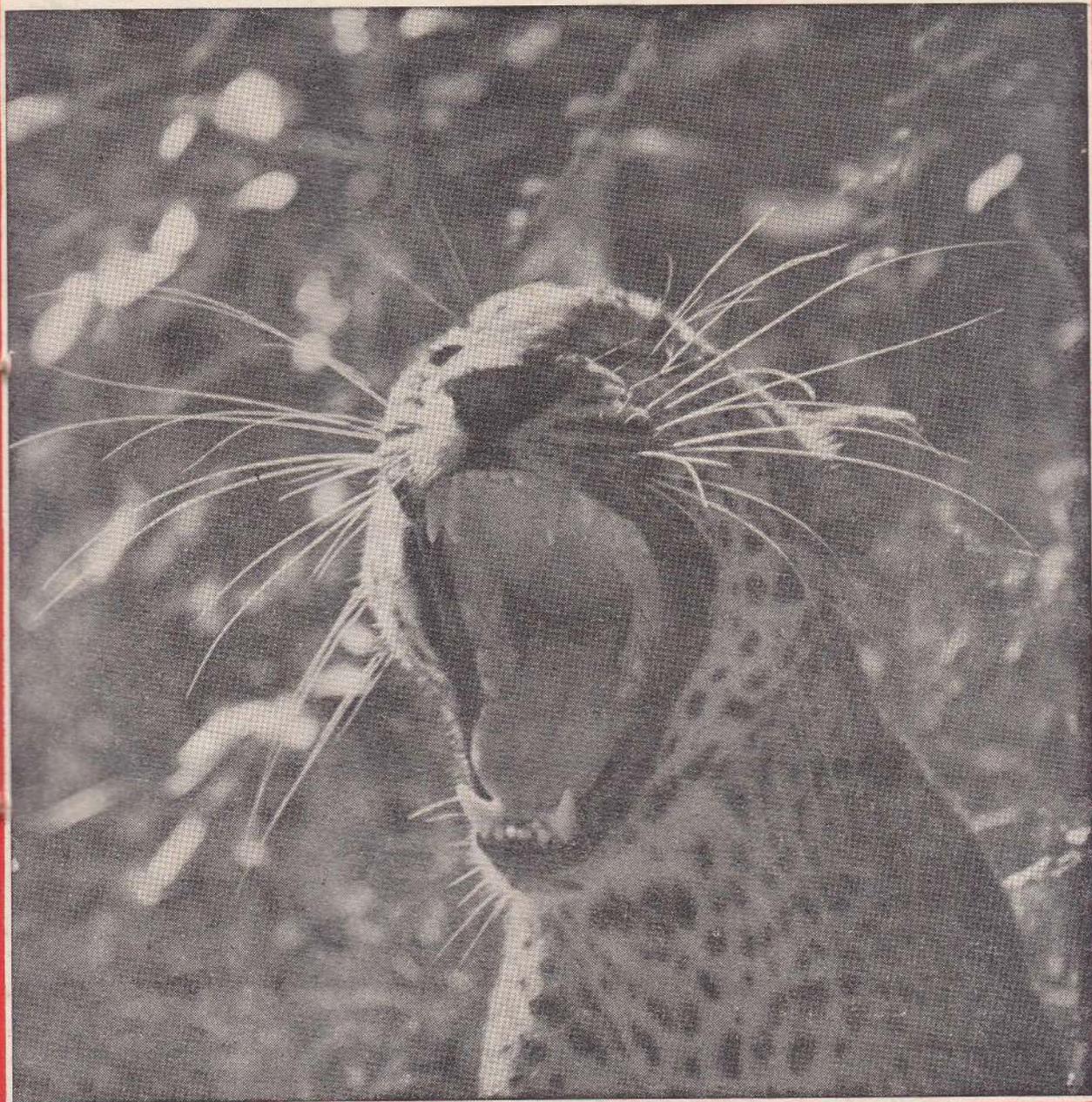


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Letter From The Editor

TO THE CREDIT OF THE JAYAWARDENE GOVERNMENT, it must be said, that it has succeeded in taking the lid off corruption in many sectors of public administration. The Air Ceylon Commission did an excellent job of work in unravelling the stink and corruption that had overtaken the national airline carrier over many years. The Tobacco (Beedi) Commission has not yet completed its work, but the revelations that have transpired in evidence have snocked the public. It will be recalled that *Tribune* was the first, and perhaps only, periodical that had made serious allegations about corruption and misuse of power in the Tobacco (Beedi) Corporation several years ago. For this the SLFP-UF hierarchy had frowned on *Tribune* and accused us of "playing into the hands of the UNP and the reactionaries". *Tribune* more over had spotlighted the mess in Air Ceylon from the year 1955/56 under different governments and administrations, but we were a voice in the wilderness. The big national dailies were not concerned with the evil goings-on in Air Ceylon, but more often than not only echoed the views and sentiments of various vested interests either out to sell planes to Air Ceylon or to derive profits from the administration of Air Ceylon. The recent Commission has laid everything bare and Air Ceylon has now been grounded. It should have been grounded over twenty years ago. Not enough publicity has been given to the work of the Committee of Inquiry on the CGR but it has brought into sharp focus much that was hidden. On the political plane, the evidence led before the Sansoni Commission has brought to light much that was whispered in dark corners, and the findings and conclusions will help, we feel sure, to solve one of the most difficult political problems of the contemporary era. But with the ongoing Presidential Commission the spotlight has so far been turned on the former Primer Minister, Mrs. Sirimavo Bandaranaike, for her land transactions to circumvent the Land Reform Law, and more importantly on the former Minister of Justice (and Finance and Local Government etc. etc. etc.) Mr. Felix R. Dias Bandaranaike allegedly involved in misdeeds in a variety of fields. The actions and activities of Ian Wickremanayake, former Bribery Commissioner, allegedly a stooge and hatchet-man of FRDB, stole the thunder from every one and everything else that has so far figured before the Presidential Commission including the ubiquitous brother-in-law, Gamini Wickremanayake, who had continued to hold sway as FRDB's chief factotum in spite of exposures in the NSA and the press. The first lap of the Prosecuting Counsel's address is over and the Commission has adjourned until August 28 to hear evidence on the matters so far adverted to. There is one question, however, uppermost in everybody's mind which cannot be ignored. It is no doubt well and good, it is felt, to expose the evils of the last regime which was only a culmination of the corruption and abuse of power that had gripped the body politic of Sri Lanka ever since Independence and which had grown with every successive government, UNP and SLFP, but must something not be done of the continuing corruption in the present regime? The Jayawardene Government has set out to cleanse this country of corruption and as a first step set up Commissions to expose the worst evils of the old government. What next? What about the corruption and the abuse of power that has already manifested itself in this administration? The Government must realise that unless the corruption now rampant in many sectors of the administration is brought under control, or at least minimised, all the best plans for economic development will flounder and end in failure. Some UNP adherents seem to feel that the quick buck should be made while the going was good; many have already made their mini-millions whilst a few millionaires have become multi-millionaires.

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EDITOR'S NOTEBOOK

A NEW ERA

ON WEDNESDAY, August 16, the National State Assembly (NSA) adopted the Constitution of the Democratic Socialist Republic of Sri Lanka. It was unopposed in its final reading, 137 having voted for it and none had opposed it. SLFP and TULF members were not present when the Government moved 54 Amendments to the Constitution nor were they present at voting time. The only member occupying a seat in the Opposition, Mr. S. Thondaman, 3rd MP for Nuwara Eliya, voted for the adoption of the Constitution. The Prime Minister, Mr. R. Premadasa, had told the NSA that the new Constitution will be promulgated on September 7 and on that day Sri Lanka's first Executive President would also take his oaths before the elected representatives of the people.

The *Ceylon Daily News* (August 17, 1978) report of the last day's proceedings makes an excellent summary: "As announced earlier, the Government deleted the controversial Clause 157 of the draft Constitution which related to penalties to be imposed on any persons who attempt to amend, alter or repeal the Constitution or any of its provisions, except through Parliament. The first amendment moved by the Prime Minister was the addition of the word 'Swasti' to the preamble to the Constitution. 'Swasti' means 'Blessings' the Prime Minister said. A major amendment moved by Mr. K. W. Devanayagam, Minister of Justice was to make fundamental rights enshrined in the Constitution applicable to "stateless persons" who had been resident in Sri Lanka for ten years prior to the commencement of the new Constitution.

TRIBUNE August 26, 1978

"The Prime Minister winding up the debate said the new Constitution would herald the dawn of a new era. The Constitution had been drafted after the views of all sections of the people had been considered. These views had been considered by a Select Committee. A special report on the Constitution was also considered. Today is a historic day where you are voting for a historic purpose, the Premier said. He thanked everyone who had helped in framing the

Constitution. He would not say that the Constitution was perfect. There might be shortcomings and those would be looked into and rectified as the Constitution is implemented. The aims of the Constitution are to safeguard the freedoms of the people and raise their economic standards, Mr. Premadasa said.

"Mr. S. Thondaman said he was happy to support the adoption of the new Constitution. 'I speak on behalf of the people of this

THE COVER

THE ROAR/GROWL OF PROTEST

Sri Lanka has no indigenous Lion within its territory but a stylistic Lion is the symbolic mascot of the Sinhala race. The national flag has this stylised heraldic Lion with a sword as its major emblem. Whilst we have no Lion to thunder in sonorous roars the protests of the people, we have an indigenous Cheetah which can bare its fangs and growl as leopards do when they are angry. On the cover we have an angry Cheetah. Why is he/she angry? We have a suggestion to offer. Even the animal kingdom in the island is aghast at the growing corruption in many sectors of the present administration and also at the increasing abuse of power that has begun to creep into the lower and middle segments of the Establishment. Soon, they fear, the upper echelons will also fall victim to the same malady. People are angry that whilst the misdeeds of the past government are being exposed, as they rightly should be, not enough is being done to check corruption and the abuse of power in the present UNP administration. Some of the governmental trade deals and imports have begun to stink to the high heavens. Astronomical figures are being mentioned as rake-offs and commissions. A new tribe of Commission agents and contact men have come on the scene who seem to have more influence with certain bureaucrats in strategic posts and also some well placed Ministers and Deputy Ministers.

There is usually no smoke without fire, and Tribune investigators are already convinced that corruption on a colossal scale has begun to overwhelm important sections of the present administration. What seems unbelievable is that some of the most corrupt of the last regime are among the most influential in the present Establishment and they are reputedly minting millions through illegalities, sharp practice and crooked deals. Some business firms which had corrupted the top-most administrators and officials of the last regime are today undermining the integrity of the present Government. Has corruption become chronic and endemic in Sri Lanka that even Dharmista seems to have no effect? Is there nothing that even a Dharmista government can do to stop corruption? Can a permanent Presidential Commission help? The Sri Lanka Worm has turned many times over and our Cheetah is snarling and growling in fury—but to what purpose?

country who earn the bulk of the revenue of the country and who had been kept away from the mainstream of public life. I am glad to speak on their behalf and support on this Constitution in addition to having participated in the deliberation of the Select Committee," Mr. Thondaman said. Mr. Thondaman said he would not for a moment say that the Constitution was perfect or ideal or that it provided a new status for estate Tamils but it was definitely an improvement on what went before. Anything was an improvement. Particularly for the sections of the people who had been kept out for the last thirty or forty years. The success of the Constitution depended not only on its adoption, but in its implementation. He hoped that all people in Sri Lanka would be able to live in peace and harmony. Mr. K. W. Devansyagam, Minister of Justice said that he rose to speak with a sense of freedom. His regret was that although they were adopting the new Constitution they were still under the 1972 Constitution. The new Constitution has provided more safeguards for the minorities than even under Section 29 of the Soulbury Constitution. The Tamils will enjoy language rights in the courts of justice in the North and East equal to those enjoyed by others," he said. He hoped that that as time went on the members of the TULF would co-operate with the Government instead of trying to keep away from the Tamils the benefits they would be reaping from the new Constitution, Mr. Devansyagam added. When the amendments were being discussed and Mr. S. Thondaman raised certain matters pertaining to the Interpretation (Amendment) Act, Mr. Lalith Athulathmudali Minister of Trade said that the Government proposed to appoint a Constitutional Commission which

would keep the Constitution under observation. Such issues as raised by Mr. Thondaman could be considered then, he said."

The stand taken by the SLFP was not unexpected from the time it recorded its dissent from the Report of the Select Committee for the Reform of the Constitution with a long rider (which was published in full in the *Tribune*). A statement on the same lines was made by Mrs. Bandaranaike in the NSA on August 3 after the Prime Minister, Mr. R. Premadasa, had moved the adoption of the Constitution on August 2 and the Leader of the Opposition, Mr. A. Amirthalingam too had made a 5-hour speech to set out why the TULF could not support the Constitution in spite of some concessions to the Tamil minority incorporated in the Constitution.

The SLFP was very critical of the government not only because the new Constitution completely replaced the 1972 Constitution but also because of the two Civil Disabilities Bills which imposed civil disabilities on 34 odd SLFP stalwarts in the local government arena with one all-island national SLFP star-performer namely Mr. Felix R. Dias Bandaranaike.

Whilst something can be said in favour of some of the objections against the two Civil Disabilities Bills, there is no doubt that there is much to be said in favour of the new Constitution as compared to the 1972 Constitution or any former Constitution in contemporary times. The fact that Government was willing to move so many amendments as a result of the discussions in the NSA, of the speeches made in seminars and public meetings, in memoranda and the like, is testimony to its *bona fides* that the Government was anxious to frame a Constitution as best as it possibly could be under the circumstances.

Elsewhere in this issue we have, for the record, published the amendments moved by the government and others accepted by the NSA. This is an indication of the scope and extent of the spirit of accommodation the government was willing to display in order to frame a Constitution that will work.

In coming weeks, we shall examine the role and attitude of the different political parties—not in the government ranks at present and including those not in the NSA—to the Constitution: the TULF, the SLFP, the LSSP, CPSL, JVP etc.

+ + +

BETWEEN THE LINES BY SERENDIB

Disturbing Trends— In The University And The Exercise Of Power

*FROM PERADENIYA. Reports continue to pour into *Tribune* from various sources about developments and happenings in the Peradeniya Campus. There is contention in many quarters that there is a subtle and undeclared attempt to reintroduce an elitist framework in the prevailing infrastructure and to disperse outside the pale of academic society the unfortunate students of the Humanities and Social Services. What is regrettable is that all this is being done behind the scenes—under the counter so to say—because no new Universities Bill has been presented and the so called University Grants Commission (now enlarged by two more members

recently) has no legal sanction as this body is to be set up by the new Act too! The bad old University Act No. 1 of 1972 is being used to the utmost to squeeze every procedural advantage before it is possible for the University community to react or wake up to the proper dimensions of what is being done off stage.

One of the most serious and far-reaching of the changes to be implemented without proper consultations or discussions is the banishment of the Arts Faculty, the core of the University in Peradeniya, to a new and hastily formed and most uncongenial site at Polgolla. *Tribune* publishes below a copy of a memorandum of the Faculty on this disturbing trend written in the most subdued terms. It is significant that the most active of the protagonists are those in the camp of the Government, who never expected these consequences of their support. The memorandum is entitled *THE ARTS FACULTY AT PERADENIYA AND THE PROPOSED CHANGES IN UNIVERSITY ADMISSIONS*, and it reads:

"We understand that in 1978 no first year Arts students are to be admitted to the Peradeniya Campus and that instead the new intake will be distributed among the existing Campuses and the proposed new institutions at Polgolla and Matara. It is regrettable, especially in the context of the present government's policy of giving greater autonomy to the Universities, that the Arts Faculty at Peradeniya was not consulted on this matter. The proposed cancellation of the first year Arts courses at Peradeniya has caused widespread resentment and anxiety among the Arts teachers in this Campus. It has also heightened the feeling of disenchantment which has persisted in the Faculty since a process of dismemberment of the Arts Faculty began under the guise

of re-organisation in 1972. The conditions which prevailed in the recent past have already caused an exodus of a number of highly qualified staff, curtailed the contribution that the Arts Faculty was making towards national development in a more favourable atmosphere at an earlier period and has led to an overall devaluation of the quality of higher learning in Arts, Humanities and Religious studies.

"This memorandum is being submitted in the hope that our ideas and recommendations would contribute towards formulating a clear and positive policy relating to the future of the Arts Faculty at Peradeniya, one that would reverse the trends of the past and re-establish conditions conducive to meaningful development in the future. It is unfortunate that in attempts at reorganising tertiary education in the recent past little attention has been paid to the actual contribution of the Arts Faculty at Peradeniya let alone its potential capacity to serve the country. The Faculty of Arts was one of the first to be established at the new University site at Peradeniya in the early 1950's. Despite many difficulties including the dispersal of qualified staff to other Universities the Faculty has gained and retained recognition not only within our country but also among academic circles abroad. It should be emphasised that the facilities for the teaching of Arts subjects at Peradeniya are superior to those available elsewhere and that such facilities should not be removed and cannot be duplicated. This is partly because the majority of teachers having joined the University of Peradeniya, rather than a common University service, have a deep and abiding commitment to the institution, a commitment sometimes disparagingly referred to as vested interest, but a commitment without which a good

University cannot be developed. A number of those who serve at Peradeniya have refused more lucrative positions elsewhere and despite great odds have maintained a substantial output of research of high quality. In this context any step which would pave the way for the elimination or even the curtailment of the spectrum of disciplines taught at Peradeniya would be detrimental to the interests of the University at Peradeniya and to the development of Social Sciences and Humanities in the country.

"The proposals we make in this memorandum are based on our conception of what the Arts Faculty at Peradeniya should be. We are firmly of the view that the Faculty: (a) Should have the entire spectrum of subjects in the Social Sciences and Humanities; (b) Should orient its courses towards the development of critical faculties and academic discipline and while continuing to teach specialised courses, develop multi disciplinary

PRISONER

*I am bound. Invisible chains
hold me captive. My Soul,
which longs to be free to fly
with the birds and roam
with wild beasts, is
tied. The unseen fetters
which bind me fast are
stronger than iron bars,
yet they are finer than gossamer.
I am like a fly caught
in a web. Bonds of love
are more difficult to break
than iron bars for they
hold you much faster. My
heart cries out to be free,
free to do as it chooses. But
I am a prisoner with no escape.*

CASAVA

studies; (c) Should further organic and meaningful links with other faculties both in teaching and research; (d) Should provide all members of the Faculty with incentives to pursue their academic interest and to develop their creative potential so that they would make the maximum contribution to the University at Peradeniya. For this purpose Faculty members should be free of a feeling of instability and insecurity in their work; and (e) Should continue to do a substantial amount of Teaching because of essential links that exist between teaching and research. Apart from the fact that teaching inspires research, it provides for the discovery of research talent and the development of research potential amongst students.

In order to realise these objectives we are making the following proposals relating to the immediate future of the Faculty including the policy relating to student admissions to Peradeniya. (1) Provision must be made for the teaching of Arts at all levels in all three media including the First year at the Peradeniya Campus. (2) There should be no compulsory transfer of staff from the Arts Faculty at Peradeniya. However, services of the staff at Peradeniya may be obtained on a voluntary basis to assist in teaching at any other campus as has been the practice in the past. (3) Peradeniya should be allowed to develop courses leading to degrees and diplomas at graduate and post-graduate levels in the existing fields of study as well as in new interdisciplinary fields. (4) The courses at Peradeniya should be open to suitably qualified students from other institutions. Provision should be made for admitting such students not only to first year courses but at other levels as well. (5) Adequate funds should be made available to Peradeniya for the development of existing re-

sources. In view of the potential for research available in the Faculty of Arts at Peradeniya, especially in the form of qualified staff with research training, there should be adequate funding of research in the form of grants, scholarships, studentships and fellowships.

"Perhaps it should be made clear that the requests we make in this memorandum will not involve a substantial increase in expenditure in higher education. Our requests in fact are essentially aimed at the preservation of a viable Arts Faculty at Peradeniya as well as to remedy the ill-effects of the misguided policies which were pursued in the recent past."

Will this memorandum submitted on bended academic knees have any impact on the Government?

***CIVIL DISABILITIES BILLS.**

Though the two Bills have been adopted, a comment sent to us by S. Nadesan before the NSA finally approved the Bills by a two-thirds majority merits serious considerations. If not for anything else, the note must be placed on record for what it is worth:

"From what has so far transpired in the NSA with regard to the Civic Disabilities Bills it appears to be the intention of Government to proceed with the two Bills once the advice of the Constitutional Court is tendered without waiting for the adjudication by the Courts on the writ applications that have been made to the Supreme Court questioning the validity of the findings of the two Commissions in respect of certain Persons. This is clearly an unsatisfactory position and may lead to anomalous results. If the NSA proceeds by its legislation to disqualify persons on the basis of the findings of one of the commissions and thereafter the Supreme Court quashed those findings grave in-

justice would have been done to the persons concerned. Further such a proceeding will be against the very spirit of our Constitution. Under Section 5 of the Constitution the NSA is the supreme instrument of state power of the Republic and it exercises both legislative power and judicial power. It exercises the legislative power of the people directly, but exercises the judicial power not directly but through the courts except in matters relating to its privileges when it may directly exercise this power. (It must be kept in mind that these bills are very different from the normal legislation that comes before the NSA. They are of an unusual nature in that they affect certain specified persons whose names are listed in the schedules). When these writ applications were made to the Supreme Court and notices were allowed in law the position is that the NSA through the courts has entertained the applications and issued notices so that the matter may be properly considered and decided after hearing all parties. This means that the NSA exercising judicial power through the courts is of the view that the findings of the commission have to be looked into and if need be quashed.

"While the matter of the validity of the Commission's findings in respect of a number of persons is pending before the Courts which are merely the instruments through which the NSA illogically exercises its judicial power, it is illogical for the NSA to enact laws on the basis of the findings of these commissions so far as they affect persons who have made these applications. What the NSA does in the exercise of its legislative power may then be in conflict with what is being done by the NSA in the exercise of its judicial power through the courts. It is implicit in our Constitution that the NSA

would never adopt such a course. If there is any suggestion to proceed with the two bills before the decisions of the courts on the writ applications it is for the NSA to resist such a move as unwarranted by the Constitution.

"While the government cannot instruct the judges as to how they should exercise the judicial power of the NSA that it does not propose to proceed with the Bills until the judicial power of the NSA which has been invoked through the courts is exercised on the question of the validity of some of the findings of the commission on the basis of which the legislation has been framed. This is necessary in order to avoid a possible conflict between exercise of the legislative power of the NSA and the exercise of its judicial power.

"The above observations are limited to this one aspect of the present issue only and are made without prejudice to the writers contention that these two bills are undemocratic and 'unacceptable in a society based on the rule of law'.

Tribune feels that those found guilty by Commissions should be duly penalised, but there is no doubt that the "guilty" must be given an opportunity to check the validity and correctness of the findings of a Commission before a superior court before being punished. The findings and conclusions of many Commissions of inquiry have not, in the past, inspired such confidence as to warrant the *carte blanche* insistence by the Government to rush the two bills through the NSA. The excuse that the legal powers may be used to delay and subvert the course of political action is the old excuse where the abuse of power creeps in under the guise of legislature sanc-

tion. The provisions in the new Constitution will in future make the proceedings and deliberations of Presidential Commissions more carefully, judicially and meaningfully conducted and findings and conclusions arrived at with caution and restraint.

* * *

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

by Ariel

Peking, Hanoi and Cambodia's Ethnic Chinese

WHILST CHINA HAS scored a signal triumph in concluding the Treaty of Peace and Friendship with Japan with the inclusion of the controversial "hegemony" clause, obviously directed at the USSR, she has certainly suffered setbacks in her dealings with Vietnam. Peking had long refused to negotiate with Hanoi about the ethnic Chinese problem and China had never imagined that Vietnam would refuse entry to the much-publicised Chinese refugee vessels to evacuate allegedly persecuted Chinese residents in Vietnam. It was when the Vietnamese took a firm stand on this matter as well as the question of the ethnic Chinese—that they were Vietnamese of Chinese origin—that the Chinese agreed to negotiate. But the negotiations have got bogged down.

The magazine *Asiaweek*, of August 18, 1978, summed up the situation admirably: "...It will take something akin to a miracle for a breakthrough now," sighed one Hongkong based analyst after Peking and Hanoi adjourned their talks over the fate of Vietnam's ethnic Chinese this week. The way things were going, he may well

be right. When the feuding neighbours agreed that their vice-foreign ministers should meet in Hanoi to iron out the knotty problems poisoning their relationship, hope had sprouted that there might be sufficient goodwill around to produce some result. It was quickly dashed when the chief negotiators turned the crucial first session into little more than a verbal slanging match. Indeed a sequence of prickly confrontations in the past week made that outcome all but inevitable....."

The *Asiaweek* detailed some of the confrontations and the conflicting versions about the same incidents offered by the two sides, and went on to say "...other analysts speculated on whether the success of vice-foreign ministerial talks were important enough to Peking for it to cool its support for Vietnam's arch-enemy, Cambodia. The answer, by the weekend, appeared to be a firm no, judging by China's response to the visit of a senior military delegation from Phnom Penh (which included Vice-Premiers Ieng Sary and Son Sen)...". China had made it more than clear that she stood firmly by Cambodia in the latter's fight against Vietnam.

Asiaweek continued: "...If Peking did less than its best to foster an amiable atmosphere on the eve of the Hanoi talks, so did Vietnam. Only a day before they were to begin, the Vietnamese Communist Party newspaper, *Nhan Dan*, saw fit to accuse the Chinese of bad faith. Peking's leaders, it commented, were expressing doubts about the success of the meeting—even as they exacerbated tensions on the border. 'All these actions were aimed at creating an unfavourable atmosphere at the negotiating table so that they may later break the talks and lay the blame on the other side,' the daily

suggested. It also took a hard line on the ethnic Chinese question, insisting that they must either become Vietnamese citizens or be subjected to the country's alien laws....."

Many observers in Hongkong and Bangkok believe that the Vietnamese have good reason to be sore about China's attitude to the ethnic Chinese question in Vietnam compared to the attitude Peking has adopted to the ethnic Chinese in Cambodia. As in many other South-east Asian countries the half-a-million or so ethnic Chinese in Cambodia were the decisive factor in the economy of the country. But the Khmer Rouge, with the brutal chauvinistic nationalism they have displayed, turned on the ethnic Chinese as they did on the Vietnamese. Their properties were seized, they were prohibited from engaging in trade and denied even the customary means of existence and moved them to special reservations. Tens of thousands of these Chinese had disappeared. Only a few of them had turned up as refugees in Thailand and even in Vietnam. According to many such refugees many thousands had been murdered by Cambodian soldiers. People in Thailand who had experience of Khmer raids on the Thai border villages believed these refugees, tales to be true.

It is an admitted fact that Peking has so far been indifferent to the fate of the ethnic Chinese in Cambodia. Peking has not pleaded for any special status for them as it has done in Vietnam. Cambodian leaders have announced that Chinese leaders had confirmed that the ethnic Chinese in Cambodia

were part of the Cambodian people and that Peking did not interfere in the internal policies of Pnom-Penh in regard to the Chinese-emigrants and settlers in that country. According to reports, Deputy Chairman of Standing Committees of the National People's Congress, Teng Ying-chao, the widow of the late Premier Chou En-lai, during her visit to Cambodia in January is believed to have told Poi Pot that he was following a correct line in the spheres of both internal and external policies, and that there was nothing higher than the goals of the revolution. This meant that the Cambodian leaders could do as they pleased with the ethnic Chinese and apply "revolutionary" methods to deal with "bad" and "reactionary" elements among the Chinese residents in Cambodia. One point stressed by Chinese refugees from Cambodia who had managed to escape to Thailand was that even the Chinese military advisers who had gone to Cambodia on Poi Pot's request were aware of what was being done to the ethnic Chinese settlers and had at times participated in campaigns to round up them and send them to labour camps.

Allegedly it is this double standard in regard to ethnic Chinese in Cambodia and Vietnam that has complicated relations between China and Vietnam. The *Asiaweek* of August 18 summed up the zig-zagging course of the negotiations between Peking and Hanoi in the following terms: "...by the time Chung and Hoang emerged from their opening round, it was plain that there would be no rapid resolutions. In a set-speech, the Chinese vice-foreign minister had reminded his opposite number that the differences between the two countries were due to Hanoi's going back on a bilateral agreement of 1955 that its residents be allowed a free choice of citizenship.

Expounded Chung: "The Vietnamese without consulting the Chinese side, in February 1976, compelled all Chinese residents in South Vietnam to register under the nationality illegally imposed upon them during the rule of Ngo Dinh Diem and flagrantly enforced all kinds of harsh restrictions on those who elected to retain their Chinese nationality, ostracising and persecuting them.

"Hoang himself was hardly less adamant. Reasserting Hanoi's 'correct, fair and reasonable' policy towards the Hoa, the Vietnamese minister denied that his country ever persecuted or expelled its Chinese subjects. As he saw it, it was up to Peking to stop its 'enticement and forcing of Hoa people to leave for China.'" After acknowledging Chung's express desire for 'good results' the talks, Hoang pledged his government's utmost efforts to 'contribute positively'. Whether these diplomatic desires will be transformed into concrete progress is very much a moot point....."

China has certainly caught a Tartar in Vietnam.

THE WORLD TODAY

by The Recorder

- Japan-China Treaty
- Romania

THE "HEGEMONY" CLAUSE -

Undoubtedly one of the most important and significant treaties concluded in recent times is the Peace Treaty between Japan and China on August 12. It has been hanging fire for a long time because of a controversial clause on "hegemonism" which China had insisted should be part of the Treaty. In the context of the current inter-

national polemics, "hegemonism" is a word China has associated with the Soviet Union, and for some years China has carried on a vigorous campaign against the USSR and its "hegemonism" branding that country as a greater "menace" than America and its imperialism.

Russia had objected to Japan entering into that agreement with the clause on hegemonism. Japan had tried hard to persuade China to drop the term hegemonism, but Peking was adamant that if the treaty was signed it would be only with that clause.

Finally, Brzezinski on his recent visit to China and Japan seems to have succeeded in twisting Japan's arm into signing the Treaty and in lobbying China to agree to a proviso to save Japan's face (and to help her explain her position to the Russians). The treaty is a triumph for the USA in the Pacific and East Asian arena; and is a set back for the Soviet Union. Already Moscow has denounced the Treaty as being directed at the Soviet Union. Whilst China (and the USA) like to let the world interpret it that way, Japan is more than anxious to persuade Moscow that there was nothing sinister in the Treaty or the clause on "hegemonism". A new Jap Ambassador is already in Moscow and it is believed that he will leave no stone unturned to convince the Russians that there should be no change in Jap-Soviet relations.

In the meantime, the USSR has cancelled the currently pending and long-scheduled negotiations on coastal fishing in Siberian waters. Much of Jap fishing in this area is within the Soviet maritime zone. Russia also seems to have called off discussions on some joint collaboration projects. Japan has to make substantial concessions to the USSR to persuade the Kremlin that Russia should learn to co-exist with the Japan-China Peace Treaty.

How long this process will take is hard to say, but Japan cannot afford a quarrel with the Soviet Union, however much the Chinese or Brzezinski's America want it.

The new treaty opens the way for USA to "normalise" relations with China. A Japan-China Peace Treaty was a pre-condition for normalisation of relations between the USA and China. When Nixon had gone to Peking without Japan's knowledge and signed the Shanghai communique, Tokyo was naturally disturbed, and it took Washington a long time to repair the damage. The USA did not count to make the same mistake again, and it is for this reason, if not to embarrass the Soviet Union, that the USA had bent itself in two to pressurise Japan into signing the Treaty. After this, the USA will have an easy task in putting Taiwan into cold storage to normalise relations with China and enter into full diplomatic relations. Japan will also extract its pound of flesh from the USA for acceding to America's wishes in this matter.

It is yet too early to say what the full implications and repercussions of this Treaty will be. What will Russia do? China has begun to crow about it and increase the intensity of the slogans against "hegemo-

nism" but it is difficult to say as to who will have the last laugh.

For the Record, it is important to publish the full text of the TREATY OF PEACE AND FRIENDSHIP BETWEEN JAPAN AND THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA. The Japanese Embassy in Colombo had sent us the full text—an unofficial translation—and we publish the same with a statement of the Japanese Prime Minister, Mr. Takeo Fukuda:

Japan and the People's Republic of China,

Recalling with satisfaction that since the Government of Japan and the Government of the People's Republic of China issued a joint communique in Peking on September 29, 1972, the friendly relations between the two Governments and the peoples of the two countries have developed greatly on a new basis,

Confirming that the above-mentioned joint communique constitutes the basis of the relations of Peace and Friendship between the two countries and that the principles enunciated in the joint communique should be strictly observed,

Confirming that the principles of the charter of the United Nations should be fully respected,

TAXATION BY GAZETTE NOTIFICATION ?

UP: CIGARETTES AND ARRACK

The prices of cigarettes have been increased by five cents each from midnight yesterday. The price of all locally manufactured portable spirits have also been increased from midnight yesterday. The special arrack retailed by the State Distilleries Corporation will go up by Rs. 1.60 a bottle and coconut arrack by Rs. 1.80 a bottle. A 'Gazette' notification to this effect has been issued by the Minister of Finance, Mr. Ronnie de Mel. According to Finance Ministry sources the Government expects to collect an additional revenue of Rs. 300 million with these price increases.

—Ceylon Daily Mirror,
17, August 1978.

Hoping to contribute to peace and stability in Asia and in the world, For the purpose of solidifying and developing the relations of peace and friendship between the two countries,

Have resolved to conclude a Treaty of Peace and Friendship and for that purpose have appointed as their Plenipotentiaries:

JAPAN:

MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS
SUNAO SONODA

PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA:
MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS
HUANG HUA.

Who having communicated to each other their full powers, found to be in good and due form, have agreed as follows:

ARTICLE I

1. The contracting Parties shall develop relations of perpetual peace and friendship between the two countries on the basis of the principles of mutual respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity, mutual non-aggression, non-interference in each other's internal affairs, equality and mutual benefit and peaceful co-existence.

2. The contracting parties confirm that, in conformity with the foregoing principles and the principles of the charter of the United Nations, they shall in their mutual relations settle all disputes by peaceful means and shall refrain from the use of threat or force.

ARTICLE II

The contracting parties declare that neither of them should seek hegemony in the Asia-Pacific Region or in any other region and that each is opposed to efforts by any other country or group of countries to establish such hegemony.

ARTICLE III

The contracting parties, shall in the good-neighbourly and friendly spirit and in conformity with the

principles of equality and mutual benefit and non-interference in each other's internal affairs, endeavour to further develop economic and cultural relations between the two countries and to promote exchanges between the peoples of the two countries.

ARTICLE IV

The present Treaty shall not affect the position of either contracting party regarding its relations with Third countries.

ARTICLE V

1. The present Treaty shall be ratified and shall enter into force on the date of the exchange of instruments of ratifications which shall take place at Tokyo. The present Treaty shall remain in force for ten years and thereafter shall continue to be in force until terminated in accordance with the provisions of paragraph 2.

2. Either contracting party may, by giving one year's written notice to the other contracting party, terminate the present Treaty at the end of the initial ten-year period or at any time thereafter. In witness whereof the respective plenipotentiaries have signed the present Treaty and have affixed thereto their Seals.

Done in duplicate, in the Japanese and Chinese Languages, both texts being equally authentic, at Peking, this Twelfth day of August 1978.

THE STATEMENT BY PRIME MINISTER TAKEO FUKUDA (PRESS RELEASE-AUGUST 12.
read as follows:

"Today, the Treaty of Peace and Friendship between Japan and the People's Republic of China was signed. On behalf of the Government, I wish to express on this felicitous occasion my great pleasure which I am sure, is shared by all our people.

"Since the Joint Communique between Japan and China was issued

in September 1972, Japan-China relations have developed smoothly. Meanwhile, Governmental working agreements in the fields of trade, aviation, shipping, fisheries etc., were concluded, as was the more recent private long-term Trade Agreement between the two countries.

"The Japan-China treaty of Peace and Friendship, which was signed today, aims at placing these Japan-China relations which have so developed on a more stable basis and promises their further extensive development.

"It is the basic position of Japan not to allow hostile relations to develop with any country and to seek peaceful and friendly relations with all nations. This Treaty has been concluded fully maintaining this basic position, as is clear from its provisions. I firmly believe that this Treaty will serve not only to strengthen and develop the peaceful and amicable relations between our two countries for a long time to come but also to contribute to the peace and stability of Asia and the World. The signing of this memorable Treaty has been possible only with the understanding and co-operation of all our people who have been interested in Japan-China relations from their respective standpoints. I wish to express my respect for the understanding and co-operation of all people in various sectors in and out of the country."

Shortly after the signing of this Treaty, Chairman Hua Kuo-feng left on his trip to Romania, Yugoslavia and Iran—three countries which have differences with Soviet Union.

ROMANIAN NATIONAL DAY. This year, the 34th year after the victory against fascism and imperialism, was marked by a visit by the Chinese leader Hua Kuo-feng shortly before the Natio-

nal Day on August 23. Romania, so far as Sri Lanka and other non-aligned countries are concerned, has distinguished herself by seeking membership in the Non-aligned Movement. Her case was sponsored by Yugoslavia which was obviously anxious to have another country in Eastern Europe to declare even constructive independence from the Warsaw Pact. Romania is perhaps the most important country which was a member of a military bloc which gained the "observer" status in the Non-aligned Movement. At the last meeting in Belgrade, Pakistan was also granted a similar status.

Sri Lanka has maintained good relations with Romania—and even the controversial railway coaches imported in 1974/75 have not spoilt these relations; on the contrary more coaches have been ordered this year which the authorities claim will satisfy commuters especially because Romania has made the current five year plan one for upgrading quality.

A statement issued by the Romanian Mission in Colombo states: "Romania and Sri Lanka had entered into diplomatic relations on September 15, 1957. In 1963 Romania opened in Colombo a Trade Representation and in 1976 its first diplomatic mission—an event of great importance. Throughout the 21 years that have passed since then the ties between the two countries have been warm and cordial, the relations of co-operation and collaboration were established in the political, economic and cultural fields, which are continually progressing to the benefit of the Romanian and Sri Lankan peoples. The very recent visit to Romania by Hon. Minister for Foreign Affairs, A. C. S. Hameed is an event of great importance and impact in further developing the bilateral relations. . . . Romania

and Sri Lanka, both developing countries, are together in the UN, the 'Group 77', in non-aligned movement as well as in other international organisations. Besides the good and friendly bilateral relations, based on the principles of the strict observance of national independence and sovereignty, non-interference in internal affairs, non-recourse to force and its threatened use, mutual advantage, observance of every people's right to develop freedom and to achieve a world in which each nation should enjoy full equality and be able to develop independently. Trade and economic co-operation between the two countries witness a continuous development too. Romania and Sri Lanka signed a Long-term trade Agreement, an Agreement on Economic and Technical Co-operation as well as a Protocol at the first session of the Joint Commission on Economic Co-operation. Romania delivers to Sri Lanka various equipment, such as railway coaches, lorries, road rollers, chemicals and fertilizers, coriander seeds, etc., and is buying coconut fibres, rubber, spices and other goods. The two countries also entered into economic co-operation, the wood-working combine at Avisawella, being a concrete example. But I would like to stress that there are many new possibilities and fruitful prospects for economic co-operation and trade as well, based on the mutual benefit and aimed at steady development of both countries, which have complementary economies. In the cultural field and in the press we would like to mention the desire to bring closer the Romanian and Sri Lankan peoples through mutually knowing better their historical and cultural values. Upon the Cultural Agreement a Romanian Contemporary Paintings Exhibition organised in association with Ministry of Cultural Affairs just ended in

Colombo and will be held in the provinces soon. A permanent programme of Romanian music is going on weekly on Sri Lanka Broadcasting. Other new actions in this field will follow up this year. Young Sri Lankans participated in 1978 in different short study courses in Bucharest."

From a statement in the organ of the Communist Party of Romania, *Scintela*, it is possible to have an idea of the Romanian concept of peaceful co-existence in relation to free development of economic exchanges and co-operation. A few extracts will illustrate this:

"Socialist Romania is convinced that peaceful co-existence is an imperative demand for mankind to be safeguarded from the dangers of a new conflagration and moreover, an essential condition for each and every people to advance on the road of progress and welfare. Our Party and State do not conceive peaceful co-existence statically as a mere simultaneous historical existence or a mutual tolerance of states with different social systems—but in a much wider sense: besides living together in peace it also means an active international collaboration in multiple domains, among all states, irrespective of their social system.

"For this very reason, Romania believes that one of the basic commandments of peaceful co-existence is the promotion of a steadily growing and diversifying free trade, of a large, unhindered economic collaboration among all states of the world. That implies the creation of a more and more comprehensive network of economic links and exchanges within which each country has to receive and give, the elimination of all artificial restrictions and obstacles, the intensification of each country's participation in the internal division of labour, on equal terms.

"It is well-known that most of such barriers, date back to the so-called Cold War period: they were the outcome of a serious state of tension and distrust in the international relations. All these restrictive discriminatory measures aimed at checking the economic development of some countries, of the socialist countries respectively, as it was believed that their political foundation would be thus undermined. The East-West economic exchanges and relations were seriously impaired and reached very low ebbs—a quasi-breach of the world economy. The concept of the so-called parallel markets, which would never meet, appeared in those circumstances. However, all these discriminatory concepts and measures have proved to be groundless, contrary to the objective economic laws and consequently, they could not outlast the time test. None of the means used, not even the embargoes have actually succeeded in hindering the development of the states they were aimed at their ever more active participation in the world exchange of material and cultural values.

"Perpetuating the remnants of such concepts and practices in the conditions nowadays appears all the more meaningless. Of course it is a positive fact that in the last few years, the range of barriers and obstacles has been restricted—which has enabled growing exchanges of goods and services between the socialist and capitalist countries at a steady rate, exchanges which have thus become the most dynamic sectors of world trade, as well as the considerable development of technical-scientific collaboration in peak economic activities. Unfortunately, not all negative practices in this field have disappeared. A series of anomalies are still maintained today such as discriminating res-

trictions and practices, preferential clauses and treatment, tariff and non-tariff obstacles, quota-placing measures meant to impose conditions of inequality or to preserve unilateral advantage. There are still practices of using the economic relations with a view to putting political pressure, to interfering in the domestic affairs of other countries, there are still tendencies to solve the problems of economic exchanges and links "from bloc to bloc" to introduce such practices in international life as the assuming of the right to speak on behalf of some sovereign states. Naturally, the development of sound relations, in the spirit of peaceful coexistence requires the overcoming of such anachronisms which continue to have an unfavourable impact on international life as a whole.....

"The consequences of such practices are all the more harmful as they operate in a world in which there are serious contradictions: a distorted international division of labour—industrially advanced countries and states whose sole role is to supply raw materials; the division of the world into rich and poor countries and the widening gaps between them; the artificially declining trade exchanges, as part of which the developing countries hold an ever smaller share. In these conditions, the restrictive practices do not contribute to the settlement of contradictions but on the contrary, they perpetuate and worsen them all the more.

"The negative effects of the discriminating barriers and obstacles entail an artificial narrowing of the world market, which has serious consequences not only on the countries lagging behind but also on the advanced ones. Politically, such an abnormal course of the international economic relations generates instability, distrust and

tension, which check the course towards detente.

"Obviously, the creation of a dense network of commercial, economic, technical, scientific relations would have important followups in all domains of international life. In the political domain, that would considerably contribute to the normalization of international relations, to the building of a more sound climate of confidence among free sovereign states, equal in rights. Naturally, in such conditions, a more favourable ground would be created for progress to be made toward disarmament, which would render possible the reduction of the huge funds earmarked for the arms race and the use of the means thus released for pacific purposes. Reality shows that there is moreover a close relationship between the free and unhindered development of the economic relations and the objective of extinguishing or preventing the hotbeds of conflict; the development of economic relations among all states, irrespective of their social system favours the settlement of many political issues in a constructive spirit and consolidates the course towards detente. As history itself testifies, political problems can be more easily solved when mutually advantageous relations of good economic collaboration are established.....

"In the economic-social domain, the promotion of free trade, of a large, mutually advantageous co-operation would facilitate the economic development and implicitly the elevation of the living standard of all peoples. In this framework, worth mentioning is the importance of unhindered technical-scientific exchanges, as it is well known that no people can make rapid progress unless it benefits by the gains of modern science and technique.....

"All states are interested in the promotion of such a co-operation. For the economically less developed countries, an international collaboration underlined by equality is an important factor in the fulfilment of their fast development plans. That is why expanded relations of collaboration largely help eradicating underdevelopment and the gaps among states. Developing co-operative relations would also have a positive impact on the advanced countries, the more so as phenomena of recession, of incomplete use of the productive capacities and of an important percentage of manpower in various fields of activity are still persisting in some of those states. In consideration of these very realities, Romania consistently acts for all obstacles standing in the way of international economic relations to be removed persevering efforts must be made in order to eliminate the restrictive measures, the artificial barriers and commercial discriminations and obstacles....."

"As is well-known, a series of states belong to certain economic groups. It is however important that these groups should not be closed organisations; but on the contrary, they should be widely accessible, open to collaboration with all the other countries that wish it. That necessarily requires observance of the sovereign right of each and every country that is a member of one economic group or another to have direct economic relations with other countries and to act independently within other international organisations.

"Finally, in consideration of the truth that the question of trade and co-operation are of concern to all states and have general implications, Romania considers that they cannot be solved within a limited framework; it is imperiously necessary that all countries concerned should participate in the

negotiation of those problems on equal terms and that receptiveness to the points of view expressed by everybody should permanently be shown....."

+ +

FOR THE RECORD

The Amendments To The Constitution

FROM THE SUN, AUGUST
17, 1978

The Government yesterday pushed through 54 amendments to the Constitution of the Democratic Socialist Republic of Sri Lanka Bill during the Committee Stage of the debate in the National State Assembly. As exclusively reported in the Sun yesterday, the Government has given Parliament the powers to enact any written law in the interests of national security to change any Treaty or Agreement between the Government of Sri Lanka, and the Government of any foreign state for the promotion and protection of the investments in Sri Lanka. The Bill earlier laid down that no written law be enacted or made and no executive or administrative action be taken in contravention of the provisions of such Treaty or Agreement.

The Government moved these amendments yesterday in the House in the absence of the entire Opposition with the single exception of Mr. S. Thondaman (CWC) 3rd MP for Nuwara Eliya-Maskeliya.

The amendments to the Bill are for the following clauses. Clause 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 22, 27, 41, 48, 49, 52, 55, 65, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 89, 91, 105, 107, 110, 112, 121, 126, 128, 136, 138, 154, 156, 157, 158, 159, 160, 161, 162, 165, 169, 172,

Among the most significant of the amendments moved by the Prime Minister, Mr. R. Preinadasa, were the deletion of the controversial Clause 157 and the changing of the wording of Clause 158. Clause 157 sought to prohibit the advocating of the amendment or repealing of the Constitution other than through Parliament. Clause 158 sought to give absolute sanctity to treaties and agreements with foreign Governments relating to investments by their nationals.

The amendment to Clause 158 permits Parliament to pass any written law to repeal any agreement or treaty which is regarded "as a threat to national security". Among the other amendments were; one to Clause 13 (6) which prohibits retrospective legislation. The amendment says that "nothing shall prejudice the trial and punishment of any person for any act or omission which at the time it was committed, was criminal according to the general principles of law recognised by the general community of nation. It shall not be a contravention of this paragraph to require the imposition of a minimum penalty for an offence provided that such penalty does not exceed the maximum penalty prescribed for such offence at the time such offence was committed".

An amendment to Clause 14, which relates to some of the fundamental rights of citizens, states that these specific freedoms "shall for a period of ten years from the commencement of the Constitution apply also to a person, who not being a citizen of any other country, had been permanently and legally resident in Sri Lanka immediately prior to the commencement of the Constitution and continues to be so resident."

An amendment to Clause 83 requires that among the other matters that should be referred to a referendum, are any change to

the national flag, the national anthem and the national day. An amendment to Clause 85 (2) removes the discretion that the President enjoyed to submit to a referendum any amendment to the Constitution if the number of votes cast in favour thereof amounts to not less than half the whole number of members (including those not present). An amendment to Clause 86 states that the President may submit for a referendum any matter "other than a Bill" which in his opinion is of national importance. Under the original provision, he could refer "any question" to a referendum.

An amendment to Clause 91 restricts the disqualification of a person to be elected as a Member of Parliament. If during the preceding seven years he had been judged by a competent Court or by a Special Presidential Commission of Inquiry to have accepted a bribe or gratification offered with a view to influencing his judgment as an MP or as a member of the Legislature prior to the commencement of the Constitution, he would be disqualified.

Under the original provision, the disqualification extended to those found guilty by a commission appointed by the President under the Commissions of Inquiry Act or by a special Presidential Commission of Inquiry or by a Commission appointed by approval of Parliament or by a Committee of Parliament. An amendment to Clause 107 stipulates that the age of retirement of Judges of the Supreme Court shall be 65 years. Earlier, the age of retirement of Judges of both the Supreme Court and the Appeal Court had been fixed at 63 years.

An amendment to Clause 154 stipulates that (2) Notwithstanding the provision of paragraph (1) of this article, the Minister in

charge of any such public corporation or business or other undertaking may, with the concurrence of the Minister in charge of the subject of Finance and in consultation with the Auditor-General, appoint a qualified auditor or auditors to audit the accounts of such public corporation or business or other undertaking. Where such appointment has been made by the Minister, the Auditor General may, in writing inform such auditor or auditors that he proposes to utilise their services for the performance and discharge of the Auditor General's duties and functions in relation to such public corporation, business or other undertaking and thereupon such auditor or auditors shall act under the direction and control of the Auditor-General.

FROM THE CEYLON DAILY NEWS, AUGUST 17, 1978

Some of the major amendments to the Constitution moved by the Government and approved by the NSA yesterday were:—

* **Clause 12**—The amendment will now make it possible for a person to acquire the knowledge of any language as a qualification for employment within a reasonable time. Earlier the acquisition of the knowledge of any language was within a "specified time".

* **Clause 15**—Sub-section (5) of the Clause has now been deleted. The outgoing clause had certain restrictions on the fundamental right of the "freedom to form or join a trade union". The restrictions could be prescribed by law in the interests of the security of the staff and the property of the State agencies and public corporations. This has now been completely removed from the new Constitution.

* **Clause 27**—A new sub-section (h) has been included which becomes a directive principle of State

policy and fundamental duties to "completely eradicate illiteracy and the assurance to all persons the right to universal and equal access to education at all levels."

* **Clause 79**—An amendment has been brought to this clause which deals with the provision for the amendment, repeal or replacement of the Constitution. Under this amendment such a change in the Constitution must be done only with a two-thirds majority of Parliament. Earlier if a two-thirds majority was not secured and only more than half of the members voted for a change of the Constitution the President had power to refer such a change to the people for their approval for a referendum.

* **Clause 83**—An amendment has been brought where even with a two-thirds majority Parliament cannot without the approval of the people by referendum make any changes to the National Flag, the National Anthem and the National Day (February 4).

* **Clause 105**—A new clause has been inserted by which Parliament may by law provide for the creation and establishment of courts, tribunals or institutions for the adjudication and settlement of matters relating to the discipline of bhikkhus or any dispute between bhikkhus or any other dispute relating to the performance of services in, or in relation to temples.

* **Clause 107**—An amendment has been brought by which the retiring age of Supreme Court judges has been increased from 63 to 65 years.

* **Clause 126**—Amendments have been brought to this clause whereby by the Supreme Court has been empowered to hear and determine any question relating to the infringement of not only any fundamental right as enshrined in

the Constitution but also with regard to language rights.

* **Clause 158**—This clause which relates to international treaties and agreements entered into by the Government of Sri Lanka and the Government of any foreign State for the promotion and protection of foreign investments has been amended where Parliament is empowered to cancel such a treaty or agreement if it is "not in the interests of national security."

**FROM THE "DAILY MIRROR",
AUGUST 17, 1978**

Two amendments moved by Mr. S. Thondaman (CWC-3rd Nuwara Eliya-Maskeliya) and two by Mr. W. M. M. Loku Banda (UNP-Haputale) were passed without a division.

A new sub-section to Clause 105 relating to the establishment of Courts has been inserted.

After sub-section (30) of this clause the new sub-section (4) introduced reads as follows—

Parliament may by law provide for the creation and establishment of Courts, tribunals or institutions for the adjudication and settlement of matters relating to the discipline of Bhikkus or any dispute between Bhikkus or any other dispute relating to the performance of services in, or in relation to temples. Such law may, notwithstanding anything to the contrary in this Chapter of Chapter XVI make provision.

(a) for the appointment, transfer, dismissal and disciplinary control of members of such courts, tribunals or institutions by the President or any such other persons as may be provided for in law;

(b) for the exclusion of the jurisdiction of any other institution referred to in paragraph (1) of this Article in relation to such matters and disputes.

In this paragraph, the expression 'Bhikku', and 'temple' shall have the same meanings as in the Buddhist Temporalities Ordinance as at the commencement of the Constitution.

This new sub-section was moved by the Prime Minister and accepted by the Assembly.

In Clause 22 on the language of administration the following new provision was inserted after deleting lines 31-43.

"(5) A person shall be entitled to be examined through the medium of either of the National Languages at any examination for the admission of persons to the Public Service, Judicial Service, Local Government Service, public corporation or statutory institution, subject to the condition that he may be required to acquire a sufficient knowledge of the Official Language within a reasonable time after admission to any such Service, public corporation or statutory institution where such knowledge is reasonably necessary for the discharge of his duties;

Provided further that a person may be required to have a sufficient knowledge of the Official Language as a condition for admission to any such Service, public corporation or statutory institution where no function of the office or employment for which he is recruited can be discharged otherwise than with a sufficient knowledge of the Official Language."

Clause 169—provisions relating to judiciary, was amended by the introduction of new sub-sections which read as follows.

"(14) If any matter or question shall arise with regard to any procedure or practice to be followed in any court in consequence of the coming into operation of the Constitution, not provided for in the Constitution or any written law, the Chief Justice shall have

the power to give such directions as he may consider necessary to prevent injustice or as the justice of the case may require, and to ensure that the provisions of Chapters XV and XVI of the Constitution are given full and complete effect.

(15) (i) any reference in Section 2 of the Special Presidential Commissions of Inquiry Law, No. 7 of 1978, to the Supreme Court shall be deemed to be a reference to the Supreme Court established by the Constitution.

Under Fundamental Rights with provisions for rights to equality Clause 12 has been amended to read as follows: (1) All persons are equal before the law and are entitled to the equal protection of the law.

(2) No citizen shall be discriminated against on the ground of race, religion, language, caste, sex, political opinion, place of birth or any of them.

"Provided that it shall be lawful to require a person to acquire within a reasonable time sufficient knowledge of any language as a qualification for any employment or office in the Public, Judicial or Local Government Service or in the service of any public corporation, where such knowledge is reasonably necessary for the discharge of the duties of such employment or office.

Provided further that it shall be lawful to require a person to have a sufficient knowledge of any language as a qualification for admission to any such employment or office where no function of that employment or office can be discharged otherwise than with a knowledge of that language."

Another amendment moved is to Article 14 relating to freedom of speech, assembly, association, occupation and movement. An en.

tiraly new additional section has been added to the already existing one to read as follows:—

"(2) The provisions of paragraph (1) of this article shall for a period of ten years from the commencement of the Constitution, apply also to a person who not being a citizen of any other country, has been permanently and legally resident in Sri Lanka immediately prior to the commencement of the Constitution and continues to be so resident."

Clause 82 which makes provision for the amendment of the Constitution has been amended as follows:—

Delete lines 25 to 39 and substitute the following:—

"(5) A Bill for the amendment of any provision of the Constitution or for the repeal or replacement of the Constitution, shall become law if the number of votes cast in favour thereof amounts to not less than two-thirds of the whole number of Members (including those not present) and upon a certificate by the President or the Speaker, as the case may be, being endorsed thereon in accordance with the provisions of Article 79 or 80."

Clause 107 has been amended so that the age of retirement of judges for the Supreme Court will be 65 years and not 63 years as provided earlier. The retiring age for judges of the Court of Appeal will be 63 years.

BACKGROUND NOTE

NAMIBIA

The question of Namibian independence is once again entering a period of stalemate with South Africa's intransigency over

Walvis Bay. Though this may not be a serious obstacle to affect the progress so far made towards that goal yet it has all the potentiality for post-poning the issue by another two or three years.

Namibia's problem has been on the agenda of the UN at every General Assembly meeting since 1946. Namibia, formerly known as South West Africa, is a territory 318,099 sq. mls. in area and lies along the Western Atlantic seaboard of South Africa. Angola, Botswana and South Africa are its immediate neighbours in the North, East and South respectively. Although it is more than 12½ times the size of Sri Lanka it has a population of only 852,000 of whom 99,000 are Whites.

Germans were the first outsiders to show any real and permanent interest in the territory.

They purchased lands from the native chieftains and declared it to be a German protectorate in 1884. The modern history of Namibia may be said to have commenced from this date. Besides the Africans and descendants of Germans, Namibia is populated by various African tribes such as Owambo, Kavango, Caprivi (Northern parts) Bushman, Nama Dama, Rehovoth Basters (Southern parts) and Herero (Central parts.) 60% of the population lives in the Northern areas as this is considered to be the most suitable area for living. Save on the Northern and Southern borders, the territory lacks perennial rivers and has a very low rainfall. The Northern areas are fortunate in that they have two rivers Okavango and Cunene, which are perennial and the only area suitable for cultivation. Otherwise the area is either desert or scrubland. However, the main attraction of the territory lies in its mineral wealth. In Namibia, there are large deposits of copper, gold, silver, lead,

cadmium (a bluish white metal resembling tin) and vanadium (a hard grey metallic element used to strengthen steel). Every year 2 million carats of diamonds, 90% of which is precious stone quality, are extracted from the diamond fields of the area. And finally it possess the largest and richest uranium fields in the world. This mineral wealth has attracted investors from South Africa, Great Britain, West-Germany, France, Canada and Japan. The mineral wealth of this territory is now in the hands of 14 multi-national Corporations of the countries just mentioned above, and Namibians enjoy very little of this wealth. This partly accounts as to why the Western Countries—investor countries are keen on a smooth transfer of power, and also explains the reluctance of South Africa to leave the place and SWAPOs (South West African People's Organisation) confidence of the economic viability of a new nation.

The German protectorate came to an end in 1915 when during the first world war England seized the territory from the Germans. In December 17th, 1920, the League of Nations placed it under the mandate of Great Britain which was to be administered by South Africa. In 1921, a legislative assembly of Whites was formed and a civil Government was established.

Before the dissolution of the League of Nations an appeal was made by South Africa to incorporate the territory with theirs. This request was repeated by General Smuts to United Nations in 1946. But UN refused to accede to the request and instructed South Africa to transfer the territory to the new Trusteeship Council of the UN and promote to the utmost extent the physical and moral well being and social advancement of the people. South Africa

refused to abide by the call of UN to transfer it to the Trusteeship Council, adopting the position that she was not under any legal obligation to the UN, a theme which she has reiterated several times thereafter and cannot be said to have abandoned altogether even now. This situation created an ambiguous position as to the real authority. There were four possible courses open for the future of South West Africa at this stage.

- (a) The territory be placed under international trusteeship.
- (b) It be annexed by South Africa.
- (c) It become independent.
- (d) The prevailing situation be maintained.

By 1947 it became clear to South Africa that UN would never condone or sanction the incorporation of South West Africa and in June of that year informed UN that it would not pursue the policy of annexation, but would administer the territory as a mandatory one. It also agreed to furnish regular progress reports to the UN. However, a new government in South Africa in 1948 discontinued the practice of sending Progress reports to UN.

In 1951 South Africa proposed to the UN that a new agreement be entered with the remaining principal allied and associated powers of the first world war ratified by UN. This was not acceptable to the UN.

In 1960 the General Assembly of the UN adopted a resolution on the subject of granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples and appointed a Special Committee to devise ways and means to implement this. From this time onwards the question of Namibia came to the full focus of the UN. In 1961, UN created a special educational and training programme for Namibians, to pre-

pare and keep them in readiness for administration and professional services, in the event of independence. This programme was later extended to cover South Africans, and territories under Portugal. However the bulk of it went to Namibians. In the meantime Namibians themselves began to organise armed resistance against South Africa and in 1960 announced the formation of SWAPO under the leadership of Sam Nuyomo.

As the UN felt that South Africa was not fulfilling its obligations it revoked the mandate for South West Africa in 1966, and in the following year established a UN Council for South West Africa (Namibia) to administer the territory until independence and provided for the appointment of UN Commissioner for Namibia. It also announced in the same year that in accordance with the desires of its people, the territory of South West Africa should be known as Namibia. (readers note that this resolution—2372—xxvii was adopted in 1967 and henceforth in all UN documents the territory was described as Namibia). The UN Council for Namibia was empowered to support the National Liberal Movement of the Namibians and exert its efforts to mobilise international support to pressurize South Africa to withdraw from Namibia. This turn of events was momentous for Namibians, who intensified, both political and armed struggle against South Africa. In 1971 the International Court of Justice gave its imprimature to the revocation of the mandate and found South Africa was in illegal occupation of Namibia. These developments compelled South Africa to pour more of its *apartheid* policies on Namibia and there began a reign of terror—terrorising to the extent that South African soldiers began to trespass into the neigh-

bouring territories of Angola and Botswana in search of liberation fighters. Arbitrary suppression of political activities and public flogging of suspects became the order of the day and UN was perturbed over these actions.

As it dawned on South Africa that it cannot prolong the struggle further, it came to accept that its goals for Namibia too are self determination and independence and hotly denying that it is in occupation of the territory. The national liberation in the South African context was different from elsewhere. It was not merely political independence they sought to overthrow but racial domination too. And the white Western countries came to support Namibians (blacks of South Africa) on this latter issue much to the annoyance of South Africa. But the stand taken by South Africa differed from the attitude of the UN, SWAPO, OAU and non-aligned countries. Most of the critics of South Africa at the UN, OAU, and non-aligned nations understand Self-determination to mean self-Government on a majority rule basis, regardless of the great demographic and cultural diversity of the population. By contrast, South Africa bases its arguments on the heterogeneity of the population and the fact Namibia is composed of many tribes—meaning different people—each of which has a right to maintain its cultural identity. More important is the fact that South Africa was not prepared to concede to the UN and SWAPO the task of shaping the destiny of Namibia.

It is with these aims in mind that South Africa divided Namibia into 11 separate regions ("Bantustans" or "Homelands" as it is popularly described in these areas and a cardinal policy of *apartheid*) and established Legislative Councils in each of them. "Ethnic con-

siderations" were fundamental to the demarcation of regions. It is also alleged that South Africa had been encouraging the formation of tribal armies.

The partitions into reservations allows the Whites in control of nearly 44% of the territory which the black majority can enter as unskilled labourers with special permits. They cannot take their families to these areas and are expected to live in male communal quarters or rented houses.

South Africa on its part claims that it has always accommodated the wishes of the native blacks and had undertaken social, cultural and economic programmes to develop the area. Upto 1974 it constructed nearly 117 domestic water supply schemes and a total of approximately 1,400 boreholes had been drilled and 500 dams built in Black areas. The total amount spent on water development from 1968 to 1974 was \$ 17.08 million. By 1980 besides water for irrigation, expenditure on water supply development alone will cost the Government \$ 150 million. Number of schools for blacks increased from 313 in 1960 to 598 in 1973, number of teachers from 1310 in 1960 to 3453 in 1973 and number of pupils from 43,000 in 1960 to 140,000 in 1973, and South Africa has also spent large sums on hospital and transport developments. In 1977 it called a conference of 150 delegates from various black groups for a conference at Turnhalle and with White representatives tried to discuss the ways and means of abolishing or reducing the effect of some of the discriminatory laws. The Turnhalle Conference really began in Sept. 75, and its constitutional Committee decided on 18 August, 1976, the intention was for the territory to become independent as one unit by 31 Dec. 1978. The constitutional

and other developments that took place over the years, South Africa claims compare favourably with those of any other country of the world under comparable circumstances. If the development had been slow, it is because the territory was vast, sparsely populated and arid.

It is also true that Vorster's regime has withdrawn some of the provisions of the Draconian laws R 17, which detained a person without any trial indefinitely and without the access of his lawyers and relatives and there is now the outward semblance of rule of law and democratic processes.

However, SWAPO and UN are not prepared to accept these as valid claims for the continuation of South African authority in the territory. SWAPO claims that the partitions into "bantustans" was meant to consolidate South African hold on Namibia, deny the SWAPO its claims on the authentic representative of the Namibians, and destroy the national unity and territorial integrity of the territory. Though the Western Countries have accepted the SWAPO as the authentic representative of the Namibians, still a fear looms large in their minds that stubborn and intransigent attitude of South Africa may jeopardise their economic interest and political influence in the territory and later pave the way for the easy penetration of Russia through Cuba, because the SWAPO leader has already made an impact on the Communist bloc countries. This is not surprising as all the national liberation movements of South Africa—MPLA, ANC, FRELIMO, ZAPU, and SWAPO—have adopted a Marxist-Leninist position. It is also true that unlike the national liberation movement of Asia and Africa in the first half of the 20th century, freedom move-

ments of the 6,7,8 decades of the 20th century are "Marxist Leninist" inspired ones. The colonial countries themselves will have to shoulder the blame for such consequences. The recent events of Angola and Zaire are before them. (Though in Zaire's case Cuba has denied all involvements, Western Countries appear to have not accepted the explanations). Secondly, after its bitter experience in Indo-China, the United States also appears to feel that the longer the independence is delayed for Namibia, greater are the chances of Namibia falling in the hands of Marxist-Leninists, if not Russia. And Russia will be satisfied with that for the moment.

In this context, the Western nations consisting of USA, Great Britain, West Germany, and Canada, along with SWAPO submitted a plan before the Security Council through the UN Secretary General, on the 27th of last month. This plan envisages (1) the withdrawal of 20,000 South African forces stationed in Namibia, and the replacement with 5000 strong UN forces and another 1000 civilians to ensure free and just elections. (2) All discriminatory laws to be abolished before the elections. (3) There was to be a cease fire between Pretoria and SWAPO along the Angolian borders. (4) SWAPO to dismantle all its guerilla bases. What angered South Africa was the resolution which requires the re-integration of Walvis Bay into Namibia. Walvis Bay, 1124 sq. Km. in area, the only deep water harbour and a fishing centre in Namibia was annexed to South Africa only on the 31st of August 1977, though South Africa claims that there is a century old treaty. It is a happy augury that, though angered and disappointed over Walvis Bay, South Africa has agreed to receive the repre-

representative of the Secretary General of UN Martti Ahtissari, on whose recommendation depends the future of Namibia. Martti Ahtissari and his team of 50 officials, including Sri Lanka's Neville Kanagaratne are due in Windhoek on next Sunday to undertake the preliminary work leading to general elections. But one thing is certain that the independence of Namibia cannot be post-poned any longer.

K. Arumainayagam

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BOOKS FOR THE PEOPLE

Public Libraries And The Community—2

by A Special Correspondent

Most countries have one national library. Our own Government has undertaken such a project according to information the writer has been able to gather. Any one interested should be able to see this plan at the office of the Sri Lanka National Library Services Board. It is an ambitious project and let us hope that the project will be completed soon. It is reported that the cost of this project is around 11 million rupees, but I believe that every cent of this massive investment is well spent. I am reminded of what Churchill once said, though not of a library. I quote:

Cologne cathedral took six hundred years to build. Generations of architects and builders lived and died while work was in progress. Still the work went on... till at last there stood forth to the world a mighty monument of beauty and truth to command the admiration and reverence of mankind.

So be it with the National Library government has undertaken. Each

hand that lays a brick or fixes a window will be remembered by generations unborn who will use this National Library.

Though on a less ambitious scale, the City Council of Colombo has also undertaken its new Public Library Building. It is understood that this building is likely to cost around 6-7 million rupees (subject to correction). This building would probably have cost half this amount if after laying the foundation stone in 1965, work had proceeded.

Policy initiatives The extent of funding public libraries would depend on political policy initiatives. Sri Lanka is fortunate that our own government is committed to the construction of a National Library. In 1967, Denis Howell then a government Minister declared in a speech: (12)

I still believe we need much more thought about the use of our libraries—their social purpose. In my view they should become cultural centres in the widest sense of that term—a place where people can gather together to talk, to hear a variety of discussions—the very heart of the community... where people can get a meal and a drink and where there is a multiplicity of activity... the community cannot afford to put up any expensive buildings for limited use. Our capital resources must be exploited to the full, and I intend to consider ways and means of bringing this about in all new library buildings."

Viewed from any angle, central government participation in the promotion of our library services is an indispensable imperative. Government involvement in library services motivated by both economic and social considerations has maintained a steady upward curve. An efficient library service will create a dynamic environment

which will indisputably be to the advantage of the country in general. It is that faith that "a public library can be a social force that would, through the promotion of reading save mankind from poverty, crime, vice, alcoholism and almost every other weakness that flesh is heir to" that will be the critical determinant in a government's policy decision.

Library Buildings "A library should look like a library, not like a factory or a shop... whereas every architect has lived in a house and knows its needs intimately, they have not worked in libraries as librarians. In short, for a library building to be anything like well planned, the librarian and the architect must work in close co-operation". (13) The writer is aware of some library buildings constructed at great cost, architecturally sound but library wise thoroughly dysfunctional. These things happen because the professional librarian is or was not consulted. Bryan Luckham has written "Besides being a social institution, a public library has a physical presence. Nowadays this can take numerous forms, from an imposing piece of civic architecture as part of a regional capital, to a modest vehicle providing a mobile service to scattered hamlets." (14)

Apart from the structure itself, location does not seem to receive much attention. Libraries are meant for the people and therefore the buildings should come up in population centres, at sites centrally situated and easily accessible—not everybody owns a car! Moreover the type of library needed must be ascertained by obtaining a consensus. Local councils often determine location on considerations that are political rather than on optimum utility value. It would be pointless for instance to have

a large collection of books for lending, when a comfortable reading room with newspapers and journals would suffice. I have seen rural libraries with perhaps about 200 books, safely locked up and eaten up by cockroaches and other insect life, whereas all that was needed there was a wide range of newspapers. What was most needed was the one not provided. But this library building had a room for the librarian, an unqualified one at that, a lending section with the books referred to and a couple of almira's which served to provide a comfortable dwelling place for rodents. This is the tragedy, that is enacted when these buildings are constructed without any regard whatsoever to local needs and desires. Worse still, it was obvious to the writer that the expert opinion of a professional librarian had not been obtained. **Books.** "Books are for ever" wrote Thomas Carlyle. Elsewhere he has said (15) "In books lies the soul of the whole past time; the articulate audible voice of the past, when the body and material substance of it has altogether vanished like a dream...all that mankind has done, thought, gained or been it is lying as if in magic preservation in the pages of books." In the library we are in the company of immortals and dare not violate its sanctity. To a large extent however "men come seeking truth, each in his own way and for his own ends. In the library the patron is not told what to think or when to think it, but in his search each must discover for himself the thoughts and opinions of others and try to understand them, to appreciate them for what they are, even though he may not share them" (16.)

Therefore in the choice of books, libraries and others responsible for the selection must bear in mind these imponderable. The books

cannot lightly be selected nor their range restricted by the particular proclivities of those responsible for the selection. "A child with a book in his hands is with immortals" wrote a famous librarian. It is a community of thinking men and women who come into a library and it will not take them long to get the "feel" of the environs.

During a week-end conference at Eastbourne in April 1968, Norman MacKenzie, Director, Centre for Academic Studies, University of Sussex made some interesting remarks which I quote below:

"I have personally a very real debt to public libraries, not only in the sense of my ordinary professional contacts but because I owe much of my education to a public library. I was not particularly good at formal education learning at school and I happened to live in an area where there was a splendid public library. I pretty well grew up in this library—it was a kind of paradise for the autodidact. Indeed, when I was at the University I was walking along the road one day with my mother and someone who didn't know her asked: "Who is that with Norman?" The answer was "That's his mother" and the questioner said; "I didn't know he had a mother; I thought he was born straight out of a public library"! I have quoted this piece since it would interest many; at least I presume so. In the villages, particularly, the colossal ignorance that prevails there can partly be attributed to the absence of public libraries. The bulk of the misery and massive frittering away of talent that takes place in these areas is due in very large measure, to the lack of public libraries with a good and appropriate book stock.

Librarians. Librarianship as a profession does not appear to have

received attention. Although a determined effort has been made over the years to provide libraries, a matching effort has not been forthcoming in the matter of training the men to man these institutions. This reveals an unfortunate absence of an integrated approach. I am only aware of the efforts of the Sri Lanka Library Association to provide diploma courses in librarianship and the course in librarianship run by the Vidyalankara Campus of the Sri Lanka University.

Dr. E. A. Savage one of the greatest of public librarians envisages "the librarian as host" Dr. Savage considers that a librarian should spend the majority of his time moving around among the readers in the library. He should be like a good host. I have not seen this happen here in Sri Lanka. Perhaps this needs fresh thinking.

The American Library Association Bulletin of March 1968 has recorded:

"We need more librarians than we need libraries throughout the World. It is discouraging to walk into a library in a developing country even a very inadequate meagre library, and there find books locked up. Librarians who know the value of books when they are read, who will fight to see that the books are placed in the hands of those who need them, who will buy, borrow, or steal to acquire books for their collections—these are the people and those are the assets that are most greatly needed in the international scene"

Unfortunately when we walk into a library we see forbidding notices and too often the librarians themselves are brusque and officious. The disadvantaged reader and those who would like to get accustomed to the library habit will resent it. **Library management.** An ex-

cellent librarian may not be a competent library manager. It is not axiomatic. "The root cause is that librarians see themselves, erroneously, as keepers of supply depots concerned with inventory and control, rather than as leaders of humanistic institutions" (17). Since a library as an institution is an influence in the community, its management techniques are vital. The directing head of a great library must have imaginative energy and vision, and such a person should be a "man who knows books, loves books, and makes books. If he has these three qualities the craftsmanship of the library calling is an easily acquired quality" (18). Those librarians who are experimenting with symbols, signs and hierarchical relationships and shelving arrangements are adopting techniques which are counter-productive. Perhaps it was these reasons that in Britain in 1972, the National Library needed nothing more than the organisational abilities of a senior civil servant for its successful operation and also for the appointment of a poet Archibald Macleish, in 1939, to the post of Librarian of Congress in the USA.

Conclusion. Nearly 85% of our people live in village areas covering nearly 58% of the total land area. These are the disadvantaged and it would be a commendable effort on the part of those in authority to make an all out effort to reach out to these people. Book Mobiles seem to be the answer. Ken Harrison supports this idea. Book Mobiles, according to him, are playing a major role in introducing library services to previously unserved areas. In this scheme there are marginal values as well. There is much publicity value—a bright, well maintained and clearly lettered vehicle attracts immediate attention.

If, however, Book Mobiles are to be effective, it is indispensable that rather than permit dissipation of available resources by pandering to competing interests, a scheme should be worked out on a national level whereby a central pool will be available from where the Book Mobiles would operate. This idea was discussed in the Eastbourne conference of 1968 in the Parry Report. Dr. Thomas Parry was Principal of the University College of Wales, Aberystwyth. One passage read:

"In the Parry Report it is recommended that the entire resources of a geographical area should be regarded as one pool from which each individual library could draw. Co-ordination of the resources of libraries would facilitate the extension of coverage and reduction of expenditure"

The question is whether these competing and conflicting parochial interests can harmonised in the national interest. Perhaps when the District Ministers assume office, it will be an appropriate to think along these lines. Such close co-ordination will also be a unifying factor. Libraries are concerned with man's knowledge. His struggle is to leave behind him his ideas and thoughts for posterity. Every home cannot afford to have a library, despite Plato's exhortation that "The home that has a library has in it a soul". Not even a fraction of homes in this country have even modest libraries and hence the public libraries assume an important dimension. Taking a futuristic view, the writer feels that a library is unmatched as an institution to help to make a whole personality.

REFERENCE.

12. Quoted by Frank Atkinson in *Librarianship*

13. *Library Buildings of Britain and Europe*—Anthony Thompson.
14. *Library in Society*—Bryan Luckham.
15. *The hero as a man of letters*—Thomas Carlyle.
16. *The foundations of education for librarianship*—J. H. Shera.
17. *The making of a library: the academic library in transition*—R. S. Taylor.
18. *Attributed to Justice Felix Frankfurter an adviser to President Roosevelt.*

(Concluded)

SNIPPETS

A sharp tongue is the only edged tool that grows keener with constant use.—Washington Irving.

It always does seem to me that I am doing more work than I should do. It is not that I object to the work, mind you; I like work; it fascinates me. I can sit and look at it for hours. I love to keep it by me; the idea of getting rid of it nearly breaks my heart.

—J. K. Jerome

Human life is everywhere in a state in which much is to be endured and little to be enjoyed.

—Samuel Johnson.

Poetry should be agreeable and unobtrusive, a thing which enters into one's soul, and does not startle it or amaze it with itself, but with its subject.—John Keats.

When once the itch of literature comes over a man, nothing can cure it but the scratching of a pen

—Samuel Lover.

There are two reasons for drinking: one is, when you are thirsty, to cure it; the other, when you are not thirsty, to prevent it.... Prevention is better than cure.

—T. L. Peacock.

Chapter Eleven

The Militant?

by James Goonewardene

STORY SO FAR

Deva, a well-known sculptor, returning home after a sojourn abroad and failing to get a response to his work in his homeland finds a job as an art master in a school in a town down the coast. The Principal, Piyaratne, is a type of serious educationist that had been disappearing from Sri Lanka, and Ariya, the manager of the local resthouse with whom Deva strikes up a friendship, is sensitive to the disturbing realities and the underground trends swelling up in the country. Ariya, in a talk later with Deva, reveals that he is perturbed about the strange things that have happened in the neighbourhood recently. Deva giving up his rooms in Colombo asks his brother, a successful, money-spinning architect to look after his collection of unsold sculptures. The brother, aghast at the thought that Deva should waste his talents in a rural school, offers him money to enable him to go back to London to resume his career as a sculptor and regain his former popularity, wealth and success. Deva refuses because he has no desire to escape to London and what the world regards as fame. Before leaving Colombo finally, for the village Deva tries to contact an old friend, who though an important bureaucrat, was a sensitive, just man. In the government office where he had worked he finds a strange new atmosphere where an aggressive, unionist, peon and ultra nationalist clerk tell him that his friend had been thrown out as a reactionary. With his ties with the old world he had known snapping, Deva returns to the village. Back in the village, Deva looks for a lodging as he does not want to stay in the school hostel. He cannot afford the resthouse. His friend Ariya, the resthouse manager finds him a room in the house of the village sub-postmaster whose wife was a school mistress. In the first day at school, he learns a little more about Piyaratne, the Principal. He also meets a teacher in the school who spouts fire and thunder against imperialist colonialists and talks glibly of socialism. Deva then encounters, while fishing one afternoon, an out of work bum who has still to reveal another identity. Saturdays are free days and Deva looked forward to relaxation and a chat with Ariya. This Saturday, he found Ariya in turmoil. One of his waiters had stolen money and had disappeared. Before going to the police, Ariya and Deva learnt of a secret organisation to which the waiter in question, like many others, had contributed money regularly every month. Police begin investigations and a temple in the village is referred to with trepidation. While all this excitement was building up, Deva's landlady brought the parents of one his students, Gunapala, whose creative talent with paint had begun to frighten his parents. They wanted Deva to see what was wrong with him. Deva found some of his artistic work very promising, but Gunapala could not be coaxed to speak his mind as to what he wanted to do. Finally, when pressed, he had said "What's the use.....there'll be trouble soon....."

Deva spent the next few days waiting for a moment when he could slip into the Principal's office. He knew the old man had problems of his own and he didn't wish to go charging on him when he was not

ready to give a hearing. At last, one afternoon he was alone in his office and apparently free of pressing official business; so he went in.

"Well, what now? Quite some time since I had a chat with you. I have seen you in the distance. Never had the opportunity to have a word with you. How's it coming, teaching art to these ragamuffins?"

"I try to keep busy and I am trying to do what I can. I have had a few difficulties, especially the unruly reception I received in one of the upper forms. However, there are compensations."

"You must not get too impatient. I heard of the trouble you had. I heard it from one of the other teachers—a young university lad called Vithaney. I had a talk with the boys afterwards—like water on a duck's back, but some sense will trickle through. Something's bound to happen either way. The situation can't get worse than this. We have struck hard times. There is no getting behind it. The hardest in recent memory."

"What I've come for is to talk about a student; someone you will remember....a boy called Gunapala."

Piyaratne remained silent for a moment.

"Gunapala!" he said reflectively a severe and almost distasteful expression disfiguring his face. "You didn't strike trouble with him, did you?"

He leaned forward, the corners of his mouth drooping suddenly.

"Well, let's face it—that's what I tell myself. These troubles have come to stay—take it as the pattern of life you've got to live with—things take on a different complexion then. We can't change things and we can't run away from them. So we just wait until things change for the better."

"No I have had no problems with Gunapala," Deva hastened to reassure the old man, "In fact what I want to talk to you about is very much to his credit."

Deva paused and looked at the old man and noticed the scowl was still there on his face, but he had to go on. He had to perform the mission he had come to accomplish.

"He's an impulsive lad. He may be difficult to handle—I do not know him very well, but talented people are like that—they have this skill and don't know what do with it—its what others do to them that makes them difficult...."

Deva paused again. The Principal continued to stay silent. So Deva went on.

"There's no denying that Gunapala has talent. If he is properly instructed he could develop into a painter of some importance."

"Mhn!" grunted old Piyaratne, "I had never thought that there could be any good in him—but if you say you have discovered something in him...."

He paused here and brought out a packet of cigarettes and took a cigarette with a kind of hungry lunge into the carton and lit it. He puffed for a moment.

"Well, what do you want me to do?"

Deva saw a look of accusation and sudden distrust appear in the old man's eyes. Confronted by Piyaratne's continued hesitation he suddenly felt uncertain whether he was right to seek Piyaratne's assistance in the matter he had come to see him about.

"I did not know that you had problems with him," he said.

"That's all right," protested Piyaratne, "don't worry about my reactions. Go ahead and do your job. That's what we are all here to do. Act honestly. Its what I've always tried to do and I have always

hoped others would pay regard to this. Can I then object to someone else doing the same thing if it is contrary to the prejudice I have. Its possible I've just had a prejudice about this young man, Gunapala."

Deva, spoken to like this, felt confused. The magnanimity of the old man had put a sudden burden on his shoulder. He could not blunder into this thing anymore. He had to act with a feeling of responsibility.

"One has to provide the proper climate for a talent to develop and grow. In the absence of the right climate a talent can perish. It can lead to frustration and bitterness," urged Deva, "I have seen this lad's paintings. They are good. Until now he has painted without any real instruction. A lad does not do this sort of thing unless he feels some compulsion. I cannot predict his future, but with proper instruction he will turn into a painter of some sort".

Piyaratne had grown reflective. He had lit his second cigarette. He smoked it, the corners of his mouth still drooping. He leaned back and sighed. It was almost a groan, but he continued to stay silent.

"I don't think this kind of talent is too widespread," went on Deva.

"To find this isolated case gives us an opportunity to get the sort of boost you want for the school. I'll do what I can to help him along privately, but there is a certain basic equipment we need....we can also hold an exhibition of his work...." Deva trailed off here, realising he wasn't making an impression on Piyaratne.

"He's a problem boy, you know—one of the militant chaps here," said Piyaratne, at last. "He is upto his neck in some sort of thing I have not been able to put my finger on...."

Piyaratne paused a moment and then went on.

"The whole thing may at the same time be thrown back at us. I do not know whether I have already told you about Hemapala—you know him, a colleague of yours, called Gurunanse around here—the word Guru given an added respectability. It is a peculiar word this—this word gurunanse. It has all sorts of connotations—a rather foolish village school teacher is also called Gurunanse—so can a very venerable scholar. In any case this man Hemapala is called Gurunanse as if he were a very respected holder of the title. I do not want to go into all the details about him, but I have had problems of a kind into which I cannot go into now. I can tell you though that the influence over some of the other members of the staff is not entirely good. One of the boys he appears to have influence over is this boy Gunapala. He was once caught distributing seditious literature. I have traced the source back to our friend Hemapala, but there was nothing I could do to Hemapala himself. The moment I took action against him I would have been accused of imperialist designs on the language policy of the Department. I couldn't lift a finger against him."

Deva felt as if the pieces of a complicated jigsaw puzzle had fallen into place. The contradictions and undercurrents in the place had suddenly become clear, but he was caught between his loyalty to Piyaratne and his obligation to Gunapala. Privately he could help the boy, but officially there seemed nothing Piyaratne himself could do. "You see, you have put me in a quandry," said Piyaratne, "I must never be accused of having stood in the way of the development of a boy's talent. I must however, warn you that it would be impossible to obtain any new equipment from the department. As it is I find my

application for the basic things like chairs and tables is being turned down. How can I ask for anything more than that. To ask for such a thing as gear for a single art student, this would be quite impossible."

He paused to light another cigarette.

"But we'll see what we can do among ourselves. If you think he needs to be helped I'll try to do something myself. I'll make an appeal, if necessary, to some of my friends. In the meanwhile let me look at his paintings."

The first thing Deva did on his return to his room was to rummage at the bottom of his trunk. He had some Japanese and Chinese prints in there. This was part of a collection of pictures he had carried about with him. He had instructed Gunapala to come to his room that evening. For a start he would show him these prints.

That evening Gunapala turned up as expected. He came and stood in the centre of his room and shifted his gaze round slowly. He was a diffident lad, but contained within him was this potential for anger and even violence. Deva asked him to be seated and gave him time to collect himself while he sorted out the prints on the bed. Then he instructed Gunapala to study them. The lad stood over the prints and scrutinized them for a time. He had not seen their like before. It was a strange, new world he was suddenly being introduced to, and he stood there, fascinated by what he saw. At the end of his long scrutiny he turned round to Deva.

"Do you see anything there? Are they different from what you know about paintings?"

"Yes, they are different—very different. They are like drawings one does with a pencil. They use colours differently too."

Deva paused a moment while Gunapala continued to stare at the prints.

"There are several things you must observe in these prints," said Deva, "the first thing that strikes you are the lines. They are like drawings as you said, yet the skill to do them comes after long training. You notice the lines are very fine. Nothing hazy about them—Firm, quick, direct strokes. It is difficult to understand the training that goes into it to give that quick, easy result. This is the main difference between art in the west and art in China and Japan."

Deva paused a moment and tried to explain the idea in more simple terms. He spoke both English and Sinhala, trying each in turn, fumbling with his words because the idea was difficult and he had to make it easy.

"Another thing you'll notice," he said, "is that a mountain is a mountain and a stream just a stream.

They are mountains, not particular mountains in a particular place. Someone in this country would paint Samanala kanda or Pidurutalagala—you'll recognise these as mountains existing in Maskeliya or in Nuwara Eliya. With a minimum of brush strokes they paint a tree and it becomes a tree—they paint a mountain and it becomes a mountain...."

Deva paused when he realised Gunapala was puzzled.

"The idea behind all this is so difficult to be told in simple language, but yet I must tell you about it, even if you may not understand it now. The Japanese painter thinks people are bound to place and time—you are born in a village but you must be freed from it. No time, no place then you are free, free to come and go where and when you like. The painting, they think must give you this feeling. Painting

A STUNNER

WHAT IS AUSTRALIAN BONELESS BEEF?

No sooner last week's *Tribune* (18.09.78) hit the newstands, we were bombarded by 'phone calls from many angry readers about the "Imported Meat Racket" dealt with in the *CONFIDENTIALLY* column. "You've missed the main point in the racket," they said. Each had bought several two lb. packs of the Australian boneless beef—at Rs. 9.00 a lb. They had expected to get really top class boneless beef—something superior to what the local butcher provided at Rs. 6.00 a lb. What did the buyers of the imported pack find? The two pounds—when thawed—consisted of small pieces of meat, fat, muscle, ligaments and other oddments. In the final count, each pack of two pounds yielded about a pound of meat of a quality about which one could not write home about. A regular meat-eater told *Tribune* that ultimately a pound of this imported beef cost Rs. 18/- a lb. after the uneatable portions had been thrown away.

Who is it that has been led up the garden path? The local purchaser who fell for the Elephant House circular or was it the Elephant House itself which was fooled into buying tenth grade Australian beef? Elephant House's purchasing department must wake up. There are stories circulating that Pettah suppliers inject water into carcasses before they are weighed for delivery to EH. If the cheating is domestic, at least the money remains in the island. But must we waste foreign exchange on Australian boneless meat—at three times the price we grudge to pay the local butcher for good meat? When will the grand illusion about imports end?

must come from a deep understanding of human life... do you understand? Gunapala shook his head.

Deva tried again. He tried to explain this in different ways, slowly, painfully; he went on, hoping something would filter in. It was a risk he took of confusing the lad. The ideas were strange and difficult, but he felt it was necessary to expose him to them. It had to come as a shock. A shock sometimes was necessary. The task he had undertaken was going to be hard and long, but given time he could perhaps, do something to help the boy, if nothing in the meanwhile, came between him and the boy to upset his teaching.

"Look at the picture again," he instructed Gunapala.

The next time he would, perhaps, show him some impressionist paintings, and on from there to other techniques and styles. After that he'll get him to make a closer study of human anatomy, teaching him how to draw an arm, a head, a leg, a torso. There was much learning and much time needed, but this was a beginning, and it had to go on, and the lad would, in time, discover everything there was to be discovered and become a painter, but this was all in the future and many things were to take place before all that.

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REVIEW

In A Vain Shadow

by Jayantha Somasundaram

Now as never before, it becomes vital, for Tamil-speaking people who stand for peace and progress within our borders, to reiterate their commitment to a United Sri Lanka. The silence of those on the side of sanity has served to hasten the degeneration towards

violence. It has above all given a monopoly of expression to those who have no real or humane solutions to the problems that confront us in contemporary Sri Lanka.

If we are to take a stand this side of sanity, then we must be clear in our minds as to why we do so. We have to build upon a viable ideology. One that can withstand the romanticism of adventurists. In search of an ideology we must look to history. But not only to the history of the past. But the history of the present and of the future as well. *And history tells us that unity is a one way street that leads to progress. While fission is the road to destruction.*

Economic progress has been best registered in those regions which have pursued a course of integration. The countries of Western Europe that emerged as commercial powers, did so after internal unity was achieved. The wealth and strength of the United States and the Soviet Union lies in their ability to bring about unity among diverse people and vast masses of land area. In our own generation, we see Western Europe emerging as an economic challenge, thanks to its economic unity. It seeks to further consolidate its development by moving on to political unity. Closer home we see the economically strongest group of countries reaping the benefits of unity, achieved through ASEAN.

Economic priorities dictate political integration. To breakup nations on racial, linguistic or religious lines is to court disaster. The classic example is that of the Indian subcontinent. Where religion and now race have split the land, divided men and robbed them of a better life.

Lets get this straight. If we split this country we can kiss goodbye to any hopes of developing

any section of it. We either swim together or sink together. And that's what history teaches us.

The communication revolution makes divisions on linguistic lines pre-deluvian. We are hurtling towards the era of a World language or languages. Communication satellites are uniting the world, breaking down artificial barriers carried by languages. It is absurd at this juncture in time for the Tamil-speaking people to try to protect themselves by devolving on linguistic lines.

Just as important as the historical basis for integration, is the emotional basis for integration. Millions of Tamils south of the Elephant Pass have lived peacefully with other linguistic and racial groups. They still do so. As a result they have become cosmopolitan in their outlook and begun partaking in a national culture. We are not referring merely to the English-speaking elite who share their fashionable clubs—but of people at all levels of society who have evolved a way of life that cannot easily be repudiated today. To believe that one can roll back the carpet of history and regress to the pre-Portuguese era, is to live in a vain shadow. But soon the glare of reality will expose the superficiality of the shadow of separatism.

That too many Sinhalese-speaking people are humane in their attitude to minorities is something that is a vital factor in determining the emotional basis for national unity. Last August, a young Sinhalese mother of our acquaintance, was adequately moved by the horror that she saw in the refugee camps to weep.

We begin to see therefore that the Ceylonese as a people have now evolved to a level where they share common values, concerns and interests. In other words there

Belgrade Meeting

is more than an adequate case for national integration.

Adventurism has sprung up because there is inadequate objectiveness in viewing our problems. The violence that adventurism gives way to can never solve anybody's problems. Violence merely hardens the resolve of the extremists and robs the moderates of influence; thereby obliterating the possibilities of negotiated settlement. Both on political and on ethical grounds, we repudiate violence.

Those who bear arms are responsible to no one and can therefore play no meaningful political role. Violence when used to buttress a political slogan often ends becoming a cult in itself. Above all it is always the innocent who suffer.

As it reacts to violence, the state machinery indiscriminately applies its own violence in a vain attempt to solve the problem. But that in itself can never be a solution.

The solution lies not in the hands of the extremists or the law-enforcement agencies, but in the hands of the Tamil-speaking people themselves. They have to be realistic: learn to negotiate in a spirit of trust and genuinely seek solutions. One must appreciate and acknowledge the desire of the President to seek solutions to the very real problems that confront the Tamil-speaking people. A response to this initiative is called for. And it is up to the mass of the Tamil speaking people to pressurise their elected leaders onto the negotiation table.

THE NON-ALIGNED MOVEMENT

Letter From Belgrade—1

by A. W. Singham

*This is the second of a two-part series by Professor A. W. Singham on the Non-Aligned Movement written exclusively for the Tribune. The first part, the LETTER FROM HAVANA AND WASHINGTON appeared in the Tribune of July 15, 1978 (Vol. 23 No. 3). A. W. Singham is currently Professor of Political Science at Howard University in Washington D.C. He is the editor of a book which has just appeared entitled **The Non-Aligned Movement in World Politics**, published by Lawrence Hill & Co. A review of this book will appear in Tribune shortly. Prof. Singham is presently a visiting Fellow at the U.N. undertaking a study on the Non-Aligned Movement. From September this year he will join the Department of Political Science, Brooklyn College, City University of New York.*

President Tito set the tone for the ensuing discussion that was to take place at the Foreign Ministers' meeting of the non-aligned countries held in Belgrade between July 26th and July 29th. He made it clear that the next Summit will be held in Havana, Cuba, thus putting an end to the efforts on the part of the West to destabilize the proceedings of the non-aligned Foreign Minister's meeting. For it was also clear that after the Havana Bureau Meeting in May a major campaign had begun whereby either Cuba was to be expelled from the non aligned movement or the non-aligned countries were to vote for a postponement of

the next Summit meeting. President Tito, however, reaffirmed the three major objectives of the non-aligned movement, namely, to follow a policy of peace and detente, to support the struggle for national liberation movements in Africa, and to dismantle the existing world economic order and create a new international economic order.

Thus the strategy of trying to divide the movement into extremists and moderates had totally collapsed. The Western press had predicted that the non-aligned movement faced in Belgrade one of its most serious crises since its inception in 1961. Indeed, the leader of the non-aligned movement, Yugoslavia, was cast in the role of being one of those moderate nations which was to lead the fight against the extremist nations, namely Cuba and Vietnam. President Tito stated clearly to all those attending the Foreign Minister's Conference that Yugoslavia was not a party to any effort to disrupt the non-aligned movement by calling for either a postponement or a change in the venue of the next meeting of the Heads of State to be held in Havana in 1979. Thus, the meeting of the Foreign Ministers of the non-aligned movement proceeded without any serious disruption.

There were those who had hoped that the entire conference proceedings would be totally disrupted once the venue for the next Heads of State meeting was put on the agenda. The only countries to formally raise the issue in Belgrade were Egypt, Somalia, Zaire, Morocco, and Campuchia. It became clear that as the Conference proceeded the senior members of the non-aligned movement,

namely Algeria, India, Sri Lanka, and Yugoslavia were not going to allow a procedural question to disrupt the meeting. One of the suggestions that was being touted at the Belgrade meeting was that the venue should not be decided until Cuba had agreed to withdraw its troops from Africa.

However, the issue of Cuban troops in Angola did not attract as much attention as some had hoped. This issue was debated in Khartoum a few weeks earlier where some nations raised questions about the possibility of Africa becoming a war continent. The majority of the African states followed the leadership of the front-line states, namely, Mozambique, Angola and Tanzania, who were against the call for the withdrawal of Cuban troops. Here again, most of the African countries took the view that as far as Cuba was concerned, it had acted on an invitation by a sovereign state. It should be remembered that at Khartoum nations like Somalia, Morocco, and Egypt were distinctively in the minority. Most of the African states were quite clear that as far as the Ogaden province was concerned, Ethiopia was clearly correct in trying to protect its own territorial integrity.

Therefore, at Belgrade it was not surprising to hear a normally conservative Kenya speak very precisely on the subject.

Members of our movement must teach the world not to meddle in the internal affairs of other states. Peaceful coexistence, peaceful settlement of disputes, non-aggression and non-interference in internal matters of other states are all cardinal principles of our movement and we must recommit ourselves to them in word and deed. Having said all that, let me assure you Mr. President, that my government

nevertheless recognizes the legitimate right of a nation—aggressed state—to seek any assistance from its friends to help it defend its territorial integrity, independence, and the lives and property of its people from external aggression. (Emphasis mine)

Most of the African states had seen the Cuban presence not necessarily as a foreign presence but indeed as the presence which had stopped the advancing Southern African troops. For Africa, as well as for the majority of non-aligned peoples, the war against South Africa is almost a holy war and any help it receives from friendly nations is viewed as an act of moral courage. It was clear then that at the Belgrade meeting the front-line states in Southern Africa, namely Tanzania, Zambia, Mozambique and Angola were in no mood to discuss the question as to whether Cuban troops had to be withdrawn. They had considerable support from moderate countries like Nigeria and Zambia who insisted that the two issues, namely the withdrawal of Cuban troops and the venue of the next Summit, were totally unrelated.

Nations like Guyana, Sri Lanka, and India saw the problem in constitutional terms. They argued that since the Heads of State had decided on the venue, namely the decision in Colombo to hold the meeting in Havana, there was no possibility of re-opening this issue at the level of the Foreign Ministers. Most of the countries came to the conclusion that the issue of Cuban troops in Africa was entirely a state to state matter, and that therefore countries like Angola and Ethiopia had the right to make their own decision as to the nature and ex-

tent of the support they were to receive from countries outside of Africa.

There was another issue that could have possibly affected the smooth proceeding of the conference, namely the tension between Campuchia and Vietnam. Thanks to the creative role of the Chairman of the non-aligned movement, Sri Lanka, this issue was not allowed to get out of hand for it was clear that an issue of this kind could not be resolved at a plenary meeting of the non-aligned movement but had to be resolved possibly by the new formula being developed by the non-aligned movement to resolve disputes between member nations. The political affairs section of the Foreign Minister's meeting had agreed that whenever there were conflicts between non-aligned nations these conflicts should be brought before the Bureau of the non-aligned nations and that an ad hoc committee be created for the resolution of these conflicts. The other explosive issue before the Foreign Minister was that of Western Sahara. Here again, thanks to the leadership provided to the non-aligned movement by such countries as India and Sri Lanka the conflicting parties were asked to await the result of the OAU formula before the non-aligned movement would interfere in such matters. Thus, the gleeful expectations of the Western press that the meeting of the Foreign Ministers would end in chaos and total disruption were avoided.

The Belgrade meeting showed once again that the non-aligned movement was becoming increasingly sophisticated in its approach towards international politics. A cursory reading of the documents of the movement since 1961 shows how far the movement has advanced theoretically. In 1961, the movement contained within it all the major ideological tendencies

Belgrade Meeting

that existed in the world at that time. Tito and Yugoslavia claimed to reflect the socialist and Marxist tendency in world politics, Nehru and India represented the social democratic tendency, Nasser and Egypt represented the reformist military tendency, and finally Nkrumah and Ghana represented African socialism and the populist tendency.

Historically, the non-aligned movement has always been a diverse one ideologically and contained within it all these tendencies. Yet within its diversity it had maintained its unity. Once again, as President Tito told the opening session, unity does not mean unanimity. The unity of the movement essentially revolved around issues of world peace, colonialism/imperialism, and racism.

In Belgrade, the Foreign Ministers meeting began to search for some further clarity on these issues. In our view, there were some major advances made in all of these three areas. In the past, especially in 1961, the issue of peace was seen primarily as one of keeping the two major powers, namely, the United States and the Soviet Union, from going into a nuclear war that would not only destroy themselves but the world in its entirety. To avoid global confrontation did not mean that the non-aligned movement had poised itself as being equidistant from the two powers.

Indeed it was President Tito who reminded the Conference that the policy of non-alignment was never and could never be a policy of equidistance. The experience of the world disarmament conference held shortly before the recent Belgrade Conference in New York had proved to the non-aligned countries that the issue of disarmament could not be separated from the other issues that confronted the world political system. They thus argued that if a nuclear

war was to be avoided a number of strategies would have to be adopted. Amongst the strategies advocated were those of a nuclear free zone and the establishment of certain strategic areas such as the Indian Ocean which would be kept free of major power rivalry.

But the most important lesson it learned from the UN meeting was that the issue of disarmament could not be separated from particular crisis areas in the world arena that could eventually lead to a nuclear war. The non-aligned movement thus was attempting to create a situation where peace could be institutionalized. In other words, it rejected the view that war was inevitable and that given the power constellations in the world it would indeed be desirable to have the major actors go to war so that they, the non-aligned peoples, could pick up the pieces after the war. The non-aligned movement rejected the view that there was an inevitability in the course of world politics, and held the view that they, though they were poor and without power, could indeed affect the course of world history.

The Foreign Ministers thus concluded that even though the world appeared to be on a collision course they were determined to make sure that the collision would not occur. Finally, the movement attempted to link the disarmament issue with the demand for a new international economic order. They argued that the existing global disparity between the rich and the poor would lead to war and that only by reducing this disparity could a nuclear war be avoided. Philosophically, they were using the old argument that economic deprivation would lead to war. Thus, they were attempting to link the idea of a new international economic order, that is

the removal of economic discrimination with that of disarmament.

The non-aligned movement has always argued that the best guarantee for peace was the destruction of existing military pacts. Again, the Foreign Ministers in Belgrade noted that they did not wish to see the world transformed into one giant arsenal where the peoples of the world would have no option but to join one of the existing pacts in order to survive. It would indeed be erroneous to assume that the non-aligned movement was basically a pacifist movement in world politics. They have indeed consistently supported wars of national liberation. The history of the non-aligned movement has shown that it is by no means convinced that all wars are immoral.

The non-aligned countries have recognized the need for national wars of liberation especially in the continent of Southern Africa. They attempt to make a very delicate distinction between a *military pact* and a *military alliance*. They allow for the possibility that some nations at different historical epochs might require the support, particularly military support, of other nations in order to defend their sovereignty and integrity. They also made it clear that membership in an economic alliance was qualitatively different from that of being a member of a military pact. At a press conference, the Vietnamese Foreign Minister made this point abundantly clear to a number of Western correspondents.

Most of them had suggested that that Vietnam's membership in an economic organization with the Soviet Union made her ineligible to be a member of the non-aligned movement. The Vietnamese Foreign Minister made it clear to the *New York Times* correspondent who

had raised this question that membership in an economic unit such as ASEAN did not disqualify countries like Malaysia or Singapore from being members of the non-aligned movement. Non-alignment, he argued, did not mean neutrality, but a general agreement amongst the members not to participate in military pacts which would totally turn the world into one huge garrison society.

(To be concluded)

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SRI LANKA CHRONICLE

July 20 – July 29

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

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

THURSDAY, JULY 20: Legislation to restructure the system of courts will be introduced in parliament next month; it will be called the Judiciary Act, the Minister of Justice announced yesterday. A total of nearly Rs. 100 million has been misappropriated from 32 of the 286 MPCs Unions in the country. The Presidential Commission appointed to inquire and report on misdeeds committed during the Sirima Bandaranaike Government will begin sittings on August 1. Work on three more housing schemes in Colombo will begin shortly—CDN. The govern-

ment has disapproved the manner in which an invitation has been sent for 100 delegates from Sri Lanka to attend the 11th Festival of youth and students to be held in Havana and the part played by the Cuban embassy in this connection. Foreign investors will be given specific constitutional guarantees safeguarding their investments in Sri Lanka in the proposed new constitution. Sri Lanka will shortly switch over to the purchase of whole wheat instead of wheat flour which has been imported since World War II; the wheat will be milled here and this will save the country Rs. 128 million in foreign exchange and generate employment opportunities—CDM. The Sri Lanka High Commissioner in Britain is of the view that the government should reconsider permitting Sri Lanka women from seeking employment as domestic servants and house maids in Arab countries. The three man Presidential Commission which probed the affairs of Air Ceylon over a seven year period has advocated that the new company should operate absolutely independent of any ministry or government department—SU. The 2nd national convention of the TULF will begin today—EN. The government has imported Rs. 642.2 million worth of essential items within a period of seven months—DW. About 15000 bank employees are expected to join the island wide bank strike today—ATH. The government has appointed a three man committee to recommend ways to improve the living standards of plantation workers—DM. Secretary General Kurt Waldheim warned African leaders against according their continent to become an arena for power-bloc confrontation—CDN. Egyptian-Israeli peace talks ended with an announcement that US Secretary of State visit West Asia in about two weeks

—SU. A black gardner who sent his white employee's daughter a love letter was yesterday sent to prison for six weeks—CDM.

FRIDAY, JULY 21: The defeat of the Sirima Bandaranaike family bandyism was the main event that should be celebrated on the first anniversary of the government; this was the decision of the Government Parliamentary Group which met at a special session yesterday. A President can never become a dictator in Sri Lanka under the proposed new constitution said Mr. Gamini Dissanaike. The Customs have bared a racket where Sri Lankans travelling abroad were found to be using a number of passports in order to obtain foreign exchange quotas for each trip said a Customs spokesman. The railway will soon have women ticket collectors. According to the St. John's Fish Vendor's Association the shortage of fish is due to the scarcity of ice—CDN. The President will deliver a message to the nation from the historic Mahamaluwa after the planting of an Ehala, a semi sacred tree to mark the first anniversary of the government tomorrow. The World Bank has granted Sri Lanka a loan of 25 million US dollars of which 21 million dollars is for the rehabilitation of 9000 hectares of tea lands and the balance for crop diversification. The Minister of Transport said that there has been an improvement in the bus services after decentralisation—CDM. Employees in the private sector and corporations and boards contributing to the EPF will shortly be able to obtain housing and other domestic loans from their contributions, if the proposal of the Minister of Labour becomes law—SU. Paddy production in the Polonnaruwa area for the last Maha season exceeded 5.8 million busheis. The Minister of Information and broadcasting said he was trying to establish TV in

Sri Lanka by next year—DW. The Transport Ministry has decided to start a lorry service for transporting goods and a ferry service for people—LD. India's lower house of parliament repealed the tough maintenance of internal security which allowed former PM Indira Gandhi's government to jail people without trial. Guinea President Ahmed Sekou Toure called today for the removal of all foreign troops from Africa and proposed a continent-wide 'friendship pact' to end the use of force in resolving problems—CDN. The Cyprus President declared last night that a conspiracy against his government had been foiled in its early stages. The drought in Ethiopia has hit some 12 million people in the Wollo region and 300,000 more in Tigre Province—SU.

SATURDAY, JULY 22: The President said on the eve of the first anniversary of the formation of the government that he had managed to bring a sense of freedom to the people of this country. The Japanese government will provide Sri Lanka a loan of about 27.5 million US dollars with a view to contributing towards its economic development—CDN. A new strategy for the successful implementation of an island wide diversified development programme through the District Ministers Scheme and the decentralised budget is to be formulated by the Ministry of Plan Implementation as the government today enters its second year in office. Certain categories of repatriate workers in the plantations sector will receive an ex-gratia payment of Rs. 500 from the government to facilitate their departure to India—SU. The Minister of Trade said if corporations could stop wastage, goods could be given at lower prices than at present—DM. Key elections within the ruling Janata Party were postponed until May next year after

sharp clashes among party leaders meeting in New Delhi—CDN.

SUNDAY, JULY 23: The President in the course of a message to the nation yesterday appealed for the people's 'goodwill and discipline' to help the government in its 'stupendous task' of wiping out in six years 'a colossal heritage, of inefficiency, corruption and nepotism.' The Sacred Buddha Relics from Kapilavastu will be taken back to New Delhi in a special plane which is due to leave Katunayake Airport on Tuesday—ST. The President yesterday invited the people of the country to point out defects like corruption and inefficiency to the government. The UNESCO sponsored Fourth Regional Conference of Education Ministers of Asia and Oceania will be inaugurated by the President tomorrow at the BMICH—SO. The government has decided to introduce legal controls on the island wide pollution of the environment and is now examining the different aspects of the problem with a view to formulating appropriate laws—WK. Bolivian President Hugo Benzer announced he was resigning and handing over power to the armed forces—SO. Transport Minister Manmoan Abdul Gayoom stands for election as President of the Maldives next week as sole candidate in a referendum in which he must win more than half the votes—WK.

MONDAY, JULY 24: The President addressing a mammoth rally at Bogambara grounds last Saturday evening said the government was committed to work for the benefit of the people of Sri Lanka and not for the Friends and relatives of those in power; 'merit, honesty and ability will be the criterion on which the people would be given their due recognition' he said. Commercial activity

in the island both in the private and public sectors is gaining momentum each day; but job generation remains low. The Ministry of Agriculture and Lands will soon launch a project to establish a 140,000 acre fuel wood plantation in the Mahaweli Development area. The Ministry of Finance has given the 'green light' for the Foreign Resident's Scheme which was temporarily shelved owing to the dissolution of the last parliament—CDN. The transfer of teachers has been stopped by the Minister of Education until an 'equitable and just formula' is worked out. Nearly ten thousand public servants have claimed that they were politically victimised by the previous government—CDM. The setting up of Criminal Intelligence Units in the 24 police divisions will be the first major change in crime detection in the history of the Sri Lanka police service—SU. The leader of the opposition said that the government had not achieved very much in the past one year and only the cost of living had gone up and luxury products have been imported—DP. The People's Bank has decided to give loans to cooperative societies and individuals to build food warehouses—LD. The President said he would ask the Tourist Board to build a five star hotel facing the Polgolla reservoir—DW. The South African Opposition made fresh calls for the resignation of Justice Minister James Kruger after the deaths of three blacks held by police—CDN. Egyptian President Anwar Sadat said in Cairo yesterday Israeli President Menachim Begin's 'craving for Arab land' was the sole obstacle to a West Asian peace settlement. China today accused Cuba of doing its utmost to soil and sabotage the non-aligned movement and bring it into the Soviet orbit—SU. 41 people died in Rhodesia's guerilla war during the past two days, a

defence force communique said in Salisbury. More than two million people have been affected by floods in North Eastern India—CDM.

TUESDAY, JULY 25: The President said yesterday that the government would soon take steps to ensure that children learn all three languages—Sinhala, Tamil and English. Twenty thousand workers in the textile printing industry will be laid off by their employers unless there is immediate government intervention to receive the problems of the textile printing industry. Nine trade and industries chambers in the private sector vowed they would find employment for 5000 raw hands by the end of the year in response to the President's call in February to increase their work force by ten percent. The Parliamentary Group of the TULF will decide today its stand regarding the draft constitution—CDN. The government hopes to increase the guaranteed price for paddy to the farmer to Rs. 45 a bushel from the Rs. 40 paid at present. The Minister of Agriculture and Lands has decided to set up agricultural service organisations in every electorate—CDM. The President told harbour workers yesterday that a disciplined society or nation could never be destroyed and if Sri Lanka was to be developed each of us must be disciplined in our life and works—SU. The President said yesterday that the four ports—Trinco, Galle, KKS and Colombo would be brought up to the standard of the best in Asia with Japanese aid—VK. The government has received reports from many of the districts that many of the unemployed persons were not claiming their allowance of Rs.50—ATH. The population of India is now over 630 million according to a report submitted to the Planning Commission—CDN. World wide military spending totalled 400 billion

dollars in 1976, about 2% more than the amount recorded 10 years earlier the US Arms and Disarmament Agency said—CDM. President Fazal Chaudry of Pakistan has reportedly resigned his office a month before his term comes to an end on August 14. The Pakistan government has issued a white paper on how Mr. Bhutto 'rigged' the elections in March last year before he was crushed by the present regime—SU.

WEDNESDAY, JULY 26: The PM yesterday presented in the NSA the draft Constitution of the Democratic Socialist Republic of Sri Lanka; it will repeal and replace the Constitution which was adopted and enacted on May 22, 1972 by the previous government. The government has given Municipalities and local bodies far-reaching authority in the imposition of license fees and duties. The holiday structure in several countries is being studied by the Ministry of Public Administration in an effort to prepare a more realistic holiday structure for Sri Lanka specially in the public sector. The Minister of Labour after his recent visit to the Middle East has said that Sri Lankans employed there have many grievances regarding working conditions, but they will stick to their jobs till their contracts are over—CDN. Paddy is to be made available off-ration to all consumers through co-operative societies—CDM. The Minister of Irrigation etc told a meeting of representatives of donor countries and agencies at the BMICH yesterday that the Sri Lanka government had taken necessary measures to contain subsidies for consumption, and for utilising the resultant savings for development—SU. The Fertilizer Corporation has decided to import 4,30,000 tons of fertilizer this year to help agricultural production: this is 150,000 tons more than the imports last year—LD. The Coconut

Marketing Board was forced to refuse many orders from abroad for coconuts as the production in the country does not even meet local needs—DW. The CWE has sold over 4000 tons of B. Onions to the private trade at 50 cents a pound—ATH. The dollar tumbled on the European foreign exchange markets yesterday after slipping below the 200 yen level in Tokyo for the first time since World War II. 18 year old Miss Garner from South Africa was crowned the 23rd Miss Universe last night—CDN. Finance Ministers of the EEC met in Brussels yesterday to begin hammering out details of a new European monetary system as outlined by EEC heads of State at their recent meeting in Bremen—SU.

THURSDAY, JULY 27: A programme of activities in school and outside to instill national consciousness and patriotism among children drawn up by the President has been approved by the government. Straight laws to effectively curb trafficking in children by unscrupulous persons have been included in the proposed Children's Charter that will be submitted to the Cabinet by the Minister of Social Services. The government has decided to give assistance on a priority basis, to the private sector to set up seven ice plants throughout the country to help bring down fish prices. The delegation expressed the view that they were more than impressed with all the work that the government had and was still doing—CDN. A Double Tax Agreement was signed yesterday between the governments of Sri Lanka and Czechoslovakia—CDM. The government is to utilise nuclear power to a greater extent in major development projects in the country; two of the projects now lined up for this are the Coastal Conservation Project and the Mahaweli Development Project—SU. The govern-

ment of Iraq has appointed Mr. A. H. Al-Daer as Ambassador to Sri Lanka—IDPR No. 131/78. The Deputy Minister of Health has told officials to take immediate steps to recruit ayurvedic physicians to hospitals which are in need of doctors—LD. The Labour Ministry has announced that co-operatives could be kept open till 10 pm every day—DK. The police force will recruit 15,000 more girls and boys into its cadre next month—DM. A Moscow Court today unexpectedly allowed Jewish activist Maria Solepek to go free after trying her on charges of malicious hooliganism. More than 4000 Indonesian political prisoners were released in Bandung today. Severe monsoon floods in Northern India have killed more than 200 people and rendered thousands homeless officials said yesterday—CDN.

FRIDAY, JULY 28: Local shirt and garment manufacturers have urged the government to clamp down an immediate ban on Salu Sala handling textile imports; they claim that Salu Sala was selling imported textiles of a very inferior quality at Rs. 16 and Rs. 17 a yard while garment manufacturers with export licences are importing direct a far superior quality of textiles for as low a price as Rs. 9.50 a yard. Though the overall production of rubber fell in 1977 Sri Lanka's export earnings from that commodity increased last year by Rs. 38.7 million over the previous year. A comprehensive research study to determine factors influencing vegetable prices in Sri Lanka has been launched by the Agrarian Research and Training Institute—CDN. The Special Insurgency Branch of the CID is conducting top level investigations into insurgent activities in the Kegalle district—CDM. The government is to go ahead with its state cum private sector plans for the exploitation of the marine

resources 25 miles away from the N.W coast of the island—SU. The Paddy Marketing Board has bought 70.8 million bushels of paddy during the first three months of this year—LD. For the first time in Sri Lanka a ship building yard will be constructed shortly in the FTZ—DW. The government has decided to control the use of water by charging consumers for the use of it—LD. Kuwait sparked off the first major row at the non aligned foreign minister's conference in Belgrade last night when it accused Ethiopia of genocide and suppression of freedom in the war torn province of Eritrea. India yesterday warned fellow non aligned countries against reliance on foreign military support in an apparent reference to Soviet and Cuban involvement in Africa stressing the danger of 'bringing in the cold war by the back door'—CDN. About 500,000 villagers have been rendered homeless after two days of torrential rains in Central Sudan. Gynaecologists in several countries welcomed the news of the first test tube baby in Britain yesterday but there was also widespread concern over the moral implications—CDM. At least nine people died recently in heavy fighting between harijans and members of a Hindu caste in the nearby Southern Indian town of Villipuram—SU.

SATURDAY, JULY 29: A National Export Board which will function as the pivot in Co-ordinating Sri Lanka's export promotion drive is to be set up soon the Minister of Trade said. A State taxi service to be run by the CTB will commence in September; the hire rate will be about Rs. 2 a mile. The government has decided; to sign the Human Rights Covenant a delegation is due to leave for Geneva to participate in the World Conference on anti-racism and

Racial Discrimination. The government has decided that school buildings in major paddy producing areas will be used as paddy stores. The second annual convention of the TULF opens today—CDN. The Food Commissioner has signed a contract with the Indian State Trading Corporation in New Delhi for the supply of 50,00 tons of sugar to Sri Lanka. It was vital for Sri Lanka at this stage to concentrate on stepping up exports and inaugurating a new meaningful export drive said the Minister of Trade. The leader of the Opposition welcoming the Minister of Public Administration and Home Affairs to Jaffna said that the previous government only paid lip service in the matter of implementing the Tamil language as the language of administration in the Northern and Eastern Provinces; it was his hope that the government would provide the machinery and the staff to translate their good intentions to reality—CDM. The politbureau of the CP of Sri Lanka has pointed out that if the present split in the party is not remedied the unity of the party would be at stake—LD. The fast rising waters of North Indian rivers have taken a toll of 239 lives so far. Simon Peres leader of the Opposition Labour Party accused PM Begin last night of missing the opportunity for peace with Egypt. Vietnam and Cambodia engaged in a bloody border conflict since last year, clashed sharply at the non-aligned foreign ministers Conference last night. Singapore told fellow non-aligned nations bluntly yesterday that it was their own fault that the super powers were making use of their countries as battle grounds for proxy wars. Cuba today attacked China and Egypt for questioning its role in the non-aligned movement and stoutly defended Cuban involvement—CDN.

Confidentially

Agricultural Development Authority

CAN THERE BE ANY DOUBT that the President should be congratulated for setting up an Evaluation Team (on a suggestion by Dr. Wickrema Weerasooriya, Secretary of the Ministry of Plan Implementation) to review the functions of state organisations in the Agricultural Sector and evaluate their use of resources? That the *Ceylon Daily News* on Thursday, August 17, published some extracts from the Report which was handed over to the President on the previous day? That the *CDN* highlighted the fact that the Report recommended "the dismantling of the Department of Minor Export Crops, the disbanding of the Janawasama Commission and the progressive phasing out of the Land Reform Commission.."? That "another major recommendation of the study is the strengthening and restructuring of the Ministry of Agriculture" because the Team found that the Ministry was "not adapted to the very special and rigorous demands of modern agriculture..by setting up of four separate divisions in the Ministry to take responsibility for research and extension, production inputs, land use policy and livestock development"? That whilst the *CDN* report refers to a number of other matters the Team had dealt with (especially the duplication of work by various statutory bodies in the agricultural sector, the desirability of freeing the Dept. of Agriculture from commercial activities, the revitalising of the Department of Agriculture etc. etc.), it

obviously soft-pedalled whatever the Team had to say on the newly set up Agricultural Development Authority (ADA)? That without naming names all that the *CDN* stated was "the report comments on the trend towards the creation of statutory authorities vested with co-ordinating and supervising functions and point out that Section 103 (2) of the Constitution vests this power in the Secretary of each Ministry and this authority cannot be delegated without specific legislation.....among the Team's findings are that such authorities have neither the capacity nor the 'authority' to carry out many of their statutory responsibilities satisfactorily"? That there is no doubt that this can only be a reference to Agriculture Department Authority (ADA) which has become a kind of a Bull in a China Shop not only in the few electoral areas in which it is operating but also in other areas where its politically-enthusiastic bosses are able to throw their weight about temporarily at least (the Lake House, the SLBC, etc etc.)? That it is hard to believe that the Evaluation Team which appears to have done an excellent job of work on all aspects of the Agricultural Sector could have missed or ignored the activities of the ADA which is now very much of a square peg in the round hole?

IS IT NOT A FACT that the ADA was set up in a hurry without adequate consideration? That the bright sparks and smart Alocs who conceived of this organisation as a Super Task Force did not have the faintest idea of what they were about? That it would appear that the ADA operated on a patent fallacy that the managerial practices of the plantation sector was good enough for the development of the rural agriculture? That it has also been known that in spite of the newscasts over the SLBC and

the headlines and sunshine stories in some daily papers, the ADA has been allotted functions which it can neither carry out nor has the necessary resources or administrative authority to discharge? That it is also obvious that the ADA's activities cut across lines of authority and implementation programmes of other organisations and also that what it did was to duplicate extensively (at great expense to the tax-payer) the functions of other long existing organisations which....could easily be made to function more effectively with a little streamlining? That some people believe that the only function the ADA could discharge is to look after agricultural inputs and supplies, but there is little doubt that this view is only a way of avoiding the disbanding an organisation set up by this government? That all those who think rationally will accept that if the Janawasama, the Department of Minor Export Crops etc., are disbanded, the ADA must also follow suit? That it was clear when the ADA was set up that it was an attempt at Empire building similar to what Kobbekaduwa had attempted through his APCs? That the kindest way of eliminating the ADA without loss of face to the UNP is to absorb it into the Ministry of Agriculture as a division of the Ministry? That the UNP's prestige, however, will be greatly enhanced if it had the guts to admit that it had made a mistake about the ADA and disband it without more ado? That the UNP would be well-advised to disband the ADA and cut the empire-builders in it to size because these little men puffed with temporary importance, if allowed to strut about, will provide the material for a new Presidential Commission to investigate?

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