALT TWO, to the extent it further stabilizes US-Soviet nuclear relations, will strengthen this increased superpower realism. Important indirect benefits also may flow from the completion of SALT TWO, for it will free the attention of US leaders to concentrate on other issues. The stabilizing of US-Soviet nuclear tensions should make it possible for the United States to devote greater time to a long list of international problems, many of them related to non-military aspects of international security. These have not been ignored during the SALT process, but many observers believe they do require more attention than has, realistically been available for them.

One such problem is the development of effective action to cope with the severe constraints emerging with regard to the world's natural resources. The current energy crisis is plainly a case in point. The developing nations have been particularly hard hit by the dramatic increases in oil prices, and international co-operation is needed to effect solutions. Another problem is to provide recognition of the impressive economic strides made by nations such as Brazil and Nigeria, and to give due regard to the standing in international political and economic affairs their performance commands. Many of these problems, falling under the heading of a New International Economic Order, demand fundamental changes in the

way developed and developing nations deal with one another. Building these new relationships is a difficult, time-consuming, and sometimes bitter process, but that process cannot receive the full attention of the United States while the basic issues of nuclear arms control remain unresolved.

SALT TWO provides no definitive answers to the nuclear dilemma, and will not remove these issues from their central place among US concerns, but the successful ending of this round of negotiations would mean that other issues would stand a better chance to receive their full, fair measure of high-level attention. Humanitarian interests could also receive indirect benefits from SALT TWO in the form of greater monies for economic assistance and aid. For many years the developing nations have argued that the resources freed by the reduced military expenditures made possible by disarmament should be devoted to the urgent tasks of economic and social development. The United States also recognizes its responsibility to aid in that development process, regardless of any progress toward disarmament. As Secretary of State Vance has said, "at least one-half billion (500 million) people regularly go hungry in a world of plenty. A half-billion is an abstract number, another statistic among many, and, therefore, too easily dismissed. But when we pause to picture the human suffering that lies behind that statistic, the scope of our moral challenge is clear. The continuation of that suffering is an affront to the conscience of men and women everywhere."

NUCLEAR ARMS account for only a fraction of the 400,000 million dollars the world spends in annual military expenditures, but they are the most visible and appropriate symbols of the dreadful waste of resources these expenditures entail. SALT TWO itself may not result in any direct reductions in US or Soviet military spending, for new programs already begun will likely keep expenditures at their present levels. But the additional progress in nuclear arms limitation, which SALT TWO presents, could make it easier to find funds for helping the developing countries meet basic human needs, such as food, shelter and health care. And future Arms Control Agree-

ments, such as SALT THREE, by further easing of tensions and genuine reduction in the superpowers nuclear forces, would make more direct benefits available.

The SALT THREE negotiations could be extremely complex, for they would touch on a number of issues that have remained outside the negotiations until now. SALT THREE would tackle limitations on the newest nuclear weapons technology and move into genuine reductions in the arsenals of both nations. These negotiations could be incredibly arduous, and agreement likely would not appear quickly, but SALT THREE, if completed, will produce positive spin-offs and benefits just as SALT TWO promises to do.

—USICA, August 1979

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SOVIET VIEW

Indian Ocean

—current developments—

by S. Dmitriyev

THE PRESERVATION and consolidation of peace in the vast areas of the Indian Ocean is a crucial international issue of the present day. In the political sense, it is first of all the problem of ensuring the security of several dozens of coastal states in Asia and Africa, whose population constitutes a quarter of mankind. The question whether the situation in the region of the Indian Ocean is tranquil and peaceful or whether a large-scale arms race is mounting there and the military tension is growing is important not only to the littoral countries. It directly concerns the security of the Soviet Union. *The waters of the Indian Ocean, its shores, and its insular territories lie relatively not far away from our country, taking into account the range of the modern strategic offensive means. Furthermore, the only sea route linking the European USSR with the Soviet Far East, which can be used all the year round, passes through the Indian Ocean.*

THE USA AND ITS ALLIES also not infrequently declare their "vital interest" in the security of the sea routes passing through the Indian Ocean. *They lay special stress on the*

need to ensure the regular transportation of oil and oil products by these routes. In some cases the US representatives claimed that this goal could not be attained through "competition" with anybody in the sphere of military might in the Indian Ocean. In the early period after his election to the post of the US President Carter even came out in favour of the complete demilitarization of the Indian Ocean. It may seem that it is not so difficult to accomplish the task of consolidating peace and security in the Indian Ocean when all the main parties to the problem are interested in it. The actual course of the developments, however, has shown the opposite.

Way back in the late '60s—early '70s there emerged first alarming factors in the development of the situation in this region. Construction of an American military base was started on the island of Diego Garcia in the centre of the Indian Ocean, which had been torn away from the State of Mauritius by the British colonialists. The ships of the US Navy began to enter the Indian Ocean and to stay there for a long time. In some cases this military presence actually played the role of a show of strength meant to politically pressure one or another littoral state.

THE STATES OF THE INDIAN OCEAN, a vast majority of which are non-aligned did not take long to realize the new danger. Way back in 1970-1971 they advanced the idea of turning their area into a zone of peace. At their proposal the UN General Assembly solemnly proclaimed the Indian Ocean such a zone for ever. From the very beginning the Soviet Union showed understanding and sympathy for this move. As for the USA, it took a reserved stand, but it avoided any direct confrontation with the initiators of the idea of the zone of peace at that time.

In the mid-70s the Soviet Union proposed that the USA and the USSR take joint measures to prevent the aggravation of the situation in the Indian Ocean. That seemed to set things moving then. In June 1977 the USSR and the United States began talks on the limitation and the subsequent reduction of military activity in the Indian Ocean. Already after the first round of the meetings between the two delegations both sides, on mutual agreement, informed the UN Special Committee on the Indian Ocean that they shared the

interest of the littoral countries in stronger peace in that region and that the exchange of opinion contributed to a better understanding of their views of the given problem and of the differences existing between them.

The following rounds showed further progress. After determining the framework of a possible agreement, the sides started a detailed elaboration of concrete clauses and wording. But then events began to develop in a different direction. Just at the time when a possible agreement started to be outlined in the course of the talks, the Americans suspended them and declined all subsequent proposals of the Soviet side to resume them. At the same time the USA began rapidly building up its military presence in the Indian Ocean. World was intensified on re-equipping the base on Diego Garcia into a large strategic stronghold of the US military system in that region, and the construction of military bases on the western coast of Australia was speeded up. Striking groups of the US Navy began cruising in the Indian Ocean one after another. Preparations started for deploying there, on a constant basis, the US Fifth Fleet. The world press reported about the forming by the Pentagon of a "quick reaction force" meant for intervening in the affairs of Asia and Africa.

In order to "justify theoretically" this militaristic activity, the US President's national security adviser Z. Brezezinski put forth a conception of an "arch of instability" in the region of the Indian Ocean. It cannot be interpreted otherwise than a call for using military force against the peoples of the littoral countries which are striving to follow the road of social progress and abolition of neo-colonialist dependence.

THE LITTORAL STATES regarded all these actions by the USA as a direct threat to their security. Their conference held last July in the UN headquarters in New York noted the deterioration of the situation in the region of the Indian Ocean. It pointed out that the speeding up of the arms race in that area contradicted the efforts to lessen international tension, unfavourably influenced the right of the peoples to determine ways of their social and economic development and take full charge of their natural resources, and ham-

pered the struggle for the self-determination of the peoples and for the eradication of colonialism, racism, foreign domination or occupation. *Of course, the Soviet Union cannot treat indifferently the rapid buildup of US military presence and activity in the Indian Ocean.*

The nations which truly desire peace in the Indian ocean zone are facing a problem: can one stop the dangerous developments. It was obvious, that, first of all, the Soviet-US talks should be urgently resumed. That is why all welcomed the provision of the joint Soviet-US communique on the Vienna summit, which ran, in part, that the relevant representatives of both sides would meet to discuss the problem of resuming negotiations on the limitation of military activities in the Indian Ocean area. At their conference in New York the Indian Ocean nations expressed unanimous satisfaction with that agreement and the hope that the Soviet-US talks would lead to rapid progress. They decided to multiply efforts toward establishing a peace zone. Though the recommendations they adopted are not free from political inaccuracies, the main result of the conference is positive: it has worked out a practical plan of creating a peace zone and mapped out the framework of the commitments which should be undertaken both by littoral and non-littoral states in order to realize the Indian Ocean's peace zone.

The USSR, which took part in the conference as an observer, expressed its positive attitude to this plan. Simultaneously the Soviet side reaffirmed its readiness to resume the Soviet-US talks. Further development largely depended on the US stand. Provided the answer was positive one could count on a favourable turn in developments in the Indian Ocean area. But the USA has taken the opposite stand. First the Washington spokesman at the conference of the Indian Ocean countries said a number of key provisions of the elaborated plan of establishing a peace zone were unacceptable for the US side. A few days later, when a meeting of Soviet and US representatives was held in the American capital, the US side refused to negotiate the resumption of the Soviet-US talks and, in particular, to fix the terms of their next round.

The near future will show whether this double US "no" is final. If America

counts on an openly militarist policy in the Indian Ocean area, it will take on serious responsibility for the consequences of such a decision.

—Pravda, August 21. Abridged.

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ACCELERATED MAHAWELI

Impact on Wild Life And Environment

by
Thilo W. Hoffman

In sending *Tribune* this article which had previously appeared in the *Loris*, the author stated....."I wrote this article on Mahaweli in February 1978. Basically the ideas expressed therein have now been accepted as official policy, and Government and the development authorities are wanting to protect the environment and plan the development in an environmentally orientated way. Whether they will be successful in these endeavours remains to be seen. It is absolutely essential that before land is cleared and dams are built, every square foot of area affected by such schemes be suitably planned out as to its eventual uses, and depending on these detailed plans, the development could then proceed, but some authority would have to watch over those areas which are not going to be cleared and used for arable agriculture (e.g. steep slopes, rocky and other marginal lands, stream reservations, tank and reservoir reservations, road reservations, village forests etc.) If this is done we can look forward with some confidence to the eventual completion of the Mahaweli and other remaining land development projects...."

"Sri Lanka, Mr. Speaker, could well do with the the top soil and the jungle, the trees and the perennial vegetation, the streams and the water resources which have been lost for ever for a few stamps of manioc or bathala. Today even the manioc is not there....."

(From the Budget Speech 1978)

IN THE YEAR 1978 the Government and people of Sri Lanka are embarking on the development of the last remaining land reserves. Government has decided to accelerate the implementation of the entire Mahaweli Diversion Project and complete the gigantic task within six years. Under this project 650,000 acres of new land will be cleared and brought under cultivation, and nearly half of the total land surface of Sri Lanka in the centre and north of the island will be affected by the operation.

Other land projects are planned and partly implemented in the south, east, west and north-west of the country. Some of these are combined in the lower Uva Development (e.g. the Kambukan Oya, Heda Oya, Menik Ganga projects); others are the Kirindi Oya Basin Development (recently inaugurated), the completion of Uda Walawe (e.g. Left Bank,) then the Kelani Diversion which will complete development in the Maha Oya, Deduru Oya and Mi Oya basins. In the east there are the Rambukkan Oya, the Mundeni Aru and the Gal Odai Schemes, and in the north underground water schemes.

Lastly there are coastal land reclamation schemes in the west and north-west. All these together will account for another 250,000 acres of new land to be cleared of forest, making a total of 900,000 acres or 5.5% of the total land surface of Sri Lanka (for comparison: all the tea, rubber and coconut lands together make 11%).

As I said, these are the last remaining land reserves of any consequence in Sri Lanka. Once they are developed there will be practically nothing left for further agricultural expansion.

There will also be hardly any forests left, and nearly all wildlife habitats outside existing national parks will have been lost. Total forest reserves today are only 14.5% of the land surface of Sri Lanka, and effective wildlife reserves make up another approximately 5%, giving a total forest cover of less than 20%, which is below the accepted critical level. The Mahaweli and the other projects will reduce this to about 14% which may well be ecologically disastrous. (The official Forest Department figure is 9% today—Ed.)

FOR THE RECORD

CONSULTANT

Minister Gamini Dissanayake has a lot of problems to worry about these days. One recalls his non-chalant attitude to the critique of the Mahaweli Programme written by Gamini Iriyagolle. While all serious students of current affairs credited Mr. Iriyagolle with a commendable sense of factuated analysis, the Minister dismissed him, only by describing him on the floor of the House as a briefless lawyer who had written a useless book. Now, the wheel has apparently turned full circle—the briefless lawyer has been wooed assiduously by Ministry officials who told him that the Minister was keen to meet him. Mr. Iriyagolle had given the officials his phone number and intimated that the Minister could get at him there. The Minister apparently did and our sleuths at the Ministry tell us the interesting story of a meeting which took place in the Minister's office on the 15th October.

The Minister had expressed grave concern for the briefless lawyer and ultimately invited him to come in as a consultant to the Ministry especially on the problems of resettlement. Mr. Iriyagolle is supposed to have kept his options open and wanted to be given the freedom to be critical of the actions of a Ministry which he probably felt was doomed to disaster anyway. The strange thing was that Minister Dissanayake had accepted even this condition, and was prepared to have Mr. Iriyagolle as what would probably be a unique critical consultant. Even briefless lawyers occasionally manage to get a case? —Forward, 1/11/79

IRIYAGOLLE JOINS MAHAVELI

Gamini Iriyagolle, former Civil Servant and Director of the Agricultural Research and Training Institute has joined the Mahaveli Development Ministry to implement the settlement programme of the accelerated Mahaveli scheme. This appointment has been made by Mahaveli Development Minister Gamini Dissanayake. The Minister has stated that the views expressed by Mr. Iriyagolle in the recent past are not in conflict with his and the Government's objectives in implementing the scheme. —Weekend, 11/11/79

WILDLIFE CONSERVATION is unthinkable without habitat conservation, and wildlife habitats are a part of man's environment. One cannot be interested in the conservation of wildlife without being concerned with the human environment in the widest sense. Wildlife conservation is above all dependent on proper, planned land use, on the maintenance and conservation of forests, on healthy agricultural systems which in turn depend on sound environmental and ecological planning. Wildlife conservation includes the preservation of healthy streams, swamps, the shores and the sea, scenic beauty and land-scapes, in short all natural systems which must be conserved for the benefit of mankind.

Conservation of the environment and within it of wildlife does, not of course, mean that those who plead for it are opposed to development, technological progress, economic and social advancement. Far from it. It is our belief that the inclusion of ecological concepts in the planning and implementation of the final land development projects in Sri Lanka will make them better projects in every respect, at no extra cost and without in any way diminishing them.

Ecological concepts enhance the usefulness and productivity of the schemes and add to the well-being and welfare of the people who will settle in the newly opened areas. At the same time these ecological concepts, which require the conservation of forests under well known criteria (e.g., steep slopes, marginal lands, in catchment areas, stream reservations, wind belts, firewood reservations, village forests, plantation and productive forests, Wildlife reserves), provide the necessary framework for the preservation of wildlife. It is thus seen that wildlife (e.g., the natural fauna) by itself is only a minor consideration at the end of a system of factors which are essential for the proper technical development of land, for the functioning of the projects, and for the well being of the people in them. One might say that wildlife is incidental to all that is desirable in the finite planning and execution of the future of Sri Lanka; by the same argument it is apparent that the quality of human life must suffer where wildlife is displaced and destroyed.

It is essential that suitable safeguards are incorporated in the present stages of the planning and implementation of all projects,

to preserve wildlife and its habitats. This can be done. It is not too late. But it requires as much careful thought and consideration as do the purely technical aspects of the schemes. Planners, engineers, technocrats must be aware of the need to adopt sound ecological principles and to establish essential conservation areas. *But this awareness does not seem to exist amongst planners and policy-makers; the awareness that forests in the right places are as essential, perhaps more so, than paddy fields, power stations and towns in the right places; the awareness that the present projects will in a very final and definite way destroy the habitats of practically all the wildlife in Sri Lanka outside national parks (a matter that is consciously or subconsciously relegated to the background of official thinking).*

WHAT DOES IT MEAN? It means for instance, that up to 2,000 wild elephants will have to be "disposed" of, 2000 elephants are no negligible number either for Sri Lanka or the world, either in terms of sheer numbers or weight or material value or in any terms, including the less clearly defined human values of the mind and the heart. Have any of the policy-makers, the planners, the engineers, thought about this? What are their plans for these beasts?

On a smaller scale we have had examples of what will now happen massively during the next 2 or 3 years. At Uda Walawe, for instance, development took place without any consideration (not to speak of compassion) for wildlife and the elephants. The result is aptly described as a "green desert" with hardly a tree in sight, for the sake of which dozens of elephants were killed, maimed, starved to death; a last pocketed group of about 100 was herded together on a hillock of scrub jungle, forced to raid crops, harassed, shot at, captured and tortured, and eventually exterminated. Only a small remnant was saved by driving the animal across the river into an area where today the same fate awaits them.

At the time of writing there is another group of 50 elephants of Suriyawewa in the Left Bank of Walawe, for whom the same doom is in store. We also have the problem of a herd of 35 or 40 in the Nochchiyagama area where 40,000 acres of jungle are being cleared without thought for the elephants (Mahaweli Development, Phase 1, Stage 2).

These tragic happenings will multiply beyond control in the Mahaweli Project which includes areas with the greatest elephant densities in Sri Lanka (Somawathie—Taman-kaduwa).

(To be concluded)

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BIG DAM DANGERS

In Water Planning And Management

by

Jimo Omo-Fadaka

(Architect, Planejamento U bano,
Curitiba, Brazil)

WATER MANAGEMENT is probably the most serious problem facing mankind. Today, 460 million people are starving because they do not have enough of it for their crops. Some 1.2 billion people are without safe drinking water. Another 200 million suffer abysmal indignity and disease for lack of sufficient quantities to cleanse away their wastes. Each day, the situation worsens. By tonight, 200,000 new-born babies will have added their demands to the world's fixed stock of water. By the end of the century, human population will come close to doubling. Water consumption, too, will double—perhaps triple. Hence, if a world water crisis is to be averted by the end of the century, action must be taken immediately.

It is because of this crisis that the United Nations held a water Conference in Mar del Plata, Argentina, from 14 to 25 March 1977. The conference produced many documents and a *World Action Plan*, which it hoped would help solve the water crisis. The documents and Action Plan are summarised in 'United Nations Water Conference (Summary and Main Documents)' by Asit Biswas, who was himself directly involved with the preparation of one of the major background documents and the *World Action Plan*.

According to the documents, the world does not lack fresh water. The total global supply is sufficient to meet needs into the foreseeable future. The problem is availability. The Con-

ference, in its report, emphasized that water tends "to be available in the wrong place, at the wrong time, or with the wrong quality." And the solution advocated? Move it locally to where people want it, either by irrigation or by impounding behind big dams.

Big dams provide us with an example of the problems of technology when you dam the flow of rivers to water agricultural fields. What happens when we dam the flow of a great river and create an immense body of water where there was none before? Not enough thought was given to this ecological question in the 1950s and 60s as dozens of big dams went up from Pakitsan to Ghana, Egypt to Brazil.

Everybody thought big dams meant instant progress, and Third World countries were easily persuaded that there was nothing like a big dam for a fast economic take-off. Few people worried about after-shocks in the ecosystem. In the past few years, however, dam owners the world over have begun to compare notes and discover that when a dam backs up waters behind it, everything changes: the water's chemistry, the kinds and numbers of indigenous flora and fauna, the way of life for all the people who lived on the land before the lake came, the fertility and salinity of the soil downstream, the pressures on the earth's crusts and the tendency, therefore, to earthquakes and landslides. Moreover, while the promised progress is usually less than expected these changes produce problems that are real and proliferating.

BIG DAMS: THE DREAM THAT FAILED.

Editorial Note: Drawing upon the experiences of Egypt, Ghana and other Third World countries, the author describes some negative consequences of big dams—both technical (e.g. water loss through increased evaporation, storage loss through silting) and social (large-scale resettlement of displaced communities, aggravation of water-borne disease).

Key calculations simply were not done thoroughly enough until recently. Engineers honestly did not know they were committing ecological sins. Rich countries putting up the

money sincerely thought of themselves as benefactors. Third World countries were suitably grateful, and displaced people getting pushed around never seemed to matter.

It is obvious that many of the problems generated are the unavoidable features of large-scale undertakings of this sort. The adverse effects of such undertakings on the happiness, health, physical and mental well-being of the people are now evident. Many officials are worried. Even in Cairo and Accra, where the spell of the dams is still strong, officials privately admit that they would not be built if Egypt and Ghana had things to do over again. As one Egyptian agronomist put it, "I'd give my soul to turn that water muddy again." That will not happen, ever!

THE WATER CONFERENCE IN ARGENTINA was one of the many the United Nations has convened in recent years to consider pressing world problems and suggest solutions. Special Action Plans were drawn up for two of the more urgent matters identified by the Conference: water-for-home and water-for growing-food. The water-for-home provision is concerned with water supply and waste disposal. The Conference proposed to fill this need in all urban and rural sectors by 1990. The cost will be US \$ 8 billion a year. Initially, efforts are to be concentrated in Third World countries. The period 1980-90 is to be known as *International Drinking Water Supply and Sanitation Decade*. The plan anticipates that international aid will be required in both founding and technical assistance.

The other Action Plan, water-for growing-food, seeks—in the words of the Conference Reports, intensification and improvement of water development in agriculture. Governments are also expected to make the major contribution to the plan, and it is to have assistance from the world community.

The view expressed in the Report that water tends "to be available in the wrong place, at the wrong time, or with the wrong quality," expresses the usual strong anthropocentric bias, although within that context it is true. Having identified the water problem, the Report suggests that what is needed is more technology to get water to where people need it. All the rich countries and international organisations are expected to

offer cash, technicians and equipment—mostly on loan and at interest—to achieve it. **In the end, it is the Third World countries that will pay and pay, thus increasing their debt burdens.**

The flaw that this slant of mind reveals, however, is that the solution to the water problem and to human problems in general, is not in nature but in ourselves, in our approach to nature and to the fundamental relationship that connects us to the sources of our existence. It is at the core of most of our environmental ills, including those of water shortages. And it militates against the kind of thinking necessary to bring about the integration of human endeavours with natural processes required to cure those ills.

It is not water that is out of order, out of place, but mankind. Tampering with the order of nature can be fraught with disaster, as we are discovering to our consternation and dismay. Better to change our order of thinking and consider the wisdom of living in harmony with nature rather than trying to conquer nature by the use of technology.

Assuredly, the answers to our water problems do not lie in the continued, indiscriminate application of technology on which we have come to rely so heavily and so much to our detriment. Technology is basically improvisational. It treats the symptoms; it provides no lasting cures. Moreover, technology is part of the problem.

Ten years ago, the eminent hydrologist Dr. Raymond L. Nace, warned against our enslavement to technology when he said, "Three besetting sins tempt water planners and their advisers: faith in science and technology; worship of bigness, and arrogance toward the landscape." We have been too much inclined in the past to blunder ahead, aware only of our human requirements, disregarding—at horrendous cost—the realities of the natural situation.

THERE IS AN URGENT NEED for a radical revision of modern planning and management. New, comprehensive and realistic planning and management criteria need to be substituted for those in operation today. *In other words, viable alternatives to large-scale dam projects should always be considered. The new*

policies should have as their criteria of success the well-being of human beings rather than the professional pride of engineers. The new policies will involve a break with the conventions of the past. They will require a patient and possibly painful re-education of professional planners and public alike.

The problems of big dams will not go away if we dabble vaguely at their symptoms. The ultimate reckoning, if we continue with present policies, is certain. Deluding ourselves that it will not happen will only make it that much more painful.

The United Nations is uniquely qualified for radical investigations of viable alternatives to huge dams and another development in water planning and management. It could employ men of talent and vision able to break free of the sick, tired, discredited planning doctrines of today. The Water Conference in Argentina was an opportunity to be bold and radical. We are all the worse for the fact that it opted entirely for conventional planning, albeit of a conscientious kind. It was a wasted opportunity.

Not that all big dam proposals should be turned down. Viable alternatives should always be considered as a matter of priority. Third World countries should ask themselves if the potential benefits are worth the tremendous cost in human terms.

They now know that once a giant dam is built, it is there, breaking timeless natural laws and banishing people.



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. 1567.00	Rs. 1570.00
Sterling Pound	Rs. 3313.00	Rs. 3319.00
Deutsche Mark	Rs. 869.50	Rs. 871.10
French Franc	Rs. 371.75	Rs. 372.45
Japanese Yen	Rs. 6.3340	Rs. 6.3490
Indian Rupees	Rs. 189.20	Rs. 189.60

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—Davas; DP—Dinapathi; CM—Chinthamani; WK—Weekend; RR—Riviresa; DK—Dinakara; EN—Eelanadu; IDPR—Information Dept. Press Release.

THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 1: A study team from Tokyo will arrive shortly in Sri Lanka to report on the proposed project of the Japanese Government to build a 1000-bed hospital in Sri Jayawardhanapura to commemorate the recent visit to Japan of President Jayewardene. Mr. Makoto Asami, Charge d'Affairs of the Japanese Embassy said yesterday. Wide-ranging talks covering international affairs and matters of bilateral interest to Sri Lanka and Bangladesh are expected to take place during the visit here next week of the Bangladesh President, Ziaur Rahman; Mr. Rahman will arrive in Colombo on Monday on a two-day state visit on an invitation extended by President J. R. Jayewardene; this is the first visit of a Bangladesh leader to Sri Lanka. A tree-planting week will be inaugurated today at Vihara Maha Devi Park by Colombo's Mayor B. Sirisena Cooray and Mrs. Hema Premadasa. Forty seven thousand acres of rubber small-holdings in the Kalutara, Ratnapura and Kegalle districts will be replanted with improved clones over a five year-phased out program estimated to cost Rs. 650 million. Mr. Cyril Gamage, Additional Secretary Plantations Ministry, said yesterday. The trade delegation from Finland, headed by Foreign Trade Minister Esko Reko'a arrived in Colombo yesterday on a three-day visit; they will have talks on expanding trade between the two countries and explore possibilities of investing here—CDN. The government will initiate the concept of broadbased ownership by introducing it in the State Corpora-

tion sector; this move is considered more acceptable to the workers than the extreme step of handing over the management of corporations to the private sector. The services of 45 more foreign doctors will be obtained by the government to meet the acute shortage of doctors in Sri Lanka—800 less than the approved cadre. Opium has notched century of being smuggled into Sri Lanka and the narcotic is today slipping in through the preventive barriers of the law enforcement agencies in larger quantities, according to the police—CDM. Government yesterday decided on a programme for the electrification of the railway. An Institute of Development Administration is to be set up for the first time in Sri Lanka—SU. There are signs of a “new friendliness” between the LSSP and the SLFP to bring about a new turn of events in the politics of the country; government sources believe such a co-operation would eventually become fruitful in view of the support sought by the LSSP from the SLFP for support for the by-election in Galle—VK. President J. R. Jayewardene has ordered all major state corporations and departments to recruit a minimum of 28 people from the Job banks as trainees from today. The Education Service Commission is taking steps to sack teachers who do not have the necessary qualifications—DV. Police investigations have revealed that the smuggling of drugs from India has spread to such an extent that now it is almost impossible to stop it. MPs have complained to the government that they are not able to do essential construction work and repairs under the decentralized budget; the shortage of skilled man power because of the massive development projects is the main reason for this—LD. Finance Minister Ronnie de Mel is taking steps to print more money as one solution to gap the massive budget deficit for the year 1980-

FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 2: A four-member World Bank team which conducted a survey of the forestry sector in Sri Lanka has focussed attention on the need for intensive management of forest resources and the urgency for a short and long term integrated development strategy for the sector. Trade and Shipping Minister, Lalith Athulathmudali addressing the Finnish trade delegation yesterday at the inaugural sessions of official talks said Sri Lanka had

accepted and implemented the policy of “Open” trade and therefore the country was opposed to all forms of protectionism. Foreign Minister A. C. S. Hameed returned home yesterday after attending the Non-aligned Summit in Havana and the UN General Assembly sessions in New York—CDN. Officials of the Sri Lanka Ports Authority and the Customs have been directed to dispose of by public auction all goods lying uncleared for over 21 days from the date of landing, in the Port of Colombo. A Metropolitan Police will be established shortly to streamline the maintenance of law and order in the City of Colombo; it will consist over 3,500 specially trained officers headed by a Commissioner, with the rank of Deputy Inspector General of Police—CDM. Internal trade in Sri Lanka will receive a major boost next year with the launching of an all-island trade fair programme; this programme of mobile fairs and exhibitions, will begin in January next year, and has been initiated by Trade and Shipping Minister Lalith Athulathmudali to stimulate consumer and producer awareness particularly in the rural areas. Police yesterday swooped down on a house in Tangalle and questioned a number of youths in connection with the holding of political classes of an allegedly subversive nature. Several persons who have travelled overseas on scholarships are believed to have done so on the strength of rigged GCE (Advanced Level) results; this is the most recent revelation made by CID detectives probing the GCE (Advanced Level) rigging scandal. The feasibility of freeing professional and technical personnel such as doctors, engineers, accountants from the permanent public service cadre and employing them on a contract basis so that they could also engage in private practice is being considered by Government—SU. The government is taking steps to stock essential food items and releases them to the open market at a time when there is a shortage of the particular food to keep the prices of essential food items stable—DM. Number of UNP government’s major development projects may come to a stand-still if the government does not come to an agreement with the surveyors on their demands; about 500 surveyors of the Survey Department have gone on Medical leave because their demands were not considered by the government—JD.

Differences have emerged between the two top leaders of the UNP on who should be nominated for the Galle-by election; President Jayewardene has proposed Mr. W. Dahanayake while PM R. Premadasa wants the former MP Albert Silva renominated; majority of the government MPs are said to be supporting the PM's candidate—ATH.

SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 3: Four private sector firms have been granted government approval for the operation of domestic air service in Sri Lanka, an official spokesman said yesterday; the firms are Upali Trading Co. Ltd., Mackinnon Mackenzie and Co., of Ceylon Ltd., Island Airways Ltd., and Air Taxis Ltd. Mr. Mahinda Hettiarachchi (26) of Vaduruppa, Ambalantota created a new world record by continuously ploughing with a four-wheeled tractor for 100 hours; the previous world record was held by an American who had ploughed for 96 hours. Branches of the People's Bank and the Bank of Ceylon which were closed down in the Northern province about a year ago due to security reasons are expected to be reopened soon. A fire broke out last night inside warehouse No. 1 at the Queen Elizabeth Quay where general cargo unloaded from an Indonesian ship some time ago had been stored. The Finnish Minister for Foreign Trade Mr. Esko Rekoni told the Sri Lanka Foreign Minister A. C. S. Hameed yesterday that Finland had allocated five million Finnish Marks (about Rs. 20 million) for a development co-operation program for Sri Lanka; the funds would be made available in 1980-1981 he said—CDN. A massive fire that raged in the Colombo Harbour last night destroyed goods, equipment and buildings worth millions of rupees. A Special Directorate has been set up in the Foreign Ministry to deal with antinational activities in foreign countries; the main task of this special Unit is to monitor the actions of Eelam activities abroad—CDM. Government last week decided on a series of tough new guidelines to be followed by employment agencies recruiting Lankan personnel for jobs abroad; with the introduction of a Foreign Employment Agency Bill, all agencies will be required to licence themselves with the Department of Labour by paying a licensing fee of Rs. 100,000. A conciliation service will attempt to sort out labour disputes before they are inquired into by the

Labour Tribunals in terms of a new labour relations law to be presented in Parliament shortly, by Labour Minister, Captain C. P. J. Seneviratne—SU. 4,240 cars have been registered at the Department for the Registration of Motor Vehicles during the past 68 days; this shows that the import of cars has not decreased even though the price of petrol has gone up—VK. The Government has decided to import ceramics and chinaware with a view to meeting local requirements—DP. The Communist Party is currently holding discussions with other left parties on nominating one common candidate to the Galle by election—ATH. Foreign Minister A. C. S. Hameed has returned to the island after visiting abroad for nearly 2½ months—DK.

SUNDAY, NOVEMBER 4: Trade Minister Lalith Athulathmudali is planning a series of tough consumer-oriented measures which will nail a host of restrictive trade practices now indulged in by business giants; the Minister said yesterday that the National Price Commission law will shortly be amended to arm the NPC with the powers to investigate these malpractices. The biggest animal husbandry and dairy development project to be undertaken in Sri Lanka will be launched with technical and financial assistance from the Swiss Government in the Trincomalee, Amparai Batticaloa and Polonnaruwa districts shortly; the Project is estimated to cost over Rs. 135 million (over 9 million US dollars) according to present estimates. The change in the pattern of smuggling by passengers between India and Sri Lanka during the last few months and the intended remedial measures for the ensuing year will be the subject of discussion at the annual Indo-Sri Lanka conference on revenue offences starting at BMICH tomorrow—SO. Over a million employees in the private sector have still not received the supplementary allowance of Rs. 55; this is because a large number of employers are awaiting the passage of the Bill in Parliament. President Jayewardene has asked the Public Service Commission to probe the recent appointment of teachers by the Education Department; the probe will cover 22,000 teachers who were recruited by the present government—ST. A new diplomatic offensive for promoting the country's trade abroad will get under way shortly with the setting

up of Sri Lanka Commercial Offices in leading world capitals; Trade and Shipping Minister Lalith Athulathmudali, who has obtained government approval for this new drive has successfully negotiated assistance from the European Economic Community to establish these offices. Detectives of the CID were called in yesterday to probe the fire that gutted almost one third of the number one warehouse at Queen Elizabeth Quay—WK. The government is disturbingly concerned about wheat flour; the reason being that there has been an increase of 20 percent in the price of this item in the world market; an immediate increase has resulted in the world market due to the fact that production has decreased in several countries—CM. The government will shortly appoint State Co-ordination Officers to conduct development work without corruption and malpractices—SLDP. A number of TULF MPs have threatened to resign from the TULF and their seats and take appointments in government institutions to save the people and the country; at least two MPs will resign and take appointments as Ambassadors in a bid to counter adverse publicity by a certain group abroad; TULF hardliners have criticised the TULF MPs who have met government ministers to discuss development in their electorates—RR.

MONDAY, NOVEMBER 5: The petition to be submitted to the Organisation of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) urges it to grant Sri Lanka concessionary terms for its vital petroleum supplies or such aid as will enable the country to find alternative sources of energy; the Ministry of Plan Implementation said the petition was now in the process of being printed at the Government Press and it would be ready for circulation by tomorrow; more than three million people were expected to sign the petition, the Ministry said. Sri Lanka today welcomes Major-General Ziaur Rahman the young President of Bangladesh the youngest nation in South-East Asia, who arrives with Begum Rahman. Is there any connection between Friday night's fire at the Colombo Harbour and a fire which occurred at the same premises a few days earlier: City Fire Chief, K. M. I de Silva, is trying to find the answer to this question, a City Fire Brigade Headquarters source said yesterday—CDN. The Central Transport Board could

not account for an expenditure of Rs. 136 million, when their accounts for the first half of 1979 were examined by the Parliamentary Committee on Public Enterprises headed by Mr. George Abeygoonesekera, MP for Hangu-ranketa. After two days of inquiry over last Friday night's fire at the Colombo Harbour the CID believe in the possibility of the fire originating from exploding sparks from oxy-acetylene flames used for welding. The Government will spend Rs. 117,400,000 more on the seven universities in 1980—CDM. Private Sector employers will be empowered to invest funds for the proposed Employees' Trust Fund in real estate, or development oriented projects; this is one of the highlights of a new law being prepared to set up an Employees' Trust Fund, which is described as a move in keeping with Government's pledge during the 1977 general elections to democratise ownership. The high command of the Tamil United Liberation Front has ordered TULF members of local bodies in the north and east, including the chairman, not to attend any functions and receptions accorded to Ministers. Opposition members of Parliament too will be called upon to sign the Government's mass petition to the Organisation of Petroleum Exporting Countries, it was announced yesterday. The Ministry of Local Government, Housing and Construction has launched a plan to set up 500 bio-gas plants in the newly constructed villages under the "village re-awakening scheme"—SU. Sri Lanka will be a centre for the integration of all medical systems—Western medicine and all forms of ayurveda, homeopathy and other systems of medicine practised world-wide—with the establishment of the International College of Acupuncture—CO. Even though the government has given strict instructions through a circular to all departments to the effect that no action should be taken against those who have not attained proficiency in Sinhala until a decision was made by the Sub-committee appointed by the Cabinet, this circular is being ignored in certain government departments—VK. Steps have been taken to register complaints and record statements in Tamil in all Police Stations in the Jaffna District; this was disclosed by Police Commissioner Mr. Kingsley Wickremasuriya at the goodwill conference held between the Police and the Public at Chunnakam—EN. The Education

Reorganising Committee has proposed that the new examination system should be set up by which talented and efficient students will get through and not those who only have book knowledge; the Committee has pointed out that by conducting examinations which could be passed with book knowledge is suppressing the talented students. The government has decided to charge an extra duty of 20% on imported textiles in a bid to protect the local Textile manufacturers who had to face competition with imported textiles; over Rs. 100 million worth of textiles have been imported since the liberalisation of imports—LD. The Ministry of Public Administration has recommended to the government that next year be named "The Working Year" and give special benefits to workers who do not take leave—DM. The World Bank has advised the CTB to import 100 ultra-modern buses and use them for town and urban services; these buses will be equipped with power-pack steering system and automatic gears—DV.

TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 6: Bangladesh President Ziaur Rahman stepped off the gleaming white-and-blue Boeing 707 Bangladesh Airline plane yesterday morning and returned the "Ayubowan" greeting of Sri Lanka with its Bengali equivalent "Sagatam"; at the foot of the ramp to greet the Bangladesh Head of State were President J. R. Jayewardene, Mrs. Jayewardene, Prime Minister R. Premadasa, Cabinet Ministers and heads of diplomatic missions. Bangladesh and Sri Lanka are expected to sign three agreements on shipping, aviation and economic co-operation following the talks which began yesterday between the two countries. Substantial tax-free cash incentives are to be given to promote the export of packeted tea and teabags to enable Sri Lanka to earn a portion of the profit now going to marketing firms in consumer countries. The four suspects who were on remand in connection with an alleged plot to assassinate President J. R. Jayewardene were yesterday released by Fort Magistrate, Mr. T. Joganathan and directed to appear in court on December 11. Ten milk vending machines will be installed in different parts of Colombo from the beginning of next year; a four-member delegation will leave on November 14 for India to buy the vending machines—CDN. At a colourful civic reception by the City of Colombo yesterday, President

Ziaur Rahman, spoke movingly of the ties of history and culture that bound the two nations together—CDM. Corruption in tender procedure in the state sector was strongly criticised yesterday by Trade and Shipping Minister Lalith Athulathmudali; inaugurating an international training course on import management, he said that the Government was aware of abuses in tender procedure for import orders by state sector agencies. President J. R. Jayewardene has apprised Tamil United Liberation Front MPs of the Government's move to do away with Rural Council elections and instead conduct polls for District Development Councils. Sri Lanka and India are to exchange all information gained in the detection of smuggling; this was the major decision taken yesterday at the first day of the talks between India and Sri Lanka on smuggling held at the Bandaranaike International Conference Hall—SU. Some students of eleven prominent colleges in the Northern area were arrested yesterday morning while they were standing in front of certain girl's convents—DP. The government is to increase prices of essential foodstuffs to bridge the budget deficit of over Rs. 1000 million for the year 1980; the price of a pound of sugar will be increased by 50 cents; flour by 55 cents; a measure of imported rice by 80 cents and a gallon of petrol by Rs. 8/—ATH. The Minister of Education is considering giving school text books free of charge or at a subsidised rate to poor children—DM. The National Insurance Corporation has decided to set up a scheme by which employees of all sectors and the self-employed could be insured if they choose their jobs and they will be paid a special subsistence—DV. In the next budget the price of a gallon of petrol will go up to Rs. 47/50; bread to Rs. 2/- per lb. and flour to Rs. 2/15 per lb and sugar to Rs. 5/- per lb. The price of cigarettes will be increased by 1 cent—JD.

WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 7: Some Rs. 12 billion or more than half of next year's budget of Rs. 23 billion will be spent on development projects according to the budget estimates presented in Parliament yesterday by the Minister of Finance and Planning, Mr. Ronnie de Mel. The President Mr. J. R. Jayewardene presiding at yesterday's Government Parliamentary Group meeting, said that the

government would look into how best they could ensure that the freedoms restored to the people by the present government do not impede the development programmes of the government. Government will launch shortly the Rs. 365 million Integral Rural Development Program for the Puttalam District. The death occurred yesterday evening of Mr. Edmund J. Cooray, Chairman of the Browns Group of Companies at the General Hospital, Colombo, he was 72—CDN. The estimates of Revenue and expenditure of the government for 1980 tabled by Finance and Planning Minister, Ronnie de Mel in Parliament yesterday showed a deficit of Rs. 11,357,849,326 (Rs. 11.4 billion). A warm welcome was accorded to President Ziaur Rahman of Bangladesh and Begum Rahman when they visited the historic hill capital of Kandy yesterday morning. The bill providing for the payment of a supplementary monthly allowance of Rs. 55 to workers in the private sector was passed by Parliament yesterday. President J. R. Jayewardene yesterday told the Government Parliamentary Group the CID was now probing teaching appointments made by the Ministry of Education. Plans for a combined offensive on opium smuggling were drawn up by Indian and Sri Lanka law enforcement agencies at the morning session on the second day of the Indo-Lanka talks on smuggling at the BMICH in Colombo yesterday. Japan will provide grants worth Rs. 194 million (2,900 million yen) as aid to Sri Lanka under three agreements to be signed at the Ministry of Finance and Planning today—SU. Existence of emergency for long periods makes it very easy for armed forces to take over power by force; the situation here is becoming dangerous and before military dictatorship comes into effect, the government should immediately withdraw the emergency laws; this was stated by the leader of the Opposition A. Amirthalingam at the Parliament yesterday—DP. The CTB has to face an extra expenditure of Rs. 200 million each year because of the oil price hike—DV.

The Land Acquisition Act Order Under Section 39A (1)

By virtue of the powers vested in me by sub section (1) of section 39A (inserted by Act No. 8 of 1979) of the Land Acquisition Act (Chapter 470), I, Lionel Gamini Dissanayake,

Minister of Lands and Land Development, do by this Order divest with effect from 04th October, 1979, the land specified in the Schedule hereto, which has vested absolutely in the State by Order made under section 38 of the aforesaid Act and published in Gazette No. 199 of 14th January, 1979 the possession of which has been taken for or on behalf of the State under paragraph (a) of section 40 of that Act.

Gamini Dissanayake

Minister of Lands & Land Development.

My No: 03J 73L 604(V.E.)

G.A.'s No. 99/5/204

Colombo, 07th September, 1979.

Schedule

Five allotments of land called Kahatagawatta alias Kahatagaha Addara Owita depicted in Surveyor General's Advance Tracing No. 73/280 and situated at Nalagasdeniya Village, D.R.O.'s Division of Wellabada Pattu (South), Galle District.

Lot No. 1

Kahatagawatta alias kahatagaha Addara Owita—Extent about 01A. 00R. 34.5P.

North: Kahatagawatta claimed by W. Ariyadasa de Alwis and others, Mawatha and Peepawela claimed by A. P. Aron and others;

East: Peepawela claimed by A. P. Aron and others, Kahatagaha Watta claimed by K. T. Dannie and Kahatagawatta alias Kahatagaha Addara Owita claimed by L. W. D. Dalawathie Alwis;

South: Kahatagawatta alias Kahatagaha Addara Owita claimed by B. D. Hema wathie and others, (Lot No. 2) and Kahatagawatta claimed by S. Saranelis and others;

West: Kahatagawatta claimed by S. Pelis, Kahatagawatta claimed by G. K. Siripala and Kahatagawatta claimed by W. Ariyadasa de Alwis and others.

Lot No.: 2

Kahatagawatta alias Kahatagaha Addara Owita—Extent about 00A. 00R. 18.00P.

North: Kahatagawatta alias Kahatagaha Addara Owita claimed by W. Ariyadasa de Alwis and others (Lot No. 1) and Kahatagawatta alias Kahatagaha Addara

- Owita claimed by L. W. D. Dalawathie Alwis;
- East:** Kahatagahawatta alias Kahatagaha Ad-dara Owita claimed by P. M. David Silva (Lot No. 3) Kahatagahawatta alias Kahatagaha Addara Owita claimed by L. W. Marshall (Lot. No. 4) and Kahatagahawatta claimed by W. K. Harumanis Appu;
- South:** Kahatagahawatta alias Kahatagaha Addara Owita claimed by P. M. David Silva (Lot No. 3) and Kahatagahawatta alias Kahatagaha Addara Owita claimed by B. D. Hemawathie (Lot No. 5);
- West:** Kahatagahawatta alias Kahatagaha Ad-dara Owita claimed by B. D. Hemawathie (Lot No. 5) and Kahatagahawatta claimed by S. Saranelis and others.
- Lot No. 3**
Kahatagahawatta alias Kahataga Addara Owita—Extent about 02A. 02R. 04P.
- North:** Kahatagahawatta alias Kahatagaha Addara Owita claimed by B. D. Hemawathie and others, (Lot No. 2) and Kahatagahawatta alias Kahatagaha Addara Owita claimed by L. W. D. Dalawathie Alwis;
- East:** Kahatagahawatta alias Kahatagaha Ad-dara Owita claimed by L. W. Dalawathie Alwis, Wadurassagala Bedda claimed by F. Konsalkorale and W. D. Luwie;
- South:** Wadurassagala Bedda claimed by W. V. Luwie, L. P. Danie, P. Jayandiris, P. Eranelis and L. P. William;
- West:** Kahatagahawatta alias Kahatagaha Ad-dara Owita claimed by L. W. Marshall (Lot No. 4) Kahatagahawatta alias Kahatagaha Addara Owita claimed by B. D. Hemawathie and others (Lot No. 2) Kahatagahawatta alias Kahatagaha Addara Owita claimed by B. D. Hemawathie (Lot No. 5) .
- Lot No: 4**
Kahatagahawatta alias Kahatagaha Ad-dara Owita—Extent about 0A. 01R. 33.4P
- North:** Kahatagahawatta alias Kahatagaha Ad-dara Owita claimed by B. D. Hemawathie and others (Lot No. 2) and Kahatagahawatta alias Kahatagaha Addara Owita claimed by P. M. David Silva (Lot No. 3);
- East:** Kahatagahawatta alias Kahatagaha Ad-dara Owita claimed by P. M. David Silva (Lot No. 3);
- South:** Kahatagahawatta alias Kahatagaha Ad-dara Owita claimed by P. M. David Silva (Lot No. 3) Kahatagahawatta alias Kahatagaha Addara Owita claimed by B. D. Hemawathie and others; (Lot No. 2);
- West:** Kahatagahawatta alias Kahatagaha Ad-dara Owita claimed by B. D. Hemawathie and others (Lot No. 2) and Kahatagahawatta claimed by W. K. Haramanis Appu.
- Lot No.: 5**
Kahatagahawatta alias Kahatagaha Ad-dara Owita—Extent about 01A. 02R. 09P.
- North:** Kahatagahawatta claimed by S. Saranelis and others and Kahatagahawatta alias Kahatagaha Addara Owita claimed by B. D. Hemawathie and others (Lot. No. 2);
- East:** Kahatagahawatta alias Kahatagaha Ad-dara Owita claimed by B. D. Hemawathie (Lot No. 2) and Kahatagahawatta alias Kahatagaha Addara Owita claimed by P. M. David Silva (Lot No. 3);
- South:** Kahatagahawatta alias Kahatagaha Ad-dara Owita claimed by P. M. David Silva (Lot No. 3) Wadurassagala Bedda claimed by L. P. William, N. E. Nanayakkara and P. Vidyelankara;
- West:** Wadurassagala Bedda claimed by P. Vidyelankara Mawatha and Kahatagahawatta claimed by S. Saranelis and others.

POINT OF VIEW

How Many 'Socialisms' Can There Be?

by A. Ivanov

JAWAHARLAL NEHRU, stressing the beneficial influence scientific socialism had on his world outlook, wrote in his *Autobiography* (it was published in Moscow in 1955) that what had attracted him most of all in Marxism was the scientific approach and the absence, on the whole, of dogmatism. The validity of this appraisal can be seen when one studies the Marxist Leninist theory of building socialism.

The classics of Marxism Leninism were extremely careful in defining the major

stages of the transition from capitalism to socialism. No fantasies. Not a trace of utopia. The transition from capitalism to socialism would, historically, occupy a rather long period of time, because it would involve the necessity of changing the way of life of millions of people. But no one could foresee the concrete details on the road. The theoretical ideas had to be worked out in practice—that was the only way to find what Marxism meant in practice.

It was Lenin, the Communists in Russia, who were the first to provide an answer to the question, to concretise the first practical experience of passing over from capitalism to socialism. The peoples of Czechoslovakia and the GDR, Poland, and Rumania, Bulgaria and Hungary, Vietnam and Korea, Cuba and other countries have taken the socialist road. What are the lessons that can be learnt from the joint experience of the socialist states? Was each people's road to socialism unique or did the October Revolution provide a set pattern that had only to be copied? To answer that question, one must examine the practical experience of at least several countries that have built socialism.

In making a cursory analysis one will find it difficult to distinguish the essential from the unessential. It is only the uniqueness of historical events that strikes the eye, and one gets the impression that history never repeats itself. However a closer examination will show that the seemingly unique historical events have a good deal in common. Thus, before the revolution industrially developed Germany and Czechoslovakia and royal Bulgaria and czarist Russia differed greatly in the level of their economic and political development and in many other aspects as well. Prior to World War II the working class in Czechoslovakia and Germany made up the major part of the population. In Bulgaria 78.6 per cent of the population lived in the villages and only 21.4 per cent in towns. In pre-revolutionary Russia the rural population made up 82 per cent of the total. And yet, there was something recurrent, something in common in all these countries, and that something was that all of them were *capitalist* countries. That meant that in all of them the means of production were private property, that in all of them there was exploitation of

man by man. The process of eliminating the capitalist system in these countries and of building socialism had to blend into a single whole both the common features and the specific peculiarities.

EXPERIENCE has shown that the road to socialism passes through a *socialist revolution*. Among some sections of the people, and especially among the radically-minded youth and students revolution is often times identified with bellicose slogans, with violence and bloodshed, with barricades in the streets and skirmishes with the police, and with armed fighting in the mountains and jungles. Of course sometimes revolution requires armed fighting in towns and villages but these particular forms of struggle are by no means the essence of revolution. Socialist revolution means first of all the transfer of state power from the hands of the capitalist class to those of the working class and its allies. The concept of "state power" covers the army, the police, the court, ministries and economic institutions of the state. All these, under the capitalist system are controlled by representatives of the capitalist class. The purpose of the socialist revolution is to take all these institutions from the bourgeoisie, to put state power and the means of production into the hands of the working people. That is a common feature of all socialist revolutions.

But each socialist revolution likewise has its specific features. Not a single revolution was an exact copy of any other. As history has demonstrated, a socialist revolution can develop both in a peaceful and non-peaceful way. Thus, the socialist power of the working class was established in Czechoslovakia in 1945—1948 in the course of acute class struggle, but without an armed uprising or civil war. In Hungary, Rumania and several other countries the democratic revolution peacefully developed into a socialist one. As to Russia and Cuba, there the revolution took a far-from-peaceful form and was accompanied by such class battles as armed uprising and civil war.

A STILL GREATER CONCRETE diversity of socialist revolutions will, most likely, be provided by the experience of the peoples who have liberated themselves from colonial dependence and chosen the socialist road of

development. There is a possibility of the socialist revolution in those countries developing peacefully; the specific features of this type of development are gradual and lengthy revolutionary transformation, the presence of transitional forms of power, of a broad system of class unions between the working class and the non-proletarian sections of the working people, the implementation of transitional anti-imperialist measures in the economy.

A revolution however, is always a revolution, no matter whether it is peaceful or non-peaceful. It should not be difficult to foresee that at the decisive stages of its development the struggle will be of so critical a nature that it will call for the active participation of the overwhelming majority of the working people. That is precisely why Marxism-Leninism rejects as completely groundless all assertions that a revolution can

be carried out by a group of plotters. More than that—the classics of scientific communism repeatedly stressed that even the working class could not be victorious if it was alone, especially in countries with a predominant peasant population.

What is it, then, that permits the working class and its allies to crush the resistance of the more experienced and better prepared foe, to seize state power? The strength of the working class lies in its clear understanding of the laws of the social development and its organisation. The proletariat has no other weapon in the struggle for power than its organisation. The supreme form of its political organisation is the party of the working class, which brings consciousness, organisation and discipline into the spontaneous movement of the masses, and directs the entire course of the socialist revolution and of the building of the socialist society. Capitalist ownership likewise has been ended in various countries in different ways. In the Soviet Union, for example, the most widespread was the expropriation of property from the big bourgeoisie without any compensation whatsoever. In the GDR state capitalism played a significant role in this sphere, i.e. a part of the bourgeoisie was given a certain compensation for the nationalised means of production.

THE WAYS OF SWITCHING agriculture over to socialist forms of farming were also different in different countries. In the USSR and Mongolia all land was nationalised in accordance with the demand of the peasants, and handed over to them for free use, which determined the relatively rapid collectivisation of agriculture. In Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Poland and several other countries a large part of the land after the revolution was the private property of the peasants who had received it in the course of revolutionary transformation carried out under the motto "the land belongs to those who till it." The rates of the co-operative movement in those countries were much slower.

Imperialist propaganda is going all out to spread the allegations that the Communist Parties of the socialist states, and specially the CPSU, are imposing their recipes of transforming society in a socialist way on the pro-

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gressive circles of other countries. This is nonsense. Marxist-Leninists proceed from the fact that every country has its own specific national features. Yet those features do not repudiate the general laws of transitions to socialism. And if anyone tries to brush those laws aside, the realities of social life will inevitably reinstate them. It is now an open secret how grave are the consequences of the attempts made in China to ignore the economic and political principles of socialism, to break off relations of friendship and solidarity with the socialist countries and join up with the forces of reaction in the world arena. All that is seriously jeopardising the achievements of the Chinese people.

Bourgeois propaganda has recently been busily advertising the concept of "models of socialism" as the latest theoretical accomplishment. According to its logic, each country must have its own socialism, and the number of "socialisms" may actually correspond to the number of countries in the world. Just as ancient parables permitted an almost unlimited range of interpretations, so do those "socialisms", too. What can we say to that? Since, as we have already seen, each country has its specific feature in the transition from capitalism to socialism, the existence of differences of a non-principled nature among the socialist countries is likewise possible. Thus, for instance, a one-party system has been historically formed in the Soviet Union because all the non-proletarian parties were promised themselves fully in the eyes of the people and were obliged to leave the political arena. Yet in Czechoslovakia, Poland and the GDR there exists a system of pluralism, under which the peasants' and other parties actively co-operate with the Communist Party, the leading force in society.

An oriental proverb says: "Should cries be able to build a house, an ass would set up a whole street". No one as yet has managed to build socialism that would in principle be different from the socialism that exists as a reality in the USSR and the other countries of the socialist community. Socialism starts off with the elimination of exploiting classes, with power lodged in the hands of the working class and its allies. There just cannot be socialism without that. No matter what road is chosen towards socialism, it must lead to this

fundamental goal. To overstress national specific features to ignore the common principles of socialism is the same as keeping one's hair while losing one's head. Against such a fallacious course Marxism-Leninism sets out scientifically tested landmarks that, in the specific conditions of the various countries, help each one to find the correct solutions to the complex problems of building a new society—APN.

X X X

IN SRI LANKA TODAY

That Foreign Connection

by

Satchi Ponnampalam

THE DEVELOPMENTS that are sweeping Sri Lanka today are significant in terms of their immediate impact and serious in the consequences they are likely to be fraught with in the future, both for the country and the people.

These developments have at their base a total and unquestioned faith in everything that is foreign—foreign goods, foreign capital, foreign aid, foreign entrepreneurship, foreign technology, foreign stock-in-trade, foreign travel, foreign markets, foreign exchange etc.

This foreign connection, no less than an obsession has become so central to our national fabric—dominated as it is by an elite few who hold it out as so vital to our very national survival, that a high placed bureaucrat was heard recently to utter the warning that "we must export or perish."

The objectives behind this foreign-oriented policies are neither intended to nor capable of serving the interests of the vast majority of the ordinary people of our country—the more than 80% living in the villages and rural areas. They are intended to and capable of benefiting the few—the less than 5% of the parasitic foreign-subservient, self-serving stratum in the country.

This becomes clear at once when we look at the plantation industry that we have had for more than a century and a half up to now. Whether they were foreign-owned or locally owned, the wages, working and living conditions of the nearly one million people who

worked the plantations over the ages have never been better than at destitute levels. Who then benefited from the plantations? It is those who owned the plantations. They were the foreign owners, their agents—the Agency Houses and also the local owners.

According to a study made by Dr. N. Ramachandran and published by the Central Bank in 1967, 15 major tea companies out of a sample of 68 had earned profits totalling £ 1,406,325 and paid as dividends a sum amounting to £ 1,394,198 during the 37 year period from 1921 to 1958. Furthermore, according to the "Agricultural Plan" of the Ministry of Agriculture and Food (1958), "The capital invested in the Sterling tea and rubber companies is comparatively small. Considerable profits have been made by these companies operating in Ceylon whose shares are quoted on the London Stock Exchange. Of these, 57 companies have paid out more than 100% of the issued capital in dividends in the last ten years alone, and in some cases the total dividends paid out exceed 300% of the issued capital."

THE BENEFITS arising from the FEEC, CRA, Tax Holiday, and other incentive induced garment manufacturing and gem exporting businesses of the early and mid-seventies were no different.

In his Budget Speech of 1975, Dr. N. M. Perera stated: ".....In a recent survey conducted on the total investment in the industrial sector where capitalisation is over Rs. 1 million, it has been found that out of a total investment of Rs. 275 million as much as Rs. 205 million is held by only 11 family groups" In regard to the profits earned on account of the various incentives offered, Dr. Perera said: "In all but one, the profits for the five years exceeded the capital investment, in some cases amounting to between 300 and 500 per cent of capital."

When at one end of the scale, such magnitudes of profits were being accumulated by the owners under government patronage, at the other end those who worked for the mto accumulate these profits—the seamstress and cutters at the garment factories and the gem pits were falling from one level of destitution to another.

We thus have, in our country itself, incontrovertible and undeniable evidence of who benefits under this system of incentives and government patronage. But, day in and day out, our politicians keep telling us, almost *ad nauseam* that foreigners—the Japanese, Singaporean, Hong Kong and other millionaires are coming to develop our country, within and outside the Free Trade Zone and elsewhere.

The story has been nearly the same in a number of other countries, whose political leadership, in their quest for development, had tied their countries to the chariot-wheels of neo-colonialism. The consequential work-out in those countries came to unfurl in a remarkably uniform manner. This foreign-dependent path is not stumbled upon by accident, but constitutes one synthesised 'package' of growthmanship and developmentalism prescribed by the foreign aid-donor institutions, in their service to Western Imperialism.

The 'package' is prescribed, ostensibly however, as the ideal recipe for the poor Third World countries to breakthrough their under development and to take their place among the developed nations. The argument, in short, is that underdeveloped countries are poor because they have no capital, and to breakthrough their poverty they need massive doses of capital, which since unavailable locally, has to come from abroad.

The recipe seems quite nice and many sacrifices including human blood are called for in its implementation. The reality, however, of all the effort is that the goal is never reached, and despite all the sacrifices and the attendant chaos and upheavals, followed by coups, the Third World countries continue to remain where they started.

Many Third World leaders have been baited hook, line and sinker into accepting and implementing this recipe and in defence of it their usual exhortation has been that the golden age of prosperity is close at hand and that they are god's chosen instruments in ushering that new and prosperous era.

'POLITICAL STABILITY' becomes the keyword—the all embracing pantheon before which all else must be sacrificed. In Sri Lanka'

we have already been told so. We are told that the Constitution has been mended to achieve political stability to make the foreign investors feel secure.

In his speech at the Law Asia Conference in August 1979, President Jayewardene stated as follows: "Development process needs stability and peace.....Foreign investors have been invited and incentives given to them. They will hardly care to come when there are riots, and governments are overthrown by bloody coups and not by the ballot. Even by the ballot, when a government with a two-thirds majority is reduced to a few members as happened to my party in 1956 and 1970 and to the other major party in 1977, investors are cautious. When a party which commanded more than two-thirds majority in the House when it assumed office loses its majority during the course of its period of office through defections; or at a general election is reduced to a few members and another party returned with a 5/6 majority.....as happened at the 1977 elections which we won, again foreign investors do not feel secure. We have therefore taken two measures, one to ensure stability for a Government during its period of office. The new constitution prevents crossovers from one party to another except on specific occasions.....Secondly, we introduced proportional representation as the system of voting. It is most unlikely that any party will obtain a two-thirds majority in the future and fundamental changes of policy will be rare, for the support of several parties in Parliament will become necessary".
—*Ceylon Daily News*, 28.8.1979.

We thus have the reasons for constricting the freedom of the MPs who are democratically elected by the people of this country to act according to their conscience and also the reasons for the introduction of the new device of Proportional Representation.

But what seems more important is the nature of these people, described as foreign investors. They seem to be no different to their predecessors—the foreign invaders.

They seek to operate and benefit in a foreign country but have no regard or respect for the democratic political processes and the general will of the people to whom the country belongs. In short, they want to

be above the political process and not within it or under it. They expect the people of this country to stand mutely before them, in chains, if possible.

O O O

DAVANA DIARY - 8

September - 3 Afternoon Session

by
S. P. Amarasingam

When the opening session was resumed in the afternoon, Chairman Jayewardene, as is traditional in each Summit, proposed that President Fidel Castro of the host country be elected as his successor. This proposal was supported by President Samora Machel of Mozambique, President Ziaur Rahman of Bangladesh, President Francisco Morales Bermudez of Pan and President Spiros Kyprianous of Cyprus. The four speakers, representing non-aligned countries of Africa, Asia, Latin America and Europe, spoke about the revolutionary personality of the Cuban President, his concern for the Movement and the certainty that under his guidance the movement will advance even further and that its unity would be further strengthened.

The outgoing Chairman, J. R. Jayewardene, then asked that the proposal be accepted —by acclamation— and the delegates responded with several rounds of applause. Then President Jayewardene handed over to Fidel Castro the wooden gavel used to call for order during debates and with a warm embrace invited him to take his seat as Chairman. President Fidel Castro thanked the delegates for electing him Chairman and said he would do all he could to fulfil his mandate which will last three years, until the next Summit.

Then Fidel called on the Egyptian Foreign Minister Boutros Ghali to take the floor so that he could answer the comments in the opening speech about the Sadat regime's betrayal of the Arab cause by signing a separate peace agreement with the Israeli aggressors, comments which the Egyptian delegates felt were unfair and slanderous. At this point,

the Libyan delegate raised a point of order saying that there was no precedent for use of the right of reply in such a situation when the opening speech had already been approved and included as an official document of the Conference. Fidel said that in spite of the accepted procedural principle raised by the delegate of Libya, there were special circumstances because of the fact that an attempt was being made to answer somebody who spoke at the start of the Conference and was now its Chairman. He added that he didn't want to give room for the suspicion that he was taking advantage of his post as chairman to prevent people from answering him or attacking him or that he doubted the validity of his own statements.

The Egyptian foreign minister said that Fidel's comments in the opening session were not proper as they were a departure from the Afro-Arab ethic and the traditions of the non-aligned movement. He depicted the Egyptian president as a revolutionary and gave as an example of this his journey to Jerusalem, which, according to him, Sadat had undertaken in order to liberate the people of Palestine. When Ghali mentioned Sadat's visit to Jerusalem, Yasser Arafat, the leader of the PLO, interrupted on a point of order to say that what had actually been done was to sell Jerusalem for a bit of sand in the Sinai.

Cuban delegate Carlos Rafael Rodriguez was then given the floor, and he said that in his speech Fidel had not slandered Egypt or its people, that he had told the truth and truth was never slanderous but that it was painful and upsetting. At the most recent meeting of the Movement held in Belgrade and Colombo, he continued, it had been felt that Egypt's conduct ran counter to the Movement of Non-aligned countries and, what was more, it had gone against its principles. The next speaker was Didier Ratsiraka, President of Madagascar, who declared that he had been offended by what the Egyptian representative had said and stressed that when it was said that the present Egyptian government was betraying the cause of the Arab people, one was not being unduly harsh. Saddam Hussein, president of Iraq, said that the Egyptian government had sold out the Palestinian and Egyptian peoples, and it was simply a small mercenary regime at the service of Yankee

imperialism. He added that the Conference should condemn the Egyptian leaders for all the damage they had done. Yasser Arafat intervened to denounce Israeli genocide. Israel was now allied with Egypt against the Palestinians, he said. Regarding the comments of the Egyptian delegate about Sadat's journey to Jerusalem, Saddam Hussein asked who had given Sadat the right to speak on behalf of the Palestinians when it was very clear that nobody could speak on behalf of the PLO.

The representative of Mali then asked for the floor to say that the Middle East was Point 9 on the agenda and that it was necessary to go on to prior matters and discuss the Egyptian question at the right time. Iran's Foreign Minister Ibrahim Yazdi said that hypocrisies were the leading enemy in politics and when they were eliminated the Movement would be stronger. In his reply to the Egyptian delegate, Angolan Foreign Minister Paulo Jorge mentioned Fidel's speech and quoted what Jose Marti had said: "Words are for telling the truth, not concealing it." Vietnamese Prime Minister Pham Van Dong endorsed what the other speakers had said and asked that the Egyptian delegate's comments be not included in the Conference record. Congolese President Denis Sassou Nguesso noted that the fact that Fidel's speech had been approved as an official document and that should have been enough to keep the Egyptian delegate from trying to lead the participants into what seemed like a diversion.

After their Egyptian interlude, the Chairman called on President Jayewardene to make his statement—two hours behind schedule. This speech was printed in Sri Lanka in all papers and was also heard over TV and the Radio. My own impressions and comments on the speech have been set out in Havana Diary-4 (*Tribune*, October 15, 1979, Vol. 24 N.o 15). It was a wise and statesmanlike speech devoid of jargon and polemics—something rare in the non-aligned movement or in the United Nations.

The Economic and Political Committees headed by Mozambique and Iraq respectively began their work today. The economic report appeared to be non-controversial and suggestions for changes appear to be only to strengthen and concretise proposals. The political report is regarded as highly contro-

versial in regard to certain formulations the battle royal over the Egyptian issue will be fought in this Committee.

During the course of the afternoon session the rest of the presiding body was elected in accordance with recommendations made by the ministerial meeting. A total of 20 deputy chairmen were chosen by agreement: Liberia, Libya, the Congo, Mali, SWAPO, Uganda and Zambia, representing Africa; Bangladesh, Democratic Korea, India, Malaysia, Singapore, Syria and the PLO, representing Asia; Guyana, Grenada, Nicaragua and Panama, on behalf of Latin America; and Yugoslavia and Cyprus representing Europe. Fidel Castro also welcomed the following new members to the movement: Bolivia, the Zimbabwe Patriotic Front, Grenada, Iran, Nicaragua, Pakistan and Surinam. Costa Rica, St. Lucia, Dominica and the Philippines were accepted as observers, and several states, international organisations and institutions were given guest status. This was the first conference at which SWAPO participated with full membership status. It had been admitted after the 5th Summit. Cuban Deputy Foreign Minister Ricardo Alarcon was elected general secretary of the 6th Summit. The Draft Final Declaration, prepared by the host country was circulated for discussion during the afternoon. Many delegations are expected to send in amendments only to show that Cuban draft must be changed beyond recognition.

There was a meeting of the Political Committee today at the Palace of Conventions to consider some of the proposed amendments to the draft version of the Final Declaration of the 6th Summit. During the first session, which was presided over by Iraq's ambassador, Ismat Kitani, it was decided to form a drafting committee made up of representatives of 15 countries and open to all interested members to discuss amendments to the preamble and to work out the final version of those paragraphs. It was reported that the Committee had considered amendments to paragraphs 2-28 in the first stage of its work, but when the delegates realized that this would take a long time it was decided to set up a drafting group or committee headed by the ambassador of Kenya, who is deputy chairman of the Political Committee. The Committee discussing the economic issues that were con-

tained in the draft version of the Final Declaration decided to set up two working groups, the first to deal with drafting and the second with the economic action program. The views of the Economic Committee will be incorporated into the Economic Declaration to be put to the meeting of heads of state and government or their approval.

These were the main events on the first day of the Summit. But, every delegate and journalist was conscious of several currents and under-currents which many thought would undermine the Summit. The three most important "internal" matters mentioned were the Fidel-Tito clash over the aims, objectives and independence of the Movement, the squabbling over the Final Report, the Egyptian and Kampuchean issues and the threat from Burma to walk out of its resolution (one of over a thousand) to reorganise and reform the Movement was not included for discussion and debate—this walk out was to be followed by several others. The most important "external" diversion was the issue of the 3000 Russian combat troops that had been spotlighted first in VOA broadcast from Washington on Friday, August 31.

In a cable despatch from Havana, I had stated: "the Voice of America on Friday morning broadcast a statement by Senator Frank Church that CIA intelligence reports revealed that there were 3000 Russian combat troops in Cuba. A correspondent of a leading American newspaper told me not to take this seriously as such stories were put out regularly to remind everybody that Cuba was still a bad boy. When I asked him if he and other US correspondents in Havana would now go looking for these Russian troops, he laughed and said that they had come to cover the Summit and not hunt for Russians. Maybe some correspondents will take the hint and report that there were Russian troops somewhere—although the Soviets are playing a very low profile role here."

The Russian combat troops scare did not have any impact on the Conference. In fact, not even the most anti-Castro and anti-radical delegation took up this issue in a big way, no doubt, because it was recognised to be a damp squib from the beginning.

Next week: The Egyptian Position

Confidentially

Orchids And ADA—5

IS IT NOT TRUE, that the ADA says that it took *Orchid Acres* as partner on the basis of the guarantees they offered? That if the project got going on the scale envisaged, *Orchid Acres* would have received in the first year a sum in excess of Rs. 6 million from the sale of plants to 1,000 growers? That this sum of money invested in a sensible manner would have brought in an annual income of over a million rupees? That the other benefaction which *Orchid Acres* was prepared to confer on growers was to purchase flowers at a guaranteed price? That without commenting on the details or the fairness of this pricing, we would draw attention to the stipulation that any flowers supplied by the growers to any other buyer than *Orchid Acres* would result in the invalidation of the guarantee? That some of the specifications set out by *Orchid Acres* for the purchase of flowers at premium prices, would be virtually impossible for the average grower to fulfil? That for instance the condition that the premium price of Rs. 3 is available for a *Semiterete Vanda* spike "with a minimum of 6 flowers with 2 buds without any flowers damaged" might be a very difficult specification for an amateur grower to meet? That the second guarantee was to buy back any sub-standard plants within 12 months on a full refund of their value? That one must consider what one could do with Rs. 6 million in one's pocket even if you had to take back half your plants at the end of the year? That even the humble *Maggie Oie* at Rs. 2.60 would have earned more than its true value in interest alone at the end of 12 months? That the other guarantee given by *Orchid Acres*—obviously the main plank of the project—was to buy back top cuttings from growers at agreed prices? That it is this so-called guarantee which examined in some depth reveals the gigantic hoax which makes all frauds perpetrated so far on the public of this country look like simple parlour games? That according to the project report, in the 2nd year of the project and in the 4th year of the project,

Orchid Acres guaranteed to buy back from growers a total of more than Rs. 6.5 million worth of top cuttings? That we asked one orchid grower what this would mean in terms of land for growing these plants and were told that this would possibly mean the expansion of the *Orchid Acres* farm by another 10 to 20 acres? That we tried to find out whether *Orchid Acres* were really going to expand their existing acres and acres of *Semiterete Vandas* and *James Storiei*? That the answer was resounding no? That it was not *Orchid Acres* which was going to buy back these plants? That these plants were to be passed on to other groups of unsuspecting orchid growers with the blessing of the ADA and the funds of the (hopefully) ever willing Banks? That could anyone be surprised that our bankers declined the privilege of holding these babies? That is not all? That was it not a coincidence that *Orchid Acres* which "offered the best terms" happened also to have a large stock of fast discolouring *Vandas* and worthless arandas? That it was not certainly entirely in the interests of the future orchid growers that strong arm tactics appeared to have been used on the State banks to support this project? THAT THE 6 MILLION RUPEE QUESTION THAT MUST BE ASKED EVEN AT THE HIGHEST LEVEL IN THE LAND IS WHAT ADDRESS IN COLOMBO 5 WAS REGULARLY USED BY ORCHID ACRES IN THE PAST FOR THE SALE OF ITS PRODUCE? THAT IT IS NECESSARY TO KNOW THE VIP BUREAUCRAT WHO LIVES AT THIS ADDRESS? That we are sorry indeed if any of our somewhat blunt statements have hurt the feelings of innocent bureaucrats who have unwittingly lent their names to this gigantic fraud? That to them, if they still insist on defending their integrity, we throw out this simple challenge that there are many persons in this country with either international or national reputations as orchid culturists whose views command general respect? That if the officials of the ADA should find just one from among this number who would be prepared to acclaim or even to support their project as one that is feasible and advantageous to the proposed beneficiaries will be happy to publish his name and his views—in fairness to the ADA?

Concluded

FOREST COVER

- * **IN INDIA**, there is a great concern that the forest cover has reached a low of 20%.

INDIA'S FOREST COVER of 67 million hectares out of the total land area of 329 million hectares represents a low 20 per cent against the optimal level of 33 per cent which is required to maintain the appropriate ecological balance. This fact was recognised even a decade back but mighty little has been done so far to rectify the situation. Such a gap in policy is particularly exemplified by the low rate of regeneration; the growing stock per hectare is only 28 cubic metres against the optimal 110 cubic metres while the average annual increase is 0.5 cubic metre per hectare against the world average of 2 cubic metres....

—Editorial, *The Hindu*, 31.10.79

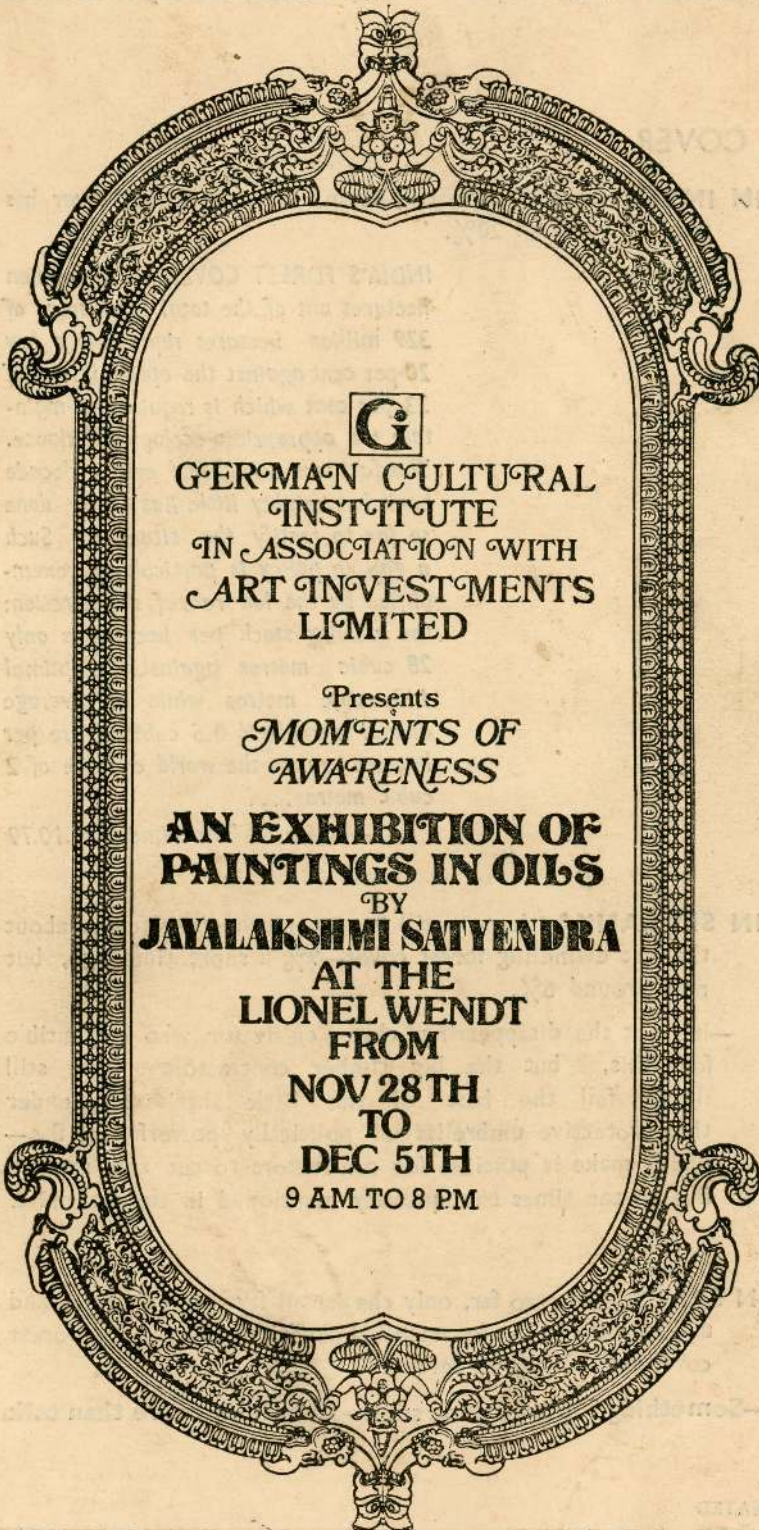
- * **IN SRI LANKA**, there is still far too much complacency about the fast dwindling forest cover—9% a short time ago, but now around 6%.

—it's not the disappearing chena cultivator who responsible for this, but the big timber contractors who still illicitly fell the best of the little that's left under the protective umbrellas of politically powerful mafias— which make it possible for contractors to cut and remove five to ten times the quantity mentioned in their permits.

- * **IN SRI LANKA**, so far, only the small fry are caught, and unless the big sharks are eliminated immediately, the forest cover will shrink to zero.

—Something must be done soon—something more than talk.

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