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Letter From The Editor

THE LADY ON THE COVER this week is indulging in the well-known pastime of wagging her finger at her protesting mate to drive a point home. Some people call it nagging, when the perpetrator, as in this case, is a woman. But nagging and *I told you so* preaching are not the exclusive monopoly of womankind. Men are as adept at this game as women. Newspapers also revel in chastising politicians with *we-told-you-so* homilies. This week, *Tribune* has an opportunity to shout from the house-tops and say *we-told-you-so*, but we will not. On the other hand, we will congratulate Minister Lalith Athulthmudali on the statement he made on January 8 to a group of Senior Officials of the Asian Group of the Group of 77 (vide *Ceylon Daily News*, 9/1/79). He called for vigorous action by the developing countries to combat what he called the growing menace of the protectionist policies adopted by developed countries in international trade. He said: "A highly disturbing feature in international trade policy in the last few years has been the rising tide of protectionism among the developed countries and the denial of access to their markets of products originating in the developing countries. Restrictions on imports take many shapes ranging from the less subtle 'quantitative restrictions' to the more open 'orderly marketing arrangement' and 'trigger price mechanism' whatever that may be. All these restrictions largely apply to products in which developed countries have a comparative advantage or prospects for growth. It is particularly unfortunate that it is the developing countries of Asia who have faced the full blast of protectionist pressures. The developing countries should combat this growing menace of protectionism with vigour and formulate remedial approaches, including both short term approaches to contain protectionist actions within an acceptable framework of rules and procedures; and longer term approaches to encourage the necessary structural changes in production patterns in developed countries. It is not enough for the industrialised countries to simply transfer resources to developing countries. They must also offer equality of opportunity to the developing countries. The Minister observed that the existing international economic order is so deficient that it needed to be replaced rather than rearranged, restructured rather than repaired." The rest of his speech detailed some of the efforts made by developing countries to check the greedy avarice of rich developed countries. The point *Tribune* has made over and over again in recent months is that poor undeveloped countries like Sri Lanka cannot afford the luxury of total or near-total *laissez faire* liberalisation of its import and export trade in the current perspectives of international trade and finance. In the last century (and even before that) the USA, UK, France, Germany, Holland and other countries which are among the most affluent today developed their economies behind effective protective barriers. Free Trade (import and export) and Free Economy (in banking and currency) were only devices to secure the maximum exploitation of colonial empires—and *laissez fairism* was only operated inside the confines of the great empires whilst the empires themselves clashed at every turn with wars from time to time divide and re-divide the booty. The world is today without empires in a politico-geographical sense but a few countries are mighty economic giants and *laissez fairism*, such as advocated by the IMF, can only make the rich richer and the poor poorer. What Mr. Athulthmudali has pointed out in the genteel jargon of UNCTAD shadow-boxing is that free trade has been forced down the throats of poor borrower nations whilst the rich countries that lend money through the IMF continue to operate from behind high tariff and protective barriers.

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EDITOR'S NOTEBOOK

Random Thoughts on Sri Lanka, Guadeloupe, Kampuchea and Iran

Colombo, January 12,

Sri Lanka enters the New Year with a long holiday weekend right in the middle of the first month to interrupt any planned work. Friday 12th is Poya Day and the shut down is complete. Sunday 14th is Hindu Thai Pongal day, but following the rules created by public servants who are happy when they maximise holidays, Monday 15th has been declared a full holiday in lieu of the Thai Pongal holiday which fell on a Sunday which (like a Saturday) is a non-working day. The four-day holidays 12th-15th, creates a break in work schedules not conducive to production or productivity. In reality, it is a six-day or really a week's break. Everybody starts the long weekend holiday on Thursday, Jan. 11 and by afternoon there is not a soul left in most of the government offices; very little can be done (or, is possible) on Tuesday, 16th because the trains and buses that bring everybody back are invariably late. The last working day last week, in the real sense of the word, was Wednesday Jan. 10 and the first real working day this week was Wednesday, Jan. 17. And this is how Sri Lanka starts the New Year after all the noise made by certain governmental quarters about cutting down holidays.

Much has been written in the newspapers recently about the virtues of cutting down public holidays, but nothing has been done

in actual practice to decrease the number of holidays even by a day. A Special Committee has gone into the matter, but its report has not been made officially public—but hints were dropped that it recommended drastic cuts. Deputy Minister Percy Samaraweera in a memorandum that received the widest publicity in the official media had argued that the number of holidays in Sri Lanka were far too many. That was all. No action has been taken. Or is likely to be taken ever—except perhaps for a token cut to salve certain consciences.

The Ceylon Observer spotlighted information pointing out that Sri Lanka topped the Asian list in regard to the number of holidays:

"Sri Lanka enjoys more public holidays than other countries in Asia, a recent survey of public holidays in the Asia Pacific region undertaken by a business intelligence organisation reveals. 27 public holidays have been listed by Sri Lanka this year. 21 of them, however, fall on week-ends. But as in the case of Independence Day falling on February 4, an additional holiday may be declared in lieu of some of them. Where the mercantile sector is concerned, if a public holiday other than a poya day falls on a week-end, an additional day off must be given. Thus mercantile employees will enjoy a holiday on Monday, January 15, as Thai Pongal falls the previous day. According to the survey, the People's Republic of China has the lowest public holidays among Asian countries with only six such holidays listed. These are New Year's Day on January 1, three days off for the Spring festival, Labour Day and National Day. Next to Sri Lanka, India has the most number of public holidays—19. Pakistan comes third with 18. The following is the list of the number of public holidays in the

Asia-Pacific region: China—6; Hongkong, 17; India—19; Indonesia—11; Japan—12; Malaysia—13; New Zealand—9; Pakistan—18; Philippines—11; Singapore—11; South Korea—15; Sri Lanka—27; Taiwan—17; and Thailand 13. Australia's holiday list is not comparative as many holidays apply to certain areas. The Government is concerned about the large number of holidays Sri Lankans enjoy at the cost of national productivity. The question of pruning those holidays in the interest of development is under active consideration."

No sooner this government came to power it had proclaimed that it would reduce the number of holidays. Eighteen months have gone by, and nothing has been done. Praiseworthy speeches have been made by the President, the Prime Minister, several Ministers, Deputy Ministers and MPs about the need to cut holidays. Promises were held out that in 1979 the new holidays system would be introduced, but instead of that one of the old practices of declaring an additional holiday in lieu of one falling on a Sunday was perpetuated. Would it have been illegal if the government did not make Monday a holiday and got everybody back to work on Monday, January 15th?

In spite of all the governmental blah-blah-blah about holidays, it does not look as if any changes will be introduced in 1979. Several holidays and some poya days fall on Sundays or Saturdays and it will be a safe bet to take that we will have a number of additional holidays reducing yet further the number of working days, this year.

The question of reducing the number of holidays was a Tribune perennial from the time this paper was started in 1954. But instead of

the holidays being cut, the number increased in the period after 1956. And the number has kept growing. Political power has effected variations but the number has proliferated. New holidays have been added after July 1977 though a few old ones were dropped. *Tribune's* campaign urging a cut in the holidays has so far turned out to be a total and complete failure, and there does not seem to be much hope for any change for the better in the near future.

While no progress has been made in the very desirable matter of reducing holidays (especially in a country with a five-day week), scandals involving corruption have begun to multiply. One of the juiciest of the many scandals now coming to light was triggered by the *Weekend* which had alleged in its issue of October 1, 1978 that employees of the National Lotteries Board had drawn prizes in the sweep in a way that had created suspicions that these prizes were drawn through fraudulent manipulation. When Parliament sat on January 4, 1979, Deputy Minister of Finance, Mr. Naina Marikkar, revealed that the *Weekend* story was correct.

The *Sun* of January 5, set out the facts and reply of the Deputy Minister: "Within a period of 16 months, from August 31, 1977 to December 12, 1978 fifty three employees of the National Lotteries Board won prizes from sweep draws conducted by the Board. This was revealed in Parliament by the Deputy Minister of Finance and Planning, Mr. H. M. Naina Marikkar in answer to a question raised by the third MP for Colombo Central Mr. Haleem Ishak on the conduct of lotteries by the National Lotteries Board. This follows a news item appearing in the *Weekend* of October 1, 1978 that several employees of the Board have won prizes and in fact that while one won the first prize of Rs. 100,000 another had

won the second prize of Rs. 40,000 and yet another a third prize of Rs. 10,000. It was also revealed that in one lottery draw (No. 111 of June 30, 1978) six employees of the Board won prizes. The sum paid to these employees by way of prizes amount to over Rs. 200,000. Some of the employees have won prizes more than once. The Deputy Minister went on to say in Parliament yesterday that the present system of draws is accepted as fool-proof and no criticism or complaint of the system has been received."

The Chairman of the National Lotteries Board has now woken from his Rip Van Winkle sleep and is reported to have ruled that Board employees should not participate in the Lotteries. But no action has been taken against the miscreants who are still there to help friends not employed in the Board.

The Dharmista Government of Mr. J. R. Jayewardene came to power promising not only to eliminate family bandyism and the corruption but also to ensure that neither of these two evils reared their heads in the new UNP era. But, unless the President and other Ministers, take firm steps to root out the new family bandyism and the creeping corruption that has come upon the Administration, the fate of this government will be no different from any other in the past.

It is one thing for a country to have millionaires and multimillionaires who have made money from productive activities but it is a totally different matter for millionaires to sprout by collecting cuts, kickbacks, discounts—all names to hide bribes and illegalities. It is the latter kind of millionaires who has begun to proliferate in the post-July 1977 era of liberalised imports and exports. It is not possible to say when this im-

port boom will end. Judging by the rate of economic growth in the last one year and possible growth in the next eighteen months—and considering the number of working days in the year—the era of free imports will end sooner than many expect. Unless, production and productivity increase by leaps and bounds, this *laissez faire* system of free imports will boomerang on the economy with cyclonic fury.

Take the case of Kenya. It was held out as a miracle country which had achieved prosperity and a free economy because it had followed IMF policies in the days of Jomo Kenyatta. The shops in Nairobi, according to visitors, were full of

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

Ref. No. EA/6/306

It is intended to acquire the land/lands described in the Schedule below. For further particulars see the Gazette of the Democratic Socialist Republic of Sri Lanka No. 20 (Part III) of 19/01/1979.

Schedule

Situation:

In the village of Koswathumanana Grama Sevaka Division of 93A, Kiripedda, A.G.A.'s Division of Wellabada Pattu North in the District of Galle.

Name of land:

Koswathumanana Group, alias Askinwatta.

Plan and Lot No.:

P.P. Plan No. GAA/1330
Lots 1-5.

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

The Kachcheri,
Galle.

09, January 1979.

the same goods as the shops in London. But difficult times have now come upon Kenya. A Reuter report from Nairobi dated January 5, stated: "The Kenya Government last night placed heavy new restrictions on imports and clamped down on overseas travel in an attempt to deal with a big trade deficit. The restrictions, which come into effect immediately mean that with some exceptions, importers will have to place a returnable deposit of 100 Per cent of the value of their goods with the Central Bank. Businessmen in Nairobi said they were worried about the new restrictions, which they said could harm Kenya's image as a liberal trading country and which could discourage investment. The exceptions to the restrictions include imports of machinery by construction companies and agricultural and industrial machinery financed from abroad or long-term credits of more than 180 months. There are also special arrangements for machinery spare parts and raw materials. Under the new travel rules, tickets will only be issued for business trips, journeys for essential medical treatment or compassionate reasons, for educational reasons to non-citizen employees with leave terms written into their contracts and to emigrants. Kenya had a trade deficit of 2.4 million shillings (\$31 million) in the first six months of 1978, mainly due to falling coffee prices. The external trade authority described the situation as grave and said it was "imperative to stringently control imports." Travel Agents have been told to forward applications for air tickets from Kenyans wishing to travel abroad to the Central Bank. The main aim of the restriction was to close a loophole in foreign exchange regulations whereby people bought long-distance tickets with Kenyan currency and cashed them

abroad for foreign currency."

Elsewhere in this issue we have published an article from the prestigious London *Times* about the "IMF SQUEEZE ON JAMAICA". Unless Sri Lanka exercises the greatest care and regulates her imports and exports (not as stupidly as in the days of the SLFP) to promote developmental activity, dark days lie ahead with a debt burden too heavy for the island to bear. What is even more disturbing is that people who should know better fail to realise that the capitalist world of which we are a part is rushing headlong into a recession. Every journal from the Western countries is deeply concerned about the impending recession.

The situation was serious enough for the leaders of the USA, UK, France and West Germany to meet in Guadeloupe on January 5-6. The *Wall Street Journal* in an editorial before the meeting stated: "There will be no great expectations from this summit and no disappointment. The idea that summits can and should work great political miracles seems to have been replaced with a more realistic view of possibilities." However, the *Journal* cited a number of questions that could be dealt with on Guadeloupe. For example, they could reasonably ask whether prospects for a useful US energy policy are any better than they were when Mr. Carter last promised them such a policy. "In other words, when is the US going to de-control oil? The Europeans have urgent reasons for asking again now that the Persian Gulf is in turmoil. There will also be some pressing questions about European security. If SALT II should become a reality, what does Mr. Carter have in mind for SALT III? We suspect that the Europeans might want a bigger voice in any future arms negotiations as questions involving limitation of medium

range weapons come to the fore. We should hope that someone in the group will have some useful thoughts about what went wrong for western policy in the case of Iran. The fact that the Shah's headlong spending spree had brought a 25 percent rate of inflation might be worthy of some attention. And speaking of inflation, we would hope that all four leaders will pledge to each other to fight inflation with firm fiscal and monetary policies. Mr. Callaghan could contribute some useful thoughts from the recent British success with those tools. As we indicated in the editorial just above, these are neither the best nor the worst of times. The present struggles of the world, in Iran, Cambodia and Africa, may be beyond the powers of any of these leaders to resolve. But they have the responsibility for trying to keep the US and Europe on a sound economic and military footing and that is plenty for two days of reflective discussion."

In an article in the *Washington Post*, Jim Hoagland said: "The meeting conceived as a chance for the four leaders to talk informally about strategic and economic problems, now will have to take up two more immediate problems, the Iranian crisis and US recognition this week of the People's Republic of China. President Carter is set to tell his most important European allies that he continues to support fully the Shah of Iran. US officials expect West Germany to press for a more detailed explanation of the last-minute rush by Washington toward relations with Peking, which Brezezinski successfully managed. Bonn is thought to fear that American acquiescence in British and French arms sale to China could create new tensions for the Western allies with the Soviet Union. In a polite way, the Germans may be questioning Carter to find out if the China recognition

is part of a long-term US strategy for managing super power relations, or an unstudied response to a Chinese strategy of 'Playing the American card' against the Russians. Despite such questioning, American specialists think Carter and Chancellor Helmut Schmidt are now on much better terms. Schmidt, who was openly critical of Carter's leadership earlier, now wants to appear to be a strong junior partner and ally to Carter, American specialists think. The four leaders are almost certain to explore the various forums that now exist for discussions with the Soviet Union on reducing strategic and conventional arms levels, and on cutting back forces in Europe. French President Valéry Giscard D'Estaing is expected to push his call for a conference on disarmament in Europe, which some administration officials feel could undercut the current mutual and balanced force reduction (MBFR) talks. The United States will be seeking a clearer idea of France's willingness to talk about changes in format and content of the conference. But the Carter Administration is reportedly set to resist any attempts at Guadeloupe to link the French idea on a disarmament conference, the WBFR talks and the planning for the next round of the strategic arms limitation treaty (SALT) talks with the Soviet Union, which will be known as SALT III. These items remain fairly academic at this stage, according to state department officials, who predict that the four leaders will concentrate more on discussing what type of intermediate range missile should be stationed in Europe in the near future."

At the conclusion of the summit, Timothy D. Schellhardt in *The Wall Street Journal* stated: "Each of the leaders emerged with something they had hoped to accomplish. President Carter won crucial sup-

port for the SALT accord expected to be reached with the Soviets. West German Chancellor Helmut Schmidt and British Prime Minister James Callaghan urged speedy clearance by the US Senate, of a strategic arms treaty and pledged to work for its ratification. That support should be extremely helpful to Mr. Carter politically because likely opponents of the controversial weapons-control agreement are expected to contend that European allies are not altogether pleased with the pact. French President Valéry Giscard D'Estaing was only lukewarm in his comments about a SALT accord, apparently because of some reservations he continues to have about it. Mr. Carter also received backing from the other leaders for his recent move restoring diplomatic ties with China. The participants publicly attempted to assure Soviet leaders that their links to China aren't aimed at complicating relations with the USSR. President Carter told reporters that although the four nations expect to enhance their ties to China, they are determined to assure that it never becomes an obstacle to détente. Mr. Callaghan asserted, 'we do not improve our relations with China at the expense of any other country'. Chancellor Schmidt won assurances from Mr. Carter that European security won't be compromised by any SALT II agreement. He also reportedly received assurances that the western European countries will play a major role in negotiation of a SALT III treaty, which would deal with Soviet weapons systems that western Europeans consider a threat, such as the ss-20 Mobile missile. The treaty also would deal with such US nuclear system as the Cruise Missile, which could be stationed in Europe. The leaders are understood to have spent the most time discussing Iran.

Mr. Carter gave a detailed assessment of the situation and the leaders then discussed the varying positions on various moves that could be taken concerning that mideast country. Chancellor Schmidt apparently expressed the deepest concern about the extent of US support for the beleaguered Shah. However, there was a tight lid placed on disclosing that, what, if any, understandings were reached concerning Iran."

But the analysis which spotlighted the problems which confronted the Western world in the clearest terms were set out by Paul Lewis in the *New York Times*, "The Guadeloupe conference is only the latest example of a general trend among Western leaders for private huddles where they try to smooth out their increasingly difficult relationships. The seven-nation Western Economic Meeting has become an annual event as the big industrial democracies struggle to find solutions to share questions. The Group of Five—the United States Secretary of the Treasury and the Finance Ministers of Britain, France, Germany and Japan—meet to discuss financial matters.

"Last week, beneath outward serenity at Guadeloupe, with no fixed agenda or final communique, the four leaders were striving to narrow their differences on crucial military, economic and foreign policy issues which threaten to make 1979 a far worse year for the west than 1978. These differences stem partly from the changing balance of power between Europe and the United States partly from the west's continuing economic difficulties and partly from genuine doubts each other's intentions and abilities. But in every case, resolving them will require action, not just promises. As the United States and the Soviet Union move toward nuclear parity through the SALT negotiations, Europe's North

Atlantic treaty Organisation members are increasingly worried by the growing Russian nuclear weaponry aimed at them, which the emerging SALT II agreement is unlikely to curb.

The West hopes to persuade Russia to reduce these so-called European theater weapons in SALT III negotiations but, to increase their bargaining strength and protecting themselves in the meantime, Europeans NATO members are considering building up their own nuclear defences to match the increased Soviet threat. What scares them is that the Soviet Union, as its price for a SALT II this year, is trying to stop the United States from helping them do so—for example, by banning the transfer of the new cruise missile to their countries. After President Carter's abrupt decision last year not to strengthen European theater forces by deploying the Neutron bomb, they wonder whether he will stand up to Russia on this. On the other hand, Mr. Carter must feel exasperated by such criticism when European governments still hesitate to ask openly for American nuclear assistance because of the domestic opposition that would stir up.

General Alexander M. Haig, who resigned last week as NATO's Supreme Commander, may have gone a bit too far when he said that '1978 was a bad year for the West,' citing Soviet gains in Afghanistan, the Middle East and Africa and warning that NATO's internal protection will be threatened if its enemies are allowed to rampage freely around the rest of the world. After all, the Soviet Union has suffered reverses in Egypt and Somalia, western intervention frustrated its designs in Zaire and there are signs that Angola may be turning to the West. The communist bloc's internal cohesion is in doubt while Washington's open-

ing to China worries Soviet rulers".

But even as the Summit was taking place in Guadeloupe, dramatic changes took place in Indo-China. A Vietnam-backed rebel Kampuchean army captured Phnom Penh shortly after the Summit was concluded. At the time of writing the reactions of only a few governments are known. Whilst China has condemned the ouster of Pol Pot government in vehement terms, the USA issued a guarded and restrained statement on January 7 (and later announced that it had halted the steps that were being taken to normalise relations with Vietnam). The US statement read: *"The Vietnamese violation of Cambodia's territorial integrity is a threat to regional peace and stability and raises the danger of wider conflict. The United States has repeatedly expressed its support for a stable system of independent states in South-east Asia. We believe that this system includes an independent Cambodia, despite our abhorrence of the human rights record of the Pol Pot regime, a record we have consistently condemned in the strongest terms. The United States believes that all countries interested in peace, stability and an independent state system in South-east Asia should urge restraint on both parties to the conflict, work toward a withdrawal of foreign forces from Cambodia and act to ensure the integrity of all frontiers in the East Asian region and to avoid expansion of the geographic area of the conflict."*

At the time of going to press, the USSR, Bulgaria, GDR, Czechoslovakia, Afghanistan, Vietnam and Laos had recognised the new government in Phnom Penh. The Soviet Union hailed the setting up of a new Government, whilst Romania took the opportunity to condemn Vietnam as an aggressor.

The Sri Lanka government, up to

the time of writing, has not made any statement on the new situation in Indo-China. It is likely to consult other non-aligned countries before making known its attitude on the tricky situation in Indo-China. A ministerial meeting of the Non-aligned Movement is scheduled to meet at Maputo on Jan. 26, but the agenda is strictly confined to matters concerning Southern Africa. But any member is free to raise the question of Kampuchea. If the new regime in Kampuchea is able to stay in power and win some measure of popular support, there is little anyone can do to restore the Pol Pot regime.

It is a hard and difficult world. The word "aggressor" had lost all meaning after many countries had refused to condemn Israel as an aggressor. Each problem nowadays has to be decided on its own merit in its special context. It is difficult to foresee what the verdict of the Non-aligned or other countries will be about the latest developments in Indo-China.

But even more important than Vietnam, Kampuchea or China is the question of Iran. At the time of writing the Shah has still not left the country. He seems to have hopes that the Bakhtiar government will pull the chestnuts out for him. Khomeiny Ayatollah has made it clear that even if the Shah left the country leaving behind a Regency Council it would not solve any problem. The National Front want the Shah to abdicate so that a new Republican regime could be set up.

While this see-saw goes on, the question many ask is "Who Lost Iran?" The *Time* of December 4, 1978 discussed this question at some length:

"As oil was beginning to flow at a near normal rate from Iranian wells and Shah Mohammed Reza Pahlavi seemed to be holding fast, Washington policymakers and ana-

lysts were heatedly examining why the Carter Administration had been caught by surprise when violent riots swept Iran. *Time* diplomatic Correspondent Strobe Talbott reports: "All Washington seemed to be playing a thoroughly unedifying game of *Who lost Iran?* For a while last week Foggy Bottom was a morass of recriminations and alibis. Almost everybody agreed that the US should have anticipated the Shah's troubles much sooner—but that somebody else was responsible for the failure to do so. Some State Department officials complained that in Teheran, US Ambassador William Sullivan had suppressed pessimistic, and prophetic, cables from underlings. Others blamed Presidential National Security Adviser Zbigniew Brzezinski, whose theory it is that the US must bolster "regional influentials" like Iran. That theory, said the critics, was based on the false assumption that military might plus oil wealth equals political stability and failed to take account of the corruption, mismanagement and religious opposition that undercut the Shah's influence over his own people. Human rights advocates in the Administration blamed 'militarists' and 'cold warriors' for turning a blind eye to the Shah's repressive policies. The corridors of the Pentagon reverberated with bitter denunciations of the 'softheaded liberals' who had blinded President Carter to what self-avowed hardheads call 'the realities of power.' But most of the grumbling was aimed at the CIA. White House staffers and congressional aides accused the agency of cranking out sanguine 'estimates' of the situation in Iran. Administration sources revealed that Carter had circulated a handwritten memo to his top foreign policy advisers complaining about the poor performance of Iran watchers.

'By midweek there was a wel-

come shift away from finger pointing to genuine self-criticism. The National Security Council called in some academic experts on Iran, including University of Chicago Professor Marvin Zonis, for a closed-door seminar on the lessons of the past few months. At the CIA there were a number of informal post-mortems on what one participant acknowledged had been a 'massive intelligence failure'. The consensus of those meetings was more constructive than the assignment of blame to any one agency or even to any one Administration: ever since the 1960s when Britain was withdrawing from east of the Suez and the Shah proclaimed himself the guardian of the Persian Gulf, the US-Iranian connection has been a textbook case of what diplomats call "clientitis"—the fallacy of mistaking an ally's interests for one's own. The US failed to see that the Shah was weak simply because it had long been a principle of policy, and therefore an article of faith, that the Shah must be strong. Said one Cabinet member last week: "For years our intelligence was dominated by our policy, and our policy was dominated by wishful thinking." In other words, analysts tend to tell policymakers what they want to hear, and policymakers want to hear confirmation of their policies. US intelligence has suffered from another, even more ironic disadvantage: US officials enjoy such close ties with Iranians in power that they have been reluctant to develop contacts with Iranians in the opposition. Bemoaned one intelligence expert: "I think we probably knew more about Muslim dissidents on the Soviet side of the border than we did about those in Iran." The Shah drastically underestimated the strength of his opposition, and the US followed suit.....".

One thing is clear, and it is

that the United States, more than anyone else, must bear the responsibility for the crisis and debacle in Iran. It was a mistake for the US to have believed that in the age of republics, the feudal dictatorship based on a person a monarchial system devised by the Shah could deliver the oil for long. The United States should have realised that a tyrannical system based on the 'hated SAVAK could not help the Shah's government to withstand the pressures of a modern country.

To make matters worse, Americans (40,000 and more of them) had taken up residence in Iran to help run the country for the Shah. From all accounts, the American presence had irritated and angered the emerg-

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The Land Acquisition Act
(Cap. 460) As Amended By
The Land Acquisition (Amend-
ment) Act No. 28 of 1964**

Ref. No. 94/2/284

It is intended to acquire the land/lands described in the Schedule below. For further particulars see the Gazette of the Democratic Socialist Republic of Sri Lanka No. 20 (Part III) of 19/01/1979.

Schedule

Situation:

Meegaspitiya village in the D.R.O's Division of Bentota Walallawiti Korale (Central) in Galle District.

Name of land:

Pansalwatta

Plan and Lot No.:

Lot No. 1 in P.P. Gaa-1356

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

The Kachcheri,
Galle.

8.1.1979

ing Iranian intelligentsia with its basic nationalist sentiments. It is this intelligentsia that led to the revolt against the Shah. The Big and powerful countries must draw appropriate lessons from what has taken place in Iran.

CHINA REVISITED—4

Hua, Teng And Vietnam

by Nikil Chakravartty

A SPECULATION that persistently accompanied me from Peking all the way down to Hongkong is about the position of Chairman Hua: is he strong enough to attain primacy in the leadership, or would he be soon overshadowed by the go-getting Teng Hsiao-ping? Some of the China-watchers have begun to talk of a power-struggle in Peking. I have, however, come back with a very different impression.

Chairman Hua may in appearance look stodgy at 57, particularly lacking the colourful background of the legendary figures of the Chinese Revolution; he came up to the Central Committee only in 1969 and Politbureau in 1973. At the same time, he has the advantage of having been nominated by Mao himself. There is a concerted build-up of Hua's personality. Everywhere I noticed an official photo-frame with two pictures, those of Chairman Mao and Chairman Hua, exactly of the same size. Everywhere the phrase "the Central Committee led by Chairman Hua" occurs—from banquet speeches to local get-togethers. At the kindergarten I visited in Peking, the lovely tiny tots recited a song-and-dance programme: the first item was "We say Chairman Hua at Tien-An-men", the second,

"The Party is the sun, I am the sunflower and I took up to the Party"; the third, "We thank Chairman Hua for our bumper harvest"; and last, an action song, "How Chairman Hua defeated the Gang of Four". Not only at home, Chairman Hua is trying hard to emerge as an international personality; and this, to a large measure, explains his trip to Pyongyang earlier and to Bucharest, Belgrade and Teheran recently.

Hua needs Teng for a new spurt in the economy through modernisation which ultimately can provide the foundations of a strong modern state, a world power. At the same time, Teng Hsiao-ping cannot manage without the support of Hua Kuo-feng. Twice overthrown, Teng is aware of his vulnerability within the Party and here Hua alone can provide him with the baffle wall. Is there any difference in policies between the two? I heard in Peking that while Teng has attacked Hanoi in the recent crisis with Vietnam, Hua has kept silent. At the same time, I heard that Teng is allergic to the present regime in Cambodia because as Chou En-lai's man, he prefers Sihanouk, and regards Polpot and Ieng Sary as the favourites of the Gang of Four. It would, however, be rash to think that there is any conflict between Chairman Hua and Teng Hsiao-ping. IN THIS POLITICAL BALANCE, where do the armed forces stand? In any discussion with the Chinese, the subject is virtually taboo except for the general assertion that the PLA is loyal to the Government, and as proof I was told by my Chinese friends that the swoop on Chiang Ching and the other three, who together constitute the Gang of Four, would not have been possible on October 9, 1976, without the Army being loyal to those in power today. In terms of personalities, it is generally believed

in Peking that Yeh Chin-ying's support ensured for Hua Kuo-feng the loyalty of the armed forces. At the same time it is worth noting that it was mainly through the intervention of Yeh, who is one of the planners of the Long March and a veteran Marshal of 23-years' standing, that Teng Hsiao-ping was brought back into the Government in July last year. Yeh holds the No. 2 position in the Chinese hierarchy, next only to Chairman Hua, and protocol-wise is the Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress, the post that Chu Teh had held.

The drive for modernisation is obviously welcomed by the Air Force and the Navy and certain sections of the Army as well, particularly the mechanised units. It is important to bear in mind that the PLA is an enormous force with two distinct components. In every region, there is the PLA unit which is directly under the control of the Army headquarters. While the Regional Commander is in charge of this central unit of PLA, he has also under him a huge contingent of regulars who belong to the region itself, and who by sheer force of number obviously wield considerable, though as yet unseen, influence on local politics.

Whether this element would be interested in the modernisation drive is a moot question. When Teng Hsiao-ping was sacked in 1976 after Chou En-lai's death, one cause of his fall was supposed to be the objection by a good section of the PLA at his proposal to cut down the Army's numerical strength and with this saving, to go in for modernisation Defence. This was resisted and could not be pushed through, and during his current campaign for modernisation he has discreetly avoided the question of cutting down the numerical strength of the PLA. Under the circumstances, regional

commanders can become a significant factor in the event of any internal turmoil, and it is yet to be seen how far the political power-centre at Peking can keep them under total control.

DURING MY STAY IN PEKING, Vietnam loomed large in the Chinese media. Talking to friends in Hsinhua and others, I felt that an attitude of bitter anger is being fostered against Hanoi, and this was heightened by the frustration at the reverses that Peking's ally, Cambodia, was ignominiously suffering at the hands of the Vietnamese troops. This was obvious from the fact that while in May, Hanoi's offer for talks on the question of the Chinese nationals had been summarily rejected by Peking—which sent two ships from Canton with all the fanfare of bringing back the "persecuted" brothers and sisters—two and half months later, in July, Peking had to make the same offer for talks to Hanoi, while the two ships in the meantime had to come back empty—an item which went unreported in the Chinese media though I got confirmation of it when I visited Canton.

An interesting point in the Peking Media was the reference to the Vietnamese of Chinese origin as coming back to "their motherland", though many of them had been in Vietnam for generations. The new leadership in China has been taking special interest in the Overseas Chinese, attacking in the bargain, Gang of Four, Lin Piao and the Soviet "revisionists"; articles have appeared about the "glorious tradition" of the Overseas Chinese. This extra attention on the Overseas Chinese was first paid by Chou En-lai in 1954 and was really a continuation of the Kuomintang tradition. Hong-kong sources say that the Chinese government expect to raise the foreign exchange earnings from the

Overseas Chinese from their present level of 400 million US dollars to one billion US dollars. Besides, Peking is now keen on attracting technical and scientific talents from among the Overseas Chinese. There are special customs booths at the frontier posts to receive the Overseas Chinese and, at some places, even special hotels.

HOWEVER, the conflict with Vietnam over the issue may have double-edged repercussions. On the one hand, this is expected by the Peking authorities to boost their standing among the Overseas Chinese all over the Far East and South and South East Asia. At the same time, as a Singapore businessman was trying to explain to me in Canton, it has the danger of creating the misgiving that if China can go in for such angry confrontation over the issue with a Communist country like Vietnam, what guarantee could there be of graceful coexistence with other non-Communist countries having a fair number of Overseas Chinese?

The Chinese, however try to put the Vietnamese question in a different perspective. I was told in Peking by Chinese friends that ideologically the Vietnamese Communists were with the Soviet Communist Party even in the days of Ho Chi Minh. At the 1954 Geneva Conference, Chou En-lai had differences with Pham Van Dong, and the Chinese position favoured the bifurcation of Vietnam into North and South which the Vietnamese Communist leaders resented. When it is pointed out to the Chinese that many of the Chinese in South Vietnam were big traders or connected with unsavoury business including the running of brothels, the stock answer has been that 90 per cent of them are workers and only 10 per cent of upper class.

When I asked my Chinese friends about that fate of the Chinese resi-

dents in Cambodia, they assured me there was nothing to worry about them, and they dismissed as Hanoi's propaganda the confirmed reports that many Chinese were victims of Cambodian persecution and thousands fled over to Vietnam.

China's current conflict with Vietnam has raised a very serious issue: is Peking intolerant of allies once they show their independent standpoint? My Chinese friends in the media told me that "two brothers had become two burdens," meaning Albania and Vietnam, draining resources equivalent to the revenue of four Chinese provinces.

It is not possible for a passing journalist like me to check up this complaint, but when I raised the question that Peking today is doing the very same thing towards Hanoi and Tirana which it had accused Moscow of doing towards it in 1960, namely cutting off aid and withdrawing technicians, I could get no satisfactory answer. While in Peking, I read the editorial of the Hanoi daily *Nhan Dan* of August 7 (not of course, in public circulation in China) which attacked the Chinese authorities that while becoming friendly with the present regime in Cambodia, "they don't care a damn" about the fate of "hundreds of thousands of Chinese residents" there, and though there were no Chinese in Albania to be persecuted, yet aid was cut off and specialists withdrawn from there, because Albania "adopted an independent and sovereign line" which does not serve Peking's interests.

(To be Concluded)

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DISTRICT MINISTERS—I

How The Scheme
Should Work

by R. Kahawita

Article 45 of the New Constitution of Sri Lanka provides the President with the necessary Authority to "appoint from among the members of Parliament, Ministers who shall not be members of the cabinet of Ministers and determine the assignment of subjects and functions to and the Ministers, if any, which are to be in charge of such Ministries."

This provision read into the Party Manifesto of 1975, refers to the "District Ministers" who are to be in charge of 24 administrative districts into which the Territory of Sri Lanka is to be divided. What these districts are given in Schedule Two of the Constitution. A member of Parliament to be in charge of a district is a necessary innovation arising from proportional representation. There will not be members of Parliament representing specific constituencies, but a group of members supporting the leader of a party and the Party's manifesto. Thus the District Minister becomes the "area" executive to implement "State Policy", and at the same time feel the pulse of the voters.

The several District Ministers have been sworn in except two who are caught between the jaws of a vice which they themselves created for election purposes. In spite of these two the act must go on.

Before we go into how the scheme should work let us see what we inherited from the Colonial days and what changes took place in that system after Independence.

THE COLONIAL GOVERNMENT had divided the Territory into nine provinces as a way of decentralizing the Administration. Further each Province was divided into Districts and Revenue Divisions with further Sub-divisions going down to the village. Each Province was administered by a Government Agent and a district by an Assistant Government Agent subordinate to the Government Agent. Each District Division was in charge of a chief headman, supported by a headman and sub headman down to the tiniest village or group of villages. In keeping with hereditary traditions of the people—up-country Sinhala, low-country Sinhala and Tamil Divisions, the chief headmen, headmen and sub headmen had their official brand names. This was the administrative system, the Colonial Power inherited when they took over Ceylon. They in their turn continued with the system in order not to alienate the feelings of her "New Subjects."

In the above administrative set up the people first came in contact with the sub-headman or the headman (one of their own fellow-men) who dealt directly with the problems of the people. However they, the people, were free to present petitions, make oral representations or place their grievances and their demands at the bottom or at the top—the Government Agent. With the result there was greater understanding and appreciation of the people's needs by the bureaucracy than what followed after Independence.

To be in touch with the people, the Government Agent or his assistants set up what used to be called "Division days", a day, when the GA or AGA "held court" to learn, study, check the work, and find out the needs of the people first hand and on the spot. It was a day of reckoning for all

the minor Government officials too, to render an account of their stewardship, inquire into petitions and complaints against them, to find out first hand the needs of the village, their health, economic conditions, progress and prospect of cultivations, schooling and school attendance, so on and so forth.

In this system the residents of a village came in direct contact with the officials in their own village and quite often, the problems were solved on the spot. The officers of other Government Depts. too attended by invitation and participated on the Division day.

It was a set up where each officer had definite assigned duties and functions; each division day was also a sort of an aide memoire to focus the attention of each officer what he should do and should not do; to indicate to them where they have failed in their duties and where they have neglected to take prompt action. The *velvidane*—the least important village official knew what he had to do before each cultivation season i.e. fall for *Raja-Kariya* work to maintain and repair public utilities. Today we call it "*Shramadana*". The village headman, *Vidane Ralahamy*, or *Arachchi Ralahamy*, according to his status, knew his functions and what action he should take in a situation that may upset the harmony of the village. Finally the Government Agent or his assistant was an experienced Civil Servant who had passed through various administrative disciplines before he was put in charge of a Province or District, with the result they brought into the "Kachcheri" a wealth of experience to advice, guide and handle a variety of subjects which passed through the Kachcheri.

The system worked very well and the officers were alive to the

needs of the people; many a village irrigation scheme, village road, school, cottage hospital, visiting dispensary, health clinic, land distribution, village expansion scheme, water supply etc. were initiated at these division days. Not only initiation but progress too was watched and checked on the spot.

The system did not rely on voluminous reports and fictitious statistics. It was a case of spot checking by the Government Agent or his assistant and certifying that the work has been completed to conform with FRR. He was also the treasury representative to report back to Head Quarters that the money has been spent according to requirements and specifications. There was no bureaucratic-red tapism at village level.

CURIOSLY, Sri Lanka was not known then as "an under developed country" working to five or ten year plans. The development process was maintained through the medium of Division days and development programmes were evolved at that level. The wishes and the needs of the people of an area were discussed with them and programmes evolved. With the classification of the country as "Under Developed", the direct contact with the people to find out what they needed, has been eroded over the years by political and party rivalry a change from the old to new, a host of "bare-foot" experts—a popular mental concoction to remedy the traditional malady—have been released at the village level to design and plan the lives of the village folk. This has upset the orderly and peaceful life in the village.

They had a voice to express their views as to what they needed and how various officials dealt with their problems. "Agetha Hamuduruwo" was their mentor, guide, and representative to place

their needs before the highest authority of the land. With the political changes the Peoples representative took his place in voicing their needs. If one eaves-drops what is talked of at the village well, or at "the Hundiea Kaddai" one begins to doubt the efficacy of the new innovation to find out problems of village life.

The Diaries maintained by some of the Government Agents have become classics and a recorded history of the people's way of life, culture, and religion. The language and expressions used by them is almost Shakesperian in the choice of words and the context in which they were used. Those days, the Diaries were read even in "Whits Hall" the sanctum sanctorum of Colonial Administration. This explains the meticulous care with which the Diaries were composed by the writers, who may be lucky, on their own merit, to be selected as "a Governor" to represent "the Emperor" else where—a reward for good stewardship as a minor officer in the colonial hierarchy.

Since Independence much of the "Colonial system of consulting the people" has been superseded by new "Anti-colonial innovations" in administration and getting to know the wishes of the people. This process of decolonising continued until today we have a desk bound bureaucracy operating from a Pseudo-Kachcheri or a divisional office. The divisional Mudliars, Ratemathmayas, Korale Mathmaya, Gam-Arachchi Vel Vidaney's etc. have disappeared. Instead we have the Government Agents, Grama-Sevakas and a host of village level officials representing various Depts. together with parochial committees to manage the affairs of our villages. This has resulted in confusion and chaos.

We are not interested in judging which system worked better, but

we know the present system has created an ever widening-gap between the people, the bureaucracy and the administration. The bureaucrats live in a world of their own, oblivious of what is happening to the people around them. They administer the district through, questionnaires, application forms, "pass books" registers, returns, statistics of some sorts, posters, and a series of documentation process. None of them are ever scrutinized by the officials. From the office they find their way to gram sellers and boutique keepers to parcel out the ten cent worth of gram or sugar. Nobody knows why such copious form filling is necessary to get a couple of rupees worth of service. With the result the administration has lost all initiative, habit of reading and grasping the contents of a document, may be mental degeneration too. Everything is done according to the book of words.

Unfortunately, today the needs of the village are numerous due to controls and rationing and have given rise to form filling before he can get his needs. He cannot get his food, clothing, schooling of his children, his tools and implements to ply his trade, or seed material, his manure, his cultivation loans, etc. without form filling. It is a case of writing applications, filling forms, collecting signatures and certificates and wondering from office to office in search of officers who have the authority, to sign or certify the documents. However all these are supposed to be done to improve the economic condition of our villagers—so says our politicians. Eighty per-centum of our people live in the villages.

What one should call the "administrative rot" set in, in 1956 with the first SLFP Government. With the lo-

wearing of the Union Jack at Trincomalee, followed by the abolishing of the Traditional Sinhala and Colonial officials who administered the country, a sort of "an administrative vacuum" set in. They forgot that the bulk of the Sinhala lived in villages, that the urban areas were developed from villages. Even the city of Colombo too started with a cluster of villages like Kuppiya Watta, Kehelwatta, Kumbulkelle, Thimbrigasyaya and so on.

The new rulers of 1956 went on a rampage of abolishing the Mudliars, Ratemahatayas, Vidane Arrachchie, Val Vidanes, peace officers down to the menials. In their place, they had no alternative for the efficient administration of the village and upwards. They set up the Grama Sevakas, Divisional Revenue officers, untrained Assistant Government Agents and Government Agents. The designations changed according to the support given to the Party in power, not in accordance with the responsibility and administrative importance of the post. Over night a tried and efficient system of administration was reduced to cinders.

Then during their last spell—ULF, they established what was called the "Political Authority" with dubious and questionable functions and responsibilities. They in turn set up the now infamous "Chit system", for job or favour fixing—a corrupt form of maintaining allegiance to a Political Party. High lights of this system are being exposed by a Presidential Commission of inquiry.

This type of political fraternization should be over with pro-

portional representation. There is going to be a new system with the establishment of District Ministers. The village will be, still the life line of our culture, social growth, and economic development. Therefore the objective of the new administration that is to be set up under the District Ministers should be to unify the village folk. The first step towards achieving this objective is prevent political divisions and party rivalry permeating into the village life. We will be discussing this aspect later.

(To be Continued)

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SRI LANKA CHRONICLE

Dec. 30—Jan. 6

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—Virakesal; ATH—Aththa; SM—Silumina; SLD—Sri Lankadipa; JD—Janadina; SU—Sun; DV—Davasa; DP—Dinapathi CM—Chintamani; WK—Weekend; RR—Riviresa; EN—Eelanadu; IDPR—Information Dept. Press Release; DK—Dinakara.

SATURDAY, December 30: A massive Housing Reconstruction Program in the cyclone-affected areas will be undertaken immediately by the Ministry of Local Government Housing and Construction; a top-level team appointed by the Prime Minister Mr. R. Premadasa, left yesterday to these cyclone-affected areas to study and report on the work to be undertaken by the Ministry; the team will submit its report to the Prime Minister before January 3. The Rural Councils

Delimitation Committee intends recommending the setting up of 250 Rural Councils in the island; these new Rural Councils will replace the present Town Councils and Village Councils. Security at the Katunayake International Airport will be further strengthened from January 5, with the replacement of 80 Police Reservists with handpicked regulars. The construction of three more service reservoirs and the installation of additional pumps at the Mulleriyawa treatment plant are some of the measures the National Water Supply and Drainage Board will take to improve the supply of water to the City and suburbs—CDN. The Auditor-General Mr. P. M. W. Wijayasuriya has spotlighted colossal waste, abuses, losses, overpayments, awards of tenders violating tender procedure etc., in the expenditure of funds totalling Rs. 114.4 million under the Decentralised Budget for three consecutive years during the past regime. The Ministry of Fisheries with the assistance of the Ministry of Local Government, Housing and Construction will shortly launch a programme to construct 10,222 houses and other basic facilities for fishermen in 12 fishing areas—CDM. The Law Commission is to be entrusted the task of reviewing Sri Lanka's Constitution from time to time in an added role as the country's Constitutional Commission. Arrangements have been finalised to open three fully equipped cultural centres at Matara, Kandy and Anuradhapura. The Government has proposed the establishment of a textile research and training institute shortly. The main objective of this institute, which is to be constructed with aid from the UNDP is to provide better facilities for the textile industry in the field of technology application—SU. The Paranthan Chemicals factory may soon be closed as it is running at a loss of several lakhs of Rupees—DP. The Minister of Agriculture has

ordered his officials to repair all paddy stores damaged by the cyclone in three weeks so that the buying of the Maha Paddy harvest would not be hampered—DM. A chemical factory to produce caustic soda chlorine and other chemicals will be constructed in the south. The Paranthan Chemical factory will be expanded with aid from Briton—DV. The Ministry of Mahaweli development is taking steps to hand back land taken over unfairly and land that had not been used back to the owners. The Ministry of Defence is taking steps to issue pistols to P.Cs. and sergeants in areas where murders and robberies have increased—LD. Turkey's main opposition party yesterday accused the government of deliberately provoking violence between left and right wing groups to ensure it stayed in power. The Shah of Iran was confronted with the gravest threat to his 37 year reign yesterday as a burgeoning anti-monarchist movement brought the country's business and industrial life virtually to a halt. The Shah of Iran has asked Dr. Sahpar Bakhtiar a member of the Opposition National Front to form a new government. Former Home Minister Charan Singh reversed an earlier decision and today attended a meeting of the ruling Janata Party National Executive Council. Taiwan yesterday urged the US to take concrete measures to ensure the security of the island as both sides began talks on future relations—CDN. P. M. Menachem Begin said yesterday that Israel wants future talks with Egypt and has never closed the door on negotiations for peace in the Middle East. The US yesterday rejected as false, Soviet allegations that a special US team was sent to Iran to find ways of keeping the Shah in power—CDM. Egyptian President Anwar Sadat is confident that the peace treaty with Israel will be signed sooner or later. The Banking operations in

India came to a virtual halt today as bank employees began a 2 day strike in support of their demands for an increased cost of living allowance and better housing amenities—SU.

SUNDAY, December 31: Inform the Plan Implementation Ministry of all vacancies that are likely to occur in the public sector before the end of February; this request has been made to all Secretaries of Ministries by Dr. Wickrema Weerasooria, Secretary of Plan Implementation, under whom the Job Bank functions. The Director of Civil Aviation, Mr. Dayantha Athulathmudali is seeking approval of the Ministry of Defence for the purchase of a Flying Laboratory which is estimated to cost around Rs. 10 millions. Trade Ministers from 43 Asian countries and representatives from 19 international and regional organisations will meet in Colombo from January 15 to 17 to work out the Asian strategy for the forthcoming UNCTAD 5 scheduled to be held in Manila in May 1979—SO. Fourteen internationally reputed petroleum refining multinational companies are likely to be among the tenderers for the giant hydro-cracker petroleum refining plant to be installed at the Sapugaskanda refinery; the project is estimated to cost about Rs. 1,500 million. Over one hundred persons including doctors, clerks, sub-inspectors of police, sergeants and constables, storekeepers, a registrar of marriages, a Special Commissioner of a Town Council, and a director of a MPCs have been nabbed by the Bribery Commissioner's Department during the year for allegedly accepting bribes; the sums involved range from Rs. 5 to Rs. 5000. Dr Abdirahman Jamabarre, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Somali Democratic Republic arrived yesterday on a five-day official visit—ST. A new proposal which will enable cruise ships, passenger liners and luxury

yachts the world over to fly the Sri Lanka flag will be examined by the Government shortly; this comes on the initiative of the Minister of Trade and Shipping, Mr. Lalith Athulathmudali. All state corporations will once again be able to retain private lawyers; according to official sources, a dearth of legal personnel in the Corporations Divisions of the Ministry of Justice has compelled the Government to allow this. John Forgarty, a Senior Judge of the Family Court of Australia, who is presently in Sri Lanka to advise the Government regarding the establishment of family courts, hopes to recommend the concept of avoiding publicity for cases heard in family courts—WK. Police investigations have revealed that part of the money robbed from the Nallur bank has been used to settle Tamil people in government lands in the North and Eastern areas—SM. The Minister of State has suggested to the government to set up an Ayurvedic Ministry under the Minister of Health to use the 20,000 Ayurvedic doctors to ease the shortage of doctors; 80% of the population in the country use Ayurvedic medicine according to research done recently—RR. The President has ordered the Minister of Food and Co-operative to immediately dismiss the directors of Co-operative Societies where corruption and irregularities have been reported. A special police team in Civil clothes will be deployed to arrest people who try to cheat tourists—SLDP. The formation of a new civilian government in Iran was expected today as shooting flared again in Teheran and several other cities. The possibility that the Shah might leave the country temporarily once the new government formed was strongly denied. The US today ordered an air craft carrier task force in to position to move in to the Indian ocean near troubled Iran if the situation there continues to

deteriorate. President Houari Boumediene was buried in Algeria's Martyr's cemetery today after an emotional farewell from millions of his people and a pledge that his policies would continue—SO. France yesterday delayed the birth of the common market's new European Monetary system which had been due to come to life with the new year. Spain's new democratic constitution became law yesterday and P.M. Adolfo Suarez promptly called general elections for next March 1st. W. German Chancellor Helmut Schmidt said yesterday he would propose that the communist states be invited to join efforts to narrow the economic gap between the world's industrialised and developing nations—ST. US President Jimmy Carter is expected to visit China in late spring. China has cut off railway transport to Vietnam and thereby blocked the transit of supplies from the Soviet Union to Vietnam. Israeli Premier Menachem Begin yesterday reiterated his country's rejection of a Palestinian state in occupied Arab territories—WK.

MONDAY, January 1: The Prime Minister Mr. R. Premadasa has called on the people to give of their best in the new year "in the struggle to build a prosperous nation". Filmgoers are in for a treat in the New Year; they will be able to see the best of Western films from the beginning of February. The government has obtained World Bank aid of US dollars 14 million and tenders have been called by the Ministry of Local Government, Housing and Construction to commence work on four more major schemes—CDN. Housing loans and distress loans from the Employees Provident Fund: this is the New Year bonanza from the Minister of Labour, Capt. C.P. J. Seneviratne, in the offing for over 2.5 million E.P.F. contributors employed in the agricultural, industrial, commercial,

transport and other sectors—CDM. Air Lanka will not operate as a member of the International Air Transport Association, Captain Rakitha Wickramanayake, Chairman of the new airline said; elaborating on this step taken on the instance of President J. R. Jayewardene, Captain Wickramanayake said that though not a full-fledged member of IATA, Air Lanka would however gain membership of the "clearing house", in respect of recognition and acceptability of its airline tickets—SU. The Government has decided to help farmers in the new year; they will increase the purchasing price of many agricultural products as well as bring many new products within the guaranteed price scheme—DP. The Minister of Public Administration and Home Affairs has decided to change the working hours of Public institutions and the Private sector with the new year. D.I.G. in charge of the North region has decided to strengthen the security of the existing police stations in the region and to set up new ones in the area. The SLBC has decided to start TV services for Colombo and the suburbs from March as the first step of the countrywide TV service; TV services starting March will be used to train TV Artists and Technicians—DV. The President has requested all GAs to send a detailed report on development work done under the decentralised budget in all electorates—LD. The Education Ministry will launch the scheme from this year to tie small schools in the undeveloped areas with big schools to develop the small schools—DM. The government has decided not to give loans to workers in Corporations and boards which do not record a profit; Trade union action on the issues will not be allowed—JD. Fierce fighting rocked major cities in Iran last night as big crowds pressed their campaign to oust the Shah. Army commanders yesterday authorised troops to

open fire if necessary to prevent new disturbances in Turkey—CDN. President Anwar Sadat today narrowed down the points of differences between Egypt and Israel to the link between Israeli withdrawal from the Sinai and the establishment of Palestine's self rule discarding all the rest as insignificant. Pope John Paul II today called for mutual understanding between young and old healthy and in firm in his last weekly blessing of 1978—SU.

TUESDAY, January 2: The government is fully equipped with adequate stocks of rice, flour and sugar to meet the nation's needs in these commodities throughout this year: this was the glad news Food and Co-operatives Minister Mr. S. B. Hearth disclosed yesterday following a profitable deal the Ministry clinched in the world market with the purchase of flour and sugar well below existing international prices. A major program to rehabilitate the coconut plantations in the cyclone affected area has been drawn up by the Ministry of Coconut Industry; the entire project is estimated to cost about Rs. 50 million. The Police force will be increased to 19,000 personnel this year, a Police spokesman said yesterday; its present strength is 17,000. Mr. V. S. C. Kumar Anandan yesterday bettered the world Twist Dance record held by American Roger Giv by over several hours; his record-breaking feat, the fourth to go into the Guinness Book of World records, at the Night Bazaar, Galle Face ran into five days of non-stop twist-dancing. Mrs. T. U. de Silva stated that the so-called dharmista regime was harassing an innocent woman Mrs. Bandaranaike, through commissions to take political revenge; she attributed the recent cyclone destruction to these activities; she appealed to the Sinhala people not to patronise Tamil boutiques seeking small gains—CDN. Yugoslavia has

expressed its readiness to explore investment opportunities and set up several multimillion industrial projects and a housing complex here. For the first time plantation workers will be entitled to bank loans of Rs. 2500 to Rs. 5000 for the purchase of cattle; the loans will carry a small interest and insurance cover. Better salaries, better housing facilities expansion of the force and priority for police duties in development work and tourism are some of the targets the Inspector-General of Police Mr. Ana Seneviratne has set for the New Year—CDM.

There would be a thrust towards greater liberalisation of trade in the new year to create an open competitive market economy for Sri Lanka, the Minister of Trade and Shipping, Mr. Lalith Athulathmudali announced yesterday—SU. The SLFP and the Left front will contest separately at the forthcoming local government elections; though dialogue was established to try and reach agreement between these two forces, it was not successful as Mrs. Bandaranaike put a stop to it—VK. The government has decided not to construct any new big factories in the future—JD. The PM has selected nearly 50 villages from 22 Districts to develop as model villages; work in some of these villages has started already. Left political sources are speculating that a new Party headed by a top former SLFP Minister who had been with the Party from its inception will be formed shortly—DM. The government has decided to set up a separate department to sell handloom products abroad and inside the country. The President has asked cabinet ministers to stop the practice of giving jobs outside the job bank—DV. The Minister of Agriculture is taking steps to bring new legislation to give full powers to Agricultural officers to solve disputes between the farmers and the owners of the land—DK. The Chinese government halted the

shelling of nationalist held off-shore islands as from today, appealed to the authorities on Taiwan for an end to military confrontation and called for free exchange and trade between the two sides. The Taiwan flag flew for the last time over US yesterday lowered to the defiant cry we shall return—CDN. Hundreds of people were killed and wounded when troops opened fire on anti-Shah demonstrators in the north eastern city of Mashhad yesterday. A Senior Iranian military officer resigned after failing to persuade the Shah to adopt tougher tactics against street rioters protesting against his rule. Vietnamese troops put out of action 3 regiments of Cambodian soldiers in two days at fighting in Vietnam's Tong Minh province last week Radio Hanoi reported today—CDM. The US is urgently investigating how its citizens can get out of Iran in view of a threatened boycott of foreign planes at Teheran airport, a state department spokesman said. Indian PM Morarji Desai today denied his bitterly divided ruling Janatha Party was facing a crisis and said the party was strong and would become stronger—SU.

WEDNESDAY, January 3: Certain areas of the private sector have concurred with the Government guidelines to increase wages by ten percent from this month; already Wages Boards in the textile, cinema, baking and tea growing and manufacturing trades have agreed to up salaries by ten per cent. Major changes in the system of higher education in Sri Lanka were introduced with effect from Monday by the Minister of Education and Higher Education, Dr. Nissanka Wijeratne. Fortyfive firms and individuals have applied to the Ministry of Transport for licences to operate private buses; the applications are now being processed by the Ministry. A national Museum Complex is to be set up in Colombo shortly. The govern-

ment being concerned with economic matters has decided to host the forthcoming Asian Trade Ministers' Conference which will take place from January 15 to 17 at the EMICH—CDN. The government is now considering a proposal to issue 10 and 5 cent currency notes to meet the present shortage of coins of these denominations; similar notes were in circulation during the Second World War. 22,000 motor vehicles were imported last year making it an all-time record. The Ministry of Trade and Shipping will establish a Price Control Reward Fund under the Control of Prices Act. Four of the 26 Filipino medical volunteers who were posted to medical institutions in the periphery resigned and returned to the Philippines last week; three of them returned to their country on medical grounds while the fourth did not give any reasons for her resignation—CDM. A top security contingency plan to deal with any possible breakdown in the law and order situation in the city was put into operation from Sunday night; Code named "Operation Apex", it involves the deployment of handpicked uniformed and plainclothes Police personnel to protect all VIPs' judges and a number of others described as "political targets"—SU. The Cabinet has approved the setting up of a factory to produce 'instant tea' in the FTZ. The Minister of Transport has decided to import 32 railway engines and 184 carriages to improve rail services—DP. Before the end of this year over 10,000 persons will be granted employment in the Transport sector said the Minister of Transport. The Deputy IGP has stated that all police officers serving in the Northern Province should know Tamil and those who do not should learn the language—VK. The Government will bring new legislation to ban transfers for government and corporation workers to the Northern and East-

tern regions as punishment as such transfers hamper government development schemes in these regions. The Ministry of Education is taking steps to Transfer 600 teachers in Colombo schools to schools in undeveloped areas—LD. The Excise Department had decided to appoint 3 excise officers to each tavern. The Janawasa commission has earned a profit of Rs. 30 million for 1978—DV. The Steel Corporation has increased the prices of steel by 28%—ATH. Dr. Shapur Bakhtiar the former Opposition politician now trying to form a new government in Iran pledged yesterday to establish true social democracy in the country. India has drawn up a plan to step up production of land through irrigation, multiple cropping and improved technology to remove unemployment and under-employment in rural areas. Sub-atomic particles called neutrinos may some day help scientists to communicate with extra-terrestrial beings, forecast earthquakes and explain the universe's creation say researchers at the western Washington University—CDN. The Shah of Iran yesterday made his first public appearance for several weeks and said he was looking forward to a holiday from the crisis that has threatened his throne. President Chiang Ching-Kuo yesterday rejected any compromise with Peking and called on his people to pursue a policy of self-reliance and strengthen national defence—CDM. Former PM Indira Gandhi was today summoned by a magistrate in South India to appear in Court on February 3 in connection with a complaint that she gave a false address in a bid to register as a voter there. Independent reports reaching Singapore and Bangkok today confirmed, that Vietnam appears to have started a major offensive against Cambodia along 200 kilometer wide front—SU.

THURSDAY, January 4: The

government has decided not to make any money available for the payment of salaries and wages of any person, either casual or permanent who is recruited to any Government institution outside the Job Bank Scheme. In Sri Lanka the freedom to join and form a trade union is protected by the Constitution and any breach of such freedom is made justiciable before the courts of the land; this is the firm reply contained in a letter addressed by Labour Minister Capt. C. P. J. Seneviratne to the International Union of Food and Allied Workers' Association—Eastern Asia and Pacific over misgivings the international trade union front has expressed over trade union rights in this country—CDN. The Minister of Industries and Scientific Affairs, Mr. Cyril Mathew, yesterday ordered the removal of a senior official of the Petroleum Corporation and called for a complete reorganisation of the whole structure of the Corporation; Mr. Mathew recently ordered a full inquiry into alleged large-scale irregularities at the corporation which are stated to have taken place over a long period. The "Open University" to cater to over 40,000 students will be established by the University Grants Commission in March; the degrees of the "Open University" would be on par with the degree of the other six autonomous universities. Decisions involving the interest of developing countries are being taken today with the countries concerned not being consulted. It was important to have some machinery for such consultation; so said the Secretary-General of the UNCTAD, Dr. Gamini Corea yesterday when he addressed the Workshop of the officials of the Asian Region which opened yesterday at the BMICH—CDM. Government is considering the purchase of 12 cargo vessels to expand the fleet of the Sri Lanka Shipping Corporation; trade and Shipping Minister

Mr. Lalith Athulashmudali said that the government would obtain the vessels from anybody who offered the best terms. Sri Lankan criminals who have the law sniffing at their heels, have taken wing for Singapore or India apparently till the heat is off; According to the Commissioner of Police, Mr. S. Vamadevan, a number of criminals arrested recently were found to have laid low in these countries immediately after carrying out robberies. The Sri Lanka Freedom Party has decided to ask Parliament for a House Select Committee to inquire into the alleged insertion of a section to the Special Commission of Inquiry (Special Provisions) Bill after it was passed in Parliament—SU. The Government is soon to instal equipment to prevent hijacking of aircraft; planes and airports will be equipped with modern devices that are used in other international airports to combat hijacking—DP. Former Premier Mrs. Sirima Bandaranaike says in a statement that the policy of her party is to have a united Sri Lanka without racial or religious differences where all citizens will be treated equally—VK. The Ministry of Finance has decided to give a special bank loan of Rs. 300 to government and local government workers for the Sinhala and Hindu New Year. An agricultural Technical school to train Agricultural advisors, Technical officers and unemployed youth on agriculture will be set up shortly.

The Ministry of Textile Industries has decided to modernize all old Handloom weaving equipment to suit the present needs. The Insurance Corporation is taking steps to launch a scheme to insure carpenters—DV. A special investigation done by a team of top Police officials has revealed the banks have been set up in unsuitable places without adequate protection—LD. The Ministry of Food and Co-operatives is taking steps to close down the food department as the imports of

rice has now come under the Ministry of Trade and because of the liberalisation of sugar imports—ATH. The Ministry of Agriculture is to launch a programme to cultivate minor export crops in 28,000 acres of land in five electorates; 5000 farmer families will be settled under this programme. The Hotels Corporation is drawing up a scheme to exempt from taxes money invested to build hotels—DM. Senior Vice-Premier, Teng Hsiao-ping stressed to a delegation of American congressmen yesterday that China sought a peaceful solution to the re-unification of the mainland and Taiwan and the US wanted to play a significant role in this. Iran's PM designate Dr. Bakhtiar said on French TV last night the Shah had agreed to leave the country and to appoint a regency council. Kampuchea yesterday accused Vietnam aided by the Soviet Union and other Communist eastern European countries of launching attacks deep in to its territory as western diplomatic sources confirmed fighting had stepped up in recent days—CDN. Major violence flared in the Iranian garrison of Qazvin yesterday with unconfirmed reports that between 50 and 60 people were killed in clashes between troops and demonstrators against the Shah. Israeli Finance Minister said yesterday the US would pay the 2 billion dollars cost of re-locating Israeli army installations, including air fields in the Weger after withdrawal from Sinai. Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda yesterday unveiled a new smaller cabinet which he said reflected the serious economic problem facing the nation—CDM. Both houses of the Iranian Parliament opposed today the appointment of Shapour Bakhtiar to lead the government—SU.

FRIDAY, January 5: President J. R. Jayewardene said at the Government Parliamentary Group meeting yesterday that certain parties were seeking to rouse racial passions;

their object was to encourage breaking of laws and violence to person and property; "Any such activity will retard our forward march to development and innocent men, women and children will lose their lives", the President said. The government has no intention of ruling the country under emergency laws, the Public Security Act has been invoked to facilitate a quick rehabilitation program in the cyclone and flood affected areas; the Prime Minister, made a specific request to both Sinhala and Tamil leaders of the country not to arouse communal passions. Nine midwives at the Castle Street hospital for women were interdicted by the Health Department yesterday; these nine midwives were among other who were refusing to perform certain duties assigned to them from Monday. Three Government departments—Police, Education and Health will make a concerted effort this year to right drug and alcohol abuse among school children—CDN. Certain parties whose object is to encourage breaking of laws and violence to persons and property are seeking to rouse racial passions, the President, Mr. J. R. Jayewardene warned at yesterday's Government Parliamentary Group meeting. The Ceylon Petroleum Corporation is in the throes of another large-scale fraud in which nearly Rs. 91,000 is alleged to have been spirited away from the Finance Division of the CPC; another top official has been interdicted pending inquiry into the loss of this sum of money. The Central Bank will today distribute sufficient quantities of ten and five coins to the all commercial banks to ensure that they reach the public; the Bank authorities believe the first phase of the current shortage of coins will ease to a fair extent—CDM. High-level talks designed to ensure wider areas of economic cooperation between Sri Lanka and its Indian Ocean neighbour, the Republic of

the Maldives, will get underway in Colombo next week. The new Maldivian President, Mr. Abdul Gayoom is sending a high-powered delegation, led by his Foreign Minister, Mr. Fat Hullan Jameel to Colombo on January 9 on a three day official visit. Mr. Abeyratne Pilapitiya, UNP MP for Kalawana and Deputy Minister of Posts and Telecommunications, has vacated his seat in Parliament; this has taken place under a provision in the Constitution which specifies that a Member of Parliament who absents himself from the sittings of the House for a continuous period of three months, without leave of the House, vacates his seat—SU. The President informed the Government Parliamentary Group meeting that the District Ministers for Jaffna and Mullaitivu will soon be appointed; he also condemned some parties for rousing communal passions in the country—DP. The PM stated in Parliament yesterday that the SLFP was making speeches to rouse communal feelings and he said it was regrettable that a party with such long political experience was indulging in such talk—EN. The Government has taken steps to fill vacancies in the private sector through the Job Bank from this year—LD. A police investigation has revealed that the production of illegal fire arms has increased in the last few months—DM. Iran's future P.M. Dr. Bakhtiar predicted yesterday that his government would refuse to sell oil to Israel and S. Africa; he also described the Central Treaty organisation alliance as "militarily dead". The Shah of Iran's east west relations and the turmoil in Iran will be among the key issues when western leaders meet this week on the French W. Indian holiday island of Guadeloupe. Kampuchea (Cambodia) asked the Security Council to consider charges of aggression committed by Vietnam the new China News Agency reported last night that Vietnamese

forces supported by Soviet made tanks artillery and air-craft have launched a new and major offensive against Kampuchea. Guerrilla Gunmen killed the military governor of Madrid outside his home yesterday in the sharpest provocation of Spain's armed forces since the death of General Franco 3 years ago—CDN. Dr. Baktiar approved by Parliament as the next PM of crisis-torn Iran said yesterday the Shah wanted irrevocably to go abroad on holiday. Britain's Queen Elizabeth has cancelled her planned visit to Iran next month on the advise of the Shah. US General Alexander Haig NATO's supreme commander in Europe announced yesterday he would resign on June 30—CDM. Egypt's cabinet yesterday put out a statement endorsing its position of readiness to continue the peace efforts with Israel while underlining that it will not sign a peace treaty without a time table for establishment of Palestinian self rule—SU.

SATURDAY, January 6: President J. R. Jayewardene yesterday unveiled the pinnacle of the new dagoba of the Pannala Sri Devarajaramaya; addressing devotees present the President said that whenever he was invited for a Buddhist religious ceremony, he accepted such invitation wholeheartedly; the Sinhala nation and its people reached a high civilisation because of Buddhism; for 2,500 years this country was nursed and nurtured in this noble heritage, the President said. The education system of the country would be streamlined to ensure that rural schools were developed, the Minister of Education and Higher Education Dr. Nissanka Wijeyeratne said yesterday. The Sri Lanka Freedom Party has appointed a Minorities Committee to look into the problems of the minorities; besides, Mrs. Sirimavo Bandaranaike's other members are Mr. C. Kumarasuriar, Mr. K. Shanmuga-

lingam and Mr. M. M. Mustapha—CDN. The President Mr. J. R. Jayewardene addressing a mass rally after laying the foundation stone for the President's College at Giriulla in the Katugampola electorate, assured that there would be tremendous progress in the country under the UNP Government. It would be an era of plenty and Sri Lanka would be entirely free from want. A top-ranking police team investigating large-scale losses of drugs reported from government hospitals and dispensaries has found that the losses were mainly due to systematic pilferage by hospital staff themselves. One hundred and fifty 'bare foot doctors' would be recruited in stages to augment the city's health services; this is what Colombo Municipal Council sources said yesterday. A 58 million rupee scheme to provide basic amenities to ensure a better deal for women and children in the plantation sector will be launched this year—the International Year of the Child—CDM. The Minister of Finance Mr. Ronnic de Mel yesterday banned employees of the National Lotteries Board from purchasing sweep tickets; This was a direct sequel to SUN's sister paper the WEEKEND exposure on the fact that a number of employees of the Board had won sweep prizes—SU. The P.M. Speaking in Parliament said that no one could become the President of this country without the support of the Tamil speaking minority; only a person without racial or any other prejudice and full of human feelings can become a future President he added—VK. The Minister of Agriculture has decided to reduce the price of agricultural fertilizers because of the quick spread of plant disease. The 2nd MP for Nuwara Eliya-Maskeliya speaking in Parliament said that the P.M. had accused the Attanagala MP of rousing communal feelings but did not check Industries Minister Cyril Mathew and his

deputy when they made communally inflammatory speeches in this very house. The Minister of Industries and Scientific Affairs stated in Parliament that he did not have the intention of rousing communal passions when he spoke about Tamil Professors but it was only with the intention of putting forward facts—DP. Applications of 10,000 persons qualified for employment under the Job Bank scheme have been received so far—LD. The C.W.E. is taking steps to import 60 million cigarettes from Pakistan—ATH. A scheme to solve labour problems in government corporations is to be launched by which they will be referred to the Minister in charge of the Corporation and the Minister concerned who will take steps to discuss the matter with the Minister of Labour before such matters are referred to the Labour Commissioner—DM. A new bill to give more power to the Ministry of Mahaweli Development to accelerate the building of towns and to launch new schemes under the Mahaweli project will be tabled in Parliament shortly—DV. Iran's Army Commander has resigned and left the country with the approval of the Shah military sources said last night; the sources said there were reports in military circles that two other political hawks Air Force Commander General and Commander of Air Corps had also resigned their posts. Vietnam yesterday denied as 'flagrant calumnies' the charges of aggression levelled against the country by Cambodia in its request on Wednesday for Security Council intervention. The Cambodian armed services people have annihilated more than 14,000 Vietnamese troops including a whole regiment wiped out in the last few days of December—CDN. Exiled Iranian religious leader Ayatollah Khomeiny said yesterday that the Shah should be sentenced to at least life imprisonment for what he had done to the Iranian people

President Idi Amin wants the US and Britain to reopen their embassies in Kampala. Uganda Radio said yesterday—CDN. Several thousand extreme rightists demonstrated against the Spanish Government yesterday outside the Madrid defence Ministry during the funeral service for General Constantine Gil the capitalist military governor who was assassinated. Iran's new PM Bakhtiar is a "Traitor" Ayatollah Khomeiny the most influential religious leader in the Iranian capital has told a West German TV Correspondent—SU.



OBITUARIES

Jan. 6 Jan. 10

B. C. Herft, 9L, Ground Floor, Govt. Flats, Colombo 4; Justin V. Nanayakkara, 100 Jambugaswulla Mawatha, Nugegoda; Noel Pinder, 200 Biyagama Road, Petiyagoda, Kelaniya; Skandamoorthy, 22, Lauries Road, Bambalapitiya; Mrs. D. B. Weerakoon, "Weera-Bhavan", Poruwalanda, Horana; A. R. S. Kulasinghe, 51/8, Horana Road, Vakada, Panadura; Newton Nanayakkara, 185/21, Havelock Road, Colombo 5; Mrs. Mildred Pieries, C/o Barney Raymonds; Stella Peter, C/o Barney Raymonds; Mrs. Mislin Peiris, 105, Fife Road, Colombo 5; Netasena Samarakoon, Sinhapitiya, Gampola; William David, Warakagoda, 218, Willegoda, Kalutara North; J. M. Dewa, Duraiappah Lane, Chundikuli; Mrs. P. D. Emonona, "Nolka", Madampe; Don Alexander Jayasinghe, 211, Navakanda, Hendala; Edward Silva, 159, St. Anthony's Road, Moratumulla, Moratuwa; Mrs. Gunawathie Manike Abeyawardene,

91/1, Ratwatte Mawatha, Badulla; Clarence de Silva, 12, Dhamakusela, Mawatha, Ambalangoda; Miss Irangani Panditha, D. 55/9, National Housing Flats, Colombo 10; Dr. P. M. Amarasinghe, 82/3, Ward Place, Colombo 7; Rev. Mihiripenne Jothipala Adikarane Nayake Thero, Valukarama, Pallimulla, Panadura; Mervyn Perera, 43, Galle Road, Moratumulla; Mr. Mary Segemanasinghe, 183, Averiwatte Road, Wattala; A. R. Dabare, 11, Attidiya, Dehiwela; Mrs. Sorashi de Mel, 10, St. Mary's Mawatha Mihalage; Kodippiliarachchi Karunasena, 235, Watugama; Felix Shelton Leiton, 48, Grand Street, Negombo; Mrs. Kanagam Subramaniam, Parsonage, Inuvil; D. William, Deans Road, Colombo 10; Mrs. Juliet Chandrawarnam, 11, Pickerings Road, Kotahena; Mrs. Alice Lokigamage, "Sriyawasa", Ihalgama, Campaha; Velupillai Perumal Pillai, 8/25, Green Path, Kollupitiya; Mrs. R. A. Rodrigo, 62, Maha Vedduwa, Wadduwa; Paul Selladura, 10, Vihara Lane, Suduhumpola, Kandy; Mrs. Mary Adaline Thomas, 119, Mohandirams Road, Colombo 3; Mrs. Catherine Kennedy, 67, Stewart Street, Colombo 2; D. E. Edirisinghe, Madola; Mrs. D. B. Gunewardena, "Gunasevana", Kahatuduwa, Polgasowita; Jerome Seneviratne, 24, Kadawata Road, Dehiwela; A. Tilakarathne, Milla-wana; Mrs. Puncti Kumari, Amy Udumulla, Nugegoda; Mrs. Eirie Grenier, St. Nicholas Home, Dehiwela; Percy Dias Gunewardene, 167, Dambawela, Udugampola, Gampaha; Clarence Fernando, 34, Dufugemunu Street, Dehiwela; Mrs. Mainone Gunasekera, "Gunasekera villa", Hupugama; Mrs. Eugene Rajapatirana, 30, Sea View Avenue, Colombo 3.



FOR THE RECORD

On Communal Harmony

APPEAL BY THE CITIZENS' COMMITTEE FOR NATIONAL HARMONY

There is growing apprehension and concern among citizens of all communities that several developments that have taken place in the country in the recent months could result in a dangerous build-up of communal tension. Various factors have contributed to the situation. The allegations and counter-allegations by some prominent politicians of both Sinhala and Tamil communities on a number of issues which have implications for the future of these communities have had the effect of inciting strong communal feelings. Although some meaningful steps were initially taken by Government to seek effective solutions to the problem of the Tamil minority, it appears that negotiations have reached a stalemate which has led to increasing frustration on both sides. The feeling of frustration on the side of the Tamil community which has developed over the years has created the demand for separation and has apparently led some extremist groups to advocate political violence and terrorism. Certain acts of violence and terror committed in the Jaffna District allegedly by political extremists have, in this context, evoked reactions which tend to identify these incidents indiscriminately with the Tamil community as a whole. Government action to combat such acts of violence and to strengthen security measures have had adverse effects on civilian life and caused situations which have given rise to genuine fears regarding abuse of authority and harassment

of innocent citizens. There is no doubt that a resolute and concerted effort by the Government, the political leadership of all communities and concerned citizens in all sections of society acting with a deep sense of responsibility for the future of this country, is now required to prevent the situation from deteriorating further into a major crisis.

We therefore earnestly appeal to the Government, the leaders of political parties, non-governmental organisations playing an active role in the social life of our country and all concerned citizens to collaborate in a concerted endeavour to steer the country out of a situation which is fraught with danger of grave communal discord and violence, and to accelerate the processes that were initiated to find a rational and peaceful solution to the minority problem. We feel that such an endeavour demands decisions and organised action on several fronts.

(i) The TULF with its declared adherence to non-violent political action, supported by other leading groups and citizens of the Tamil community, should unequivocally and publicly condemn the methods of violence and terror as a means of seeking political solutions, and strongly urge the extremist sections to abandon the path of violent adventurist politics and co-operate with them in securing a just solution to the minority problem.

(ii) We also consider that concurrently with effective security measures to deal with the hard core of violence and terrorism, there is still a possibility of reaching the extremist elements through persuasion and reasoning and that for this purpose both the Government as well as leading politicians and citizen groups should attempt to open a meaningful dialogue which could lead the majority of such

persons back to democratic political action. Here it might be possible to draw on the lessons of the insurgency in regard to the more positive and humane approaches that were adopted to deal with the membership of that movement. It is necessary to bear in mind that the violence, however misguided it be, partly reflects the desperation of such persons over the persistent neglect of the problems of the Tamil minority by successive governments, the continuing failure of the methods hitherto pursued by the political leadership, above all the deep feeling of fear and insecurity created by the atrocities and acts of terrorism against the innocent citizens during hysterical outbreaks of communal violence, and the excesses that accompanied the security measures that were imposed on the North.

(iii) Leading politicians of both communities would need to exercise the greatest restraint in their utterances on issues which have communal implications. The ruling party in particular would have to discipline its own membership, as blatantly communalistic statements coming from any leading member of the ruling party would be interpreted by extremist elements as sanction for lawless and violent "reprisals". In this connection, we urge on the Government the desirability of instituting a full investigation into the allegations made regarding irregularities in the marking of examination papers.

(iv) It is also important that the incidents that have occurred in the North are presented to the public in their total perspective and nation-wide context. While not detracting from the gravity of the situation in which terrorism of a political character has emerged in the North, we must recognise the fact that many acts of violence and crime in this region

have no political links and appear to be no different from similar acts committed in the rest of the country. Reports and rumours could be easily exaggerated to conjure an image of lawlessness much more intensive and widespread than facts warrant, and this can further aggravate communal tensions. In the circumstances, we think it is desirable that Government pay closer attention to the manner in which information on such problems is disseminated among the public through mass media.

(v) We recognise the fact that any government is faced with serious dilemmas in mounting effective security operations against organised terrorist groups which are entrenched in a region. It has on the one hand to protect civilian rights, and on the other to differentiate the terrorist elements from the rest of the community and direct the security measures effectively against those elements. The problems are often compounded by the fact that the ordinary citizens may fear to co-operate openly with the authorities, while the authorities may be inclined to regard any lack of co-operation as active sympathy for the terrorists. What is important however is that the forces of law and order should distinguish clearly at all times between the community and the terrorist elements, and follow a course of action which avoids penalising the entire community for the misdeeds of the terrorist group. To adopt a strategy which holds the entire community hostage is to act as though one is in enemy territory. It would only serve to alienate that community and create the psychology of "an occupation" both for those who enforce law and order as well as for the people in the region, when what is urgently needed is to differentiate the terrorist elements from the rest of the community. We think that

the present Government with its proclaimed allegiance to the guiding principles of righteousness could act in a manner which ensures that the forces of law and order strictly observe a code of conduct which distinguishes the wrongdoers from the innocent, protects the rights of citizens and speedily re-establishes the conditions for normal civilian life as in any other part of the country. We urge therefore that special attention be paid to the protection of citizen rights in a period when strong security measures are imposed. It might even be desirable to provide special machinery for this purpose.

(vi) While we urge that action outlined above be taken to deal with the problem of growing communal tensions, we emphasise that the effective removal of the underlying causes of these tensions cannot be achieved without speedy political action to solve the outstanding problems of the Tamil minority. We must accept the fact that those who engage in terrorism as a form of political action justify it as the only possible answer in the face of the continued denial of their rights, and we need therefore to recognise that the only permanent solution is not through stronger repression or tighter security, but by meaningful action at a political level. A solution to the present deadlock on the District Ministry issue and the implementation of a genuine system of decentralised authority in the North is therefore of the utmost urgency. The repeated assurances given by the Government that all communities will enjoy equal rights in a just and free society have to be translated into concrete reality. Some of the initial steps taken by Government opened out the prospect of constructive solutions. The TULF itself showed readiness to see how well the solutions offered

would work in reality. It would appear that with a little more generosity and flexibility on either side, agreement could be reached on issues which can make a fundamental difference to the future of this country and establish a solid base for national accord and co-operation. The best antidote to violence and terror in the North is convincing evidence that we are moving fast towards a society in which all citizens live in equality, freedom and justice, regardless of race and creed. We therefore earnestly appeal to both the TULF and the Government that they resume negotiations to resolve their differences and take forward the effort to remove permanently the political causes of communal disharmony in our society. In this context we urge the Government to have a dialogue with the youth in order to ascertain their grievances and resolve these justly; such a course of action could help in effecting a permanent reconciliation.

(vii) Eventually to free our society of the communal dissension and violence which continue to afflict it, we require more far-reaching changes than can be effected through political and economic action alone. The task of preserving and enriching what is positive in our ethno-cultural identities and creating a plural society which at the same time does not engender communal antagonisms and tensions poses a major challenge to the present generation. Both communities need to liberate themselves from inward looking communalistic ways of thinking and living, and rid themselves of the habit of discriminating between one fellow human being and another on grounds of race and creed. Many of these negative features have grown as part of our history which we now need to outlive. By attitude and practice, each com-

munity needs to create an open and hospitable environment for members of the other communities, and offer evidence of genuine reciprocity. The changes in educational and language policies initiated by Government could provide new opportunities to implement programmes for more active cultural exchange and public education to promote greater understanding and mutual esteem among communities. We urge that Government in co-operation with non-governmental agencies, particularly the religious organisations, pay special attention to these needs.

We earnestly hope that with these initiatives, the Government, political parties and citizens in Sri Lanka will work together to make 1979 a year of communal reconciliation and harmony.

R. S. S. Gunawardena; V. Manickavasagar; Ven. Dr. Havanpola Ratnasara; S. M. Abu Rasheed; Fr. Tissa Balasuriya; O. L. de Kretser; Godfrey Gunatilleke; Dr. Carlo Fonseka; G. Gnanamuttu; Aellan Fernando; B. J. Aloysius; Sunil Siriwardena; M. Mazzahim Mohideen; Bernadeen Silva; Fr. Samuel Fernando; A. N. Pillai; Fr. Wesley Ariyaratnam; Basil Ilangakoon; Charles Abeysekera; Chandra H. Soysa; L. N. T. Mendis; P. D. Manikkam; Prof. Valentine Basnayake; M. A. M. Hussain; M. J. Perera; M. Rajendra; C. Loganathan; Sir Razik Fareed; Mr. Mervyn Herath and Dr. (Mrs.) Marina W. Fernando.

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THE FOLLOWING STATEMENT HAS BEEN ISSUED BY THE UNITED LEFT FRONT OF THE LANKA SAMASAMAJA PARTY AND THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF SRI LANKA.

"The United Left Front expresses its deep concern over the rapid growth of racist propaganda and

Grama Sastra-1

Sympathy In Action

by Gamiya

communal tensions in recent months. Any provocation or thoughtless act can lead to a repetition of the communal violence experienced in 1977 and even earlier. More than ever today it is the duty of all who have the cause of national unity and communal amity at heart to do everything possible to defuse the present situation. Extremist groups are not merely seeking to operate through some existing capitalist parties and organisations, but are also creating new ones. They seek to make use of inquiries into earlier communal violence in order to create platforms for communal propaganda. They concentrate in particular on seeking to inject racist venom into the public administrations, higher education and the security services. They receive considerable publicity in sections of the capitalist newspapers, including government-owned ones.

The part played by the UNP government in this state of affairs is to add fuel to the fire. On the one hand, the UNP government claims to have improved communal relations by some constitutional changes and by offering Cabinet and District Ministerships to capitalist and procapitalist leaders among the Tamils. On the other hand, important Ministers are allowed to indulge publicity in the most unabashed communalism without being checked. The growth of racist organisations is fostered. Problems like that of University admissions are not sought to be solved on the basis of constructive measures that are fair and democratic. This continuing failure exacerbates communal feelings.

Experience both in Sri Lanka and abroad has often shown that governments pledged to defend capitalism are always ready to use racism to divide and suppress those who fight against oppression and injustice and for a new social

order. The UNP government is aware that protests are mounting over continued unemployment and rising prices. The workers in the corporation and private sectors are agitating against the fact that they have been denied even the full amount of the meagre wage increase given to State employees in the Budget. Public opposition is growing against the government's attacks on democratic rights and trade union rights. Nepotism and corruption flourish, despite the tall talk of "A Dharmishta Society". The UNP stokes communal fires in order to hide its own failures.

At the same time it is necessary to reiterate that acts of terrorism have never solved a single problem. Such methods have to be rejected, for they not only serve to fan race hatred and lead to further frustration but—what is more—they block the road to a proper solution of these problems.

The United Left Front condemns all attempts at racism from whatever source they emanate. It considers as impermissible and dangerous any resort to, or encouragement of, racism whether as a means of retaining or regaining governmental office. All such attempts can only lead to new disasters for the country and its peoples—and, in particular, its working people. The United Left Front therefore calls on the entire working class, on all forces of the Left, on all democratic people, and on men and women of goodwill of all nationalities, to oppose all efforts to promote or give assistance to racism and racist forces. It calls on them to uphold in every way their fundamental mutual interests, unity and common action in the advance towards a new and just social order.

Colombo.
9.1.79

Too early, did you say? Too early to universalize? Well, may be, but I still think that in general, we could distinguish different types of those linked with the village. There is first of all the *Village-ignorant*, the one who does not even know the village exists with all its villagers and their problems, s/he is so absorbed in the humdrum daily. Then there is the *Village-Despiser*, who in season and out, would say: "Oh these gamay fellows, these godeas" or would tell a friend: "Aiyyo, he's the real village type, good for nothing". Then, you'll also meet the *Village sympathiser*, one who writes much about village life and who goes now and again to meet the villager or who even takes residence in the village and tries to help the villager if possible. Then, there is the *Village-harasser*, usually a Colombo-boy in touch with MNC's and trying to rope in some "village damsels" to do some sewing for a foreign firm, and in the process" have fun with a girl or two because they are just village girls you know." There is also the *Village-User*, a bit different from the previous abuser, but born of *lobha*, the one who gets maximum profit out of the villagers' hard labour, sweat, tears and toil and buys it for a pittance. There is of course, the *Village amateur* who professes to write about the village without ever having been there, or by merely whizzing past a village or two in a fast bus. Sometimes you bump into a *Village romanticizer* who goes into raptures about village, life, writes glowingly of the village even does a major project or two

and goes to check accounts, with a "shoot" thrown in for good measure. One can also meet true lovers of the Villager who would live with the poor, very close to their lowly condition; one who has care and real concern for them; whose lowly status is matter for reflection and action with them and not only for them, but more than all, one who feels his powerlessness in the face of so much violence against the hardworking poor, the voiceless of Sri Lanka, but who yet has indomitable hope in the goodness of Goodness,

The above are not neat divisions, not categories and there was no intention of being exhaustive, but some of those traits are found in all of us who have some link-up or some love for the village. Some combinations can practically drown every hope of helping the village and the villager, like, for example, when the *Village-harasser* and the *Village-user* combine with the *Village-sympathiser* by trying to buy them up for a lot of money.

Not for the academicians alone is village life matter for study; not for Village activists is village life matter for action. The healthier combination is *praxis*: action-reflection-action. One can be so close to the grindstone in this village or that, that the hope of glory or betterment seems far gone; one can be so far away from any village that only universals pour out of mind and machine (even if that machine happens to be a typewriter).

But there are such people, few though they be, who have burnt their boats behind them and have gone to share their lot with the poor, be they peasant or 'pitagamkarayo'; those who have been let down by their friends, loved distantly by most of their kith and kin; those who willingly even forego a meal, say many meals,

because like the poor among whom they live, they have to share their life style. And if these people are youth, then there is hope for the world. God will be their reward and men will some day sing their praises.



ANTI-SOVIET

China Prepares For War

by W. Lionel Fernando

CHINA'S MAIN TALKING POINT today is the Soviet Union, contemptuously referred to as "the bear from the North"—the Socialist Hegemonist as opposed to the Capitalist Hegemonist, the United States of America. China believes that sooner or later war is bound to break out and that "the Soviet revisionists are bent on subjugating our country". China does not want war, but obsessed with this idea she is feverishly preparing to face aggression. It wants peace to achieve its goal of socialism and the four modernisations (agriculture, industry, national defence, science and technology) as early as possible and allowed to continue in peace it will achieve these aims long before the turn of the century the time limit set by Premier Chou En-lai for the realisation of the our modernisations.

I toured China recently for nearly three weeks, my second visit to China since 1957 when I was there an official of the Ceylon Embassy in Peking. My tour this time was sponsored by the Chinese Peoples Association for Friendship with Foreign Countries as one of its old friends. It was a very bright and warm summer morning when I

landed at the Peking Airport and I was taken aback when a young Chinese of about twenty to twenty five years old greeted me in fluent classical Sinhala. He had come with the Secretary-General of the Friendship Association, Mr. Kuo Tang-Cheng to receive me. The young man, Mr. Yu Kuo-ti was to be my Sinhala Interpreter during my stay in China.

In keeping with Premier Chou En-lai's vision of friendly ties with all countries, big or small, China lays great emphasis on teaching foreign languages to its young cadres. Sinhala is one of the many foreign languages thus taught. Regular classes are held in Peking by a sinhala teacher and annually a dozen or more students well-versed in classical Sinhala are turned out. They are employed as interpreters to visiting Sri Lankans or in Radio Peking or the Foreign Languages Department and are also sent to Sri Lanka to be attached to the staff of the Chinese Embassy here. Those trained in other foreign languages are employed in similar manner. They are expected to specialise in the language they learn.

The day was indeed hot, the hottest since 1930, Mr. Chung said, To the Chinese used to long winters, the heat was unbearable, China's progress during this period is amazing and this, in spite of the natural calamities it had to face; the death of its three stalwarts Chou En-lai, Chu Te and Chairman Mao almost in quick succession one after the other in 1976 and above all the devastation caused by "the gang of four" to both the political and economic stability of the country from 1973 till their arrest in 1976 on the orders of Hua Kuo-feng.

PEKING presented a new picture to me with its new-skyscrapers and broad roads. The old Tien An Men Square has changed with Mao Tse-tung Mausoleum majestically

facing the Imperial Palace flanked on the right with the National Museum depicting China's history up to liberation and the Premier Chou En-lai Exhibition. I was happy to have a ride in the Peking's underground railway which covers Peking and its suburbs. The service, which is the last word in cleanliness and efficiency, operates from 6 am to 9 p.m. and the charges for any distance is ten cents in Chinese currency. The underground railway which has been functioning in Peking since the beginning of this decade is to be extended to other parts of the country in stages.

China has two main slogans today—national development and national defence. National development is obvious. National defence is not so. Practically the entire underground of China today is converted or is being converted into a network of underground air-raid shelters and the plan inaugurated in 1968 is expected to be completed in 1980. I was shown the underground air-raid shelter in Peking and walked 840 kilometers inside which is only a fraction of its entire length. It takes three hours to cover its full length. Its depth is eight meters from the surface and can be destroyed only by an atom or a nuclear bomb falling on its centre. In Tien An-Men, the oldest market place and the busiest shopping centre in Peking, I was taken to one of the commercial buildings and on its ground floor was a trap-door which opened into the air-raid shelter below. It has accommodation for the entire population of Peking and covers almost its entire underground. It has all the amenities for the civilian population during and air-raid. It is complete with electricity, stand-by generators, pipe-borne water, fire-fighters, ventilation, telephones, dispensaries, hospitals with facilities for operations, kitchens, restaurants, halls for conducting school classes etc.

INTENDED MAINLY as air-raid shelters, they have their other purposes as well. During peace time the shelters will be used by pedestrians from their homes to the shopping centres and back, thus easing congestion on the main roads. They will be used to store food items, vegetables, meat etc., and underground storing, the Superintendent in charge of the scheme said, helps preservation better than in normal stores. They also help preservation for a longer time, he added. In the event of a prolonged air-raid old persons and children can be transported to the suburbs through these underground shelters leaving the young and the military, with the collaboration of the People's Liberation Army, to wipe out the enemy if they enter the tunnel. The entire scheme has been designed and executed by Chinese technicians and is to be permanent feature in China.

The Supdt. in his long conversation with me said that "the northern neighbour is spreading false propaganda about China. He can rest assured that we will not extend the tunnel to the Kremlin. We want peace and we want people of all countries to live in peace, but there are some people fighting for hegemony. They are feverishly expanding their areas, carrying on subversive activity, and fish in troubled waters. As a result there is no tranquility in the world. Even after the second world-war, local wars have not ceased and a third world war is inevitable. All peace loving countries like Sri Lanka must get together to avoid a third world war." Following Chairman Mao's advice "dig tunnels deep, store grains and never seek hegemony" and "be prepared", the Chinese, he said, are ready to face a war of aggression and reminded me of the old Chinese saying "you are not a loser if you are prepared". He added: "People must be vigilant.

There are only two countries that can force a third world war—the United States of America and the Soviet Union".

In addition to the underground air-raid shelters, I also saw the 2736 meter long tunnel under the Huang-Pu river in Shanghai connecting the two ends of the city. While it can be put to other uses, the tunnel also forms part of China's defence plan. Its width is 7.7 meters and 4.4 meters high. A women technician explaining to me the work involved in its construction said that it formed part of the campaign "to be prepared" as advocated by Chairman Mao.

At the time of my visit, the roadway in the tunnel was being tested for heavy traffic and its width permits two lines of heavy trucks at one time. It is equipped with fire-fighting apparatus, electricity, water supply, ventilation, telephones etc. There are also stand-by generators. At intervals of every 150 kilometers is a telephone, every 45 meters is a hose for fire-fighting and every 90 meters a fire extinguisher. In addition to its two main entrances on either side of the city, there are side exits enabling the military or civilians easy movement in time of a raid. The tunnel connects with the network of air-raid shelters in Shanghai and other business centres in the province. Already such centres have been completed in the Nanking road and other business centres in Shanghai.

The construction of this tunnel, the women technician told me, has been a difficult engineering feat because of the nature of the soil and the seepage of water. It has been achieved with great sacrifices and with the concerted effort of hundred units of workers and technicians throughout the country. When it was conceived the Soviet revisionists ridiculed the idea that if it could be done "the world will turn over".

In spite of the Soviet revisionists, the tunnel has been completed and the world has not "turned over" she said. The tunnel is reaching its final stages of completion now. Two young soldiers of the P.L.A. drove me in one of their jeeps across the tunnel taking about ten to fifteen minutes to cover each way. China lays emphasis on its national defence and takes third place in the modernization campaign.

Since writing this article Peking has announced the establishment of an under-ground city in Peking which can also be used as under-ground air-raid shelters in an air-attack on China.



SPOTLIGHT

Granma's Secret Weapon

by Canax

IT IS AMAZING to what lengths a woman will go these days to get her man. You must have read about that hapless devil who, in the course of making his living, broke into a house around midnight. The woman of the house, we were told, had happened to meet him face to face. But instead of first asking whether he'd had dinner, she had proceeded to gift him, unasked, a couple of karate 'chops', a kind of choice cut not imported even by Elephant House. It is perhaps understandable that the man got completely floored by her generosity, and the woman, needless to say, got her man.

A friend who had read about the incident was quite indignant. It was not merely shameful but downright shocking that women should resort to such extreme measures to get a mere male. Without any warning, either. It was revealed that the man in question had, un-

fortunately", not known of the woman's exceptional capabilities. As a matter of fact, many are the things about women one does not get to know about—until it's too late, anyway.

There is probably a law somewhere, my friend says, which forbids concealment of vital information which could transform a harmless exercise like, say, house-breaking, into a battle for survival, a matter of life and death. If not, he suggests that Parliament should consider legislation making it mandatory to exhibit regulation-size boards on gates or front doors announcing the particular specialty of the woman in each house—be it karate, mutton or pork chop—in the same way that many houses now advise passers-by to 'Beware of the Dog'.

Thanks to all the Press publicity there is currently a mad rush to master the deadly art of karate. Unless my eyes are playing tricks on me, the crowds seem to be made up entirely of women, especially teenage girls. A karate instructor I managed to interview for one whole minute said he was too busy making money to waste time trying to figure out the reason for the increased female interest in the art. No, he had had no time to read newspapers for over a month.

Maybe the girls wanted to feel more secure by learning the art of self-defence, I suggested.

He looked at me suspiciously. "Who's teaching self-defence?" he demanded to know. "I can't speak for the others, but my 6-month course provides training in a martial, not martial, art and is expressly designed to help a woman get her man and hold him. If any of my pupils misuse the knowledge for other unethical, even illegal, purposes, I must disclaim all responsibility in the strongest possible terms."

My grandmother with whom I discussed the matter felt disgusted that modern-day girls should find the need to resort to what she described as "that silly thing called karate." In her time, she proudly recalled, they used no such thing but managed to get their man every time, as grandpa would certainly have testified to were he alive.

"Then what did you use, granny?" I asked perplexed.

She gave me a funny look. "You know about sex, don't you?" she snapped testily. I had to openly confess that I'd never heard of it.

So there it was, the classic example of the generation gap.

"Tell me, please," I begged of her. "Does it take long to learn?"

"No, just do what comes naturally," was her cryptic reply. I am still trying to figure that out.

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

Ref. No. EA/6/275

It is intended to acquire the lands described in the Schedule below. For further particulars see the Gazette of the Democratic Socialist Republic of Sri Lanka No. 20 (Part III) of 19/01/1979.

Schedule

Situation:

In the village of Thoranagoda-watta, Grama Sevaka Division of Hikkaduwa East, A.G.A.'s Division of Wellabada Pattu North, in the District of Galle.

Name of land: Mahapathanayaya

Plan and Lot No.

P. P. Plan No. GAA/1336
Lot Nos. 1-4.

W. E. L. Fernando

Acquiring Officer, Galle District.
The Kachcheri, Galle.
9th January 1979.

WARNING TO SRI LANKA

IMF Squeeze On Jamaica

by Michael Leapman

A *Tribune* reader in London sent us this article published in *The Times* on November 17, 1978. There are many similarities between Jamaica and Sri Lanka but we will not dwell on them now, but we must point out that Jamaica's unhappy experiences with the IMF have many lessons for Sri Lanka. *Tribune* has often asked the question what will the IMF do, should Sri Lanka default? We leave it an open question. Our liberalised trade policy has already begun to run into difficulties. We have more cars than we need and much of our borrowed foreign exchange will be used to import petrol and spare parts. We have more imported broiler chicken than people can afford to eat—and we are continuing to import many other items without proper market studies or any consideration for actual needs.—Ed.

ON WALLS AND PAVEMENTS throughout Kingston, particularly around the expensive hotels on Knutsford Boulevard, opponents of Mr. Michael Manley's Jamaican Government have been busy with paint spray cans.

"The poor can take no more", is the slogan. To which the Government, deeply in thrall to the International Monetary Fund (IMF) can only reply bleakly that the poor may have to take quite a bit more yet, like it or not.

Since January, prices of consumer goods in Jamaica have risen by nearly 50 per cent. Wages have nowhere near kept pace, so more

people have suffered a savage reduction in living standards. At the same time, shortages of staple foods such as flour and rice have become commonplace.

This has not happened by accident. It was a foreseen consequence of the stringent terms imposed by the IMF in exchange for its loan of \$ 240m (about £120m) in the summer. The IMF believes it to be the only way Jamaica can hope to become solvent again, and Mr. Manley cannot afford to argue.

The story of Jamaica's decline into brutal austerity is an example of how little freedom of political manoeuvre can be enjoyed by theoretically independent countries which rely on overseas investments. The foreign exchange crisis which forced the Government to seek IMF help was caused by the oil crisis of 1973 and by an abrupt halt in overseas investments from 1974, because investors mistrusted the intentions of Mr. Manley's Government.

That was the year Mr. Manley committed himself to "democratic socialism" with an emphasis on public spending. He became friendly with President Castro of Cuba. It was also at this time that he introduced a swinging levy on the producers of bauxite, Jamaica's main commodity, which increased by seven-fold the government's receipts from that source.

This windfall allowed the Government to pay its oil bills with some to spare. Its psychological effect on Jamaican workers was to encourage large pay demands which the Government, bemused to an extent by its own egalitarian rhetoric did little to resist. The levy also set the alarm bells ringing among investors and coincided with a sharp drop in tourism after a well-publicised increase in violence by the youth of the island. All

this caused a growing balance of payments deficit which was covered for a time by large foreign loans. When these could not be renewed, the Government had to submit to the none-too-tender mercies of the IMF. The first loan from the Fund was aborted last year, when the government failed to pass one of the IMF's quarterly tests.

The IMF's chief requirement was a devaluation of the Jamaica dollar, which at one time was worth more than the United States dollar. At the beginning of the year the rate was down to \$ 1.35 to the United States dollar. As a result of the IMF agreement it was devalued by 15 per cent immediately and by a gradual 15 per cent in the next year. Wage increases will be

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

Ref. No. 2/299

It is intended to acquire the lands described in the Schedule below. For further particulars see the Gazette of the Democratic Socialist Republic of Sri Lanka No. 20 (Part III) of 19/01/1979.

Schedule

Situation:

Mohottiwatta village within the Ward No. 6 of Balapitiya Town Council in the D.R.O's Division of Bentota Walallawiti Korale (Central) in Galle District.

Name of land:

Palliyawatta, Polgewatta and Maradanayagewatta.

Plan and Lot No.:

Lot Nos. 1,2,3 and 4 in P. P. Gaa. 1426.

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

The Kachcheri,
Galle.

8.1.1979

limited to 15 per cent over this period.

Since most of what Jamaica consumes is imported, the devaluation meant a price increase in most goods. The effect was compounded by higher taxes on beer, cigarettes and petrol. Flour went up by 30 per cent, rice by 24 per cent and salt fish—a Jamaican staple food—by 66 per cent.

These imported goods became not only more expensive, but also in sporadic supply. Under the IMF terms, Jamaica is allowed to disburse a tightly limited quantity of foreign currency, which means that importers cannot always pay for the food they want.

A walk round Wong's supermarket, opposite the British Embassy on Trafalgar Road, was a depressing experience. Long expanses of shelves in the rice and flour sections were empty. Half the refrigerated display space for fish was unused and there was no imported canned meat.

If rice is unobtainable at the official price of 41 cents a pound, housewives must buy it on the black market at 70 cents a pound. Official policy is to seek to persuade people to try locally-grown substitutes, such as yams and breadfruit, but these are not cheap either. And the Government's policy of encouraging farming hits the snag that many Jamaicans dislike agricultural work.

Imported luxuries, including most cars, are banned, and so are more humble goods. A woman who had to buy material for her daughter's school uniform said that she used to be able to get an artificial material for \$2 a yard. Now she had to buy Jamaican made gaberdine at six times that price.

The government introduced these measures with trepidation. Given that violence is endemic in

Jamaica, many feared that there would be rioting. But so far this has not happened.

Mr. Richard Fletcher, Deputy Minister of Finance says: "I don't know of any other population which would have stood it without the overthrow of the government or martial law. The hit on the head has obviously stunned everybody. What they'll do when they wake up I don't know."

Mr. Basil Buck, the Opposition financial spokesman, has explicit fears. "With a combination of a reduction in the standard of living and shortages of basic items and a high level of unemployment, the whole thing is coming to a head. Over the next three months anything is possible in Jamaica. It could end up in the streets."

Unemployment is officially put at 24 per cent, but many believe it to be higher. It is certain to increase as the Government makes cuts in the public service: already redundancies in the Jamaican Broadcasting Corporation have been announced.

While unskilled workers cannot find jobs, there is a growing shortage of high-grade managerial and professional people, who are emigrating at an unhealthy rate. Every day a hundred or more people wait at the back entrance of the United States Embassy, seeking visas. The consequent shortage of suitable managerial talent is a further deterrent to overseas investors.

A symptom of the Government's qualms about passing the IMF's quarterly tests was the issue of new 10 and 20 dollar notes this month. It was designed to halt illegal currency leakages, which are mainly connected with the lucrative trade in marijuana. The switch produced long queues at banks as country people brought

in large sums which, distrusting bankers, they had been keeping at home.

Mr. Fletcher thinks that, even if people are prepared to continue making sacrifices for a while, their mood could become worse if things do not get better in two or three years. This will depend on whether there is an improvement in the world economy and whether, even if there is, foreign money can be lured back. Britain is helping tide things over with a recently announced loan of £ 25m, on easy terms.

Land Acquisition Act (Chapter 460) as Amended By the Land Acquisition (Amendment) Act No. 280 of 1964

Notice Under Section 7.

Ref. No. 94/3145

It is intended to acquire the land described in the Schedule below. The lands described in the Schedule below have been acquired. For further particulars please see the Gazette of the Democratic Socialist Republic of Sri Lanka No. 19 (Part III) dated 11.01.1979.

Schedule

Situation of Land:

In the village of Batheegama, D.R.O's Division of Wellaboda Pattu East, Matara District.

Name of Land:

Hamanadoowemudiyanselagewatta, Ambalamatibunawatta

Lot & Plan No.:

Lot 1 in P.P. 030/638

C. D. Vidanapathirana

Acquiring Officer,
Matara District.

The Kachcheri,
Matara.

27th December, 1978.

The sequence of events has been embarrassing for Mr. Manley, the silver-tongued champion of the Third World and the new international economic order. To keep Jamaica afloat, he has been forced to adopt policies which hit hardest the poor people he so eloquently champions.

Left-wingers in his party believe Jamaica is the victim of a plot, inspired by the multinational corporations to prevent the emergence of a socialist society. Whatever the truth of that, it is unhappy irony that the advocate of the new economic order has fallen victim to the old IMF squeeze.



ISSUES, SOLUTIONS & TRENDS—5

Tourism In A Nutshell

by Shirley J. Payoe

You got to hand it to them. The Information Dept. is beginning to produce good publicity material which presents the official view and analysis of topics. Occasionally it does produce sleepy press briefings where the spokesmen dodge rather than field the pressmen's probing questions. 'Tourism in Sri Lanka, the first decade' is something for the credit side. It is well designed by P. Harold Peries and brought out by the State Printing Corporation. It contains only part of the speeches made at a seminar on Tourism in November, as some participants from the government sector failed to hand in their scripts in time for the publisher's deadline. In the resulting slim issue, representatives from the tourist department, hotel trade, tour operations and airlines take a self-satisfied view of the past and paint a glorious picture of the trade's coming years.

Officially, the trade began in 1966 with the fond hope of making Sri Lanka the Switzerland of the East, but the growth had been slow. The tourist industry is still in its infancy, compared to the progress elsewhere in our region.

The Deputy Director (Research) of the Tourist Board, H. M. S. Samarasinghe, in his contribution quantifies the trade during 1967-77 thus:

The total capital outlay for development and renovations, transport, publicity and promotions and recreational facilities etc. amounted to Rs. 576 million with a foreign exchange component of Rs. 152 million.

The gross official foreign exchange earnings (not counting black money) for the period has been an estimated Rs. 1,063.7 million, excluding FEECS. Of this gross revenue 22%, or Rs. 234 million, constituted the operating costs of the industry, meaning thereby the outflow on imported food and beverages, commissions abroad, foreign debt servicing, depreciation of imported items, vehicle spares etc. This left a foreign exchange surplus of Rs. 830 million, or a net return on capital of Rs. 254 million.

Further figures indicate that the industry spelled out a 0.3% addition to the country's total f.e. earnings in 1976, and that this factor rose to 5% in 1977.

Tourism's contribution to the GNP has been insignificant. In 1972 its share was 0.23% of the GNP and by 1977 the share was still only 0.71%. However, tourism raked in 44% of our small total earnings from invisible exports in 1977.

Another point held in tourism's favour is that a total of 32,233 persons have been found employment in 1977 (13,716 directly).

Further, it is revealed that the unit cost of employment in tourism is only Rs. 43,000 whereas the corresponding average cost for all corporations is Rs. 65,000.

Other aspects besides quantification of the trade are dealt with in the booklet. It tells us what is being done by the tour agent, how tourist is being educated and what is being done with regard to the low-spending hippie and 'those who expose their person and misconduct themselves either along the beaches or as a matter of fact in any place where the public have access.'

The DIG, Metropolitan Range in a brief contribution records that in the period Jan. 77 to Sept. 78 the Police had rounded up 755 women for accosting, 875 beggars (for damaging the image, presumably) and another 2000 persons for loitering and harrassing tourists in the Colombo area. Despite such attention, the problem of the beggar, tout, pimp and misbehaving tourist has not faded away; nor do some people even hope of finding a solution!

The Deputy Director General of the Ceylon Tourist Board, Nimalasiri Silva, states nothing new when he attributed the beggar problem (so damaging to the national image abroad, he too finds it) to economic and social causes. What is new is contained in the following extract from his contribution: "Hon. Minister Sir, you were one of the godfathers of Tourism on May 3rd, 1966, almost 12 years ago. Surely, Sir, beggary existed even then and long before that...? Truly, it existed with the Mahawansa, with Iban-batuta and Knox, and (is) with us now..Be that as it may, by the very nature of things, beggary will be with us, even long after the grand-children of the anti-tourism lobby are dead and gone.." Nevertheless, there is

much planning in tourist circles to invest Rs. 2.0 billion within the next six years in order to bag an annual volume of 500,000 tourists by 1984.

The Chairman of the Tourist Hotels Association, Asker Moosajee, spells out these plans in concrete terms. The plans involve bringing up the current number of tourist rooms from 4846 to 10,856 rooms. A sum of Rs. 1.5 billion is earmarked for this constructional work, another 0.5 billion being estimated for transport and related items. The plan hinges on the construction of 6000 tourist rooms at an average rate of 1000 rooms per year and at a cost of Rs. 2.5 lakhs each room. Even at the present rates this is too conservative a figure. A new hotel room with all facilities—swimming pool, air conditioning, parking lot etc—would easily top Rs. 300,000. Moreover, our average rate of construction for the past 12 years has been less than 400 tourist rooms per year.

Another factor arises. The ground rules laid down by the President do not permit more than 40% foreign investments in the tourist trade. This means that Rs. 1.2 billion, or Rs. 200,000,000 a year, will have to be found locally by the private and public sectors before 1984 for investments in tourism alone. This is Big Money and Big Talk. Apparently, in Sri Lanka there is no shortage of development capital for 'safe' investments in tourism just as there is no lack of funds for the import and merchandising sectors of the economy. Perhaps the productive industrial sector is being left deliberately to foreign capital by way of the FTZ? Revealed statistics tell only part of the story. The tourist industry has been viewed as 'the pampered one', and it has also generated some controversy due to its real and imaginary ill-effects on the overall national well-being.

One thing to remember is that the net foreign exchange earnings of Rs. 254 million for 1967-77 take no note of the social costs, or smuggling by tourists of gems, artifacts, jewellery and irreplaceable antiques. Other social costs can be found in VD clinics, the spread of narcotics and prostitution, but it needs to be emphasised that vice can only flourish in a climate directly or indirectly conducive to it.

All too often the citified folk associated with tourism at its very fringes (the drivers, security men, waiters and hangers-on tend to regard the unsophisticated villager around the dispersed tourist resorts as an object for exploitation.

The root cause of resentment of tourism, by the purists and at the village level, stems from this intrusion of a small band of money-mad middlemen who have distorted the positive impact that the dispersal of tourist resorts can have on our non-urban areas. The authorities and the entrepreneurs themselves must take the major share

of the blame for their negligence. The picture would be different if the tourist resorts and complexes reach out to the small man in the vicinity. The handicraftsman, the village grower, poultry keeper can be afforded opportunities to make honest livings.

Even City hotels can set up in the suburbs small productive centres, based on individuals or groups, to whom the essential know-how, parent stock, seeds or capital is provided. Hotels can, in this manner, assure themselves with steady and cheaper sources of supply for vegetables, meats, eggs, fruits, flowers, table linen and handicrafts as well as help in the eradication of poverty through a greater sharing of economic opportunity. As things stand, we do not think much of an industry that plans to invest 2.0 billion within the next six years but has paid no attention to the problem posed by the beggling urchin!

Meantime let us tell the readers about a little book, 'Star Sapphire and Other Stories', published by the

BUSINESS MORE THAN POLITICS

LOCALLY MADE FIREARMS FOUND IN JUNGLE

Police yesterday made a haul of several locally manufactured shotguns, and pistols in a hideout in the thick jungles of the Wannai. The detection was made by a police party led by Inspector Susantha de Mel, OIC of the Nikaweratiya Police, during a combing-out operation. One person was taken into custody in this connection and he was allegedly found to be manufacturing and repairing shotguns, without a licence. Police also recovered several trapguns, a stock of gunpowder, several empty cartridges and pellets from his possession. The detection was made following instructions from Mr. R. Sundaralingam (DIG Crimes and Operation) to intensify police supervision of blacksmiths' workshops especially in the remote areas of the Wannai. According to reports reaching police headquarters, similar detections have been made by many police stations and over 50 locally manufactured firearms have been recovered. Investigations made by the Nikaweratiya Police have revealed that the suspect had been in close contact with several youths in the area who, police now believe, have been involved in several cases of highway robberies and burglaries.

—Ceylon Daily News, 5/1/79

Dina Dina Press in 1970. The stories deal with the sham values and double standards that arise in society and the conflict that occur when traditional and unquestioned values come into contact with modern western cultural modes. "This can be a searing experience for those directly concerned in the conflict of cultures; but to those who look on, the non-participants, the conflict affords some chance for preaching and some petty holier-than-thou posturing.

Anyway, the title story is about Fawn Anderson, a rich, dowdy American widow, a journalist by profession, who has been forced to crutches by an attack of polio. She finds herself in Sri Lanka at a time when we had only a thousand rooms and a bare fifty thousand guests used to arrive every six months. During her stay, Fawn and her initially servile waiter, Prema, grow attached. Eventually the man decides to leave his wife and family. He accompanies the crippled journalist to the States.

Readers would want to know about the author of the book. It is by Anandatisa de Alwis, Hon. Minister of State who is also in charge of the tourist trade. His task is to settle the conflicts that arise, minimise the adverse effects and to forge a viable industry out of a business that is still considered to be in its infancy.

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LETTERS

On Forestry

Sir,

In your issue of 2.12.78 'Gammiya' poses the question "Why is there no Forestry School in Sri Lanka?" There is one and that is situated at China Bay in Trincomalee. By virtue of its location and silent

and remote service very few know of its existence and its activities. May be we do not see full page advertisements in the 'dailies'. As far as the Forest Department is concerned its activity of re-foresting our forests that is worth examining. In my journeys on the road between Habarana and Trincomalee during the last few years, I have seen large extents being 'jungle cleared' to give way for reforesting with Teak, Pine, Hura, Mara etc. Unlike the chena cultivator in the forest department clearing not one tree is spared even for shade! After the burn and when the torrential rains fall almost all the ash and fertile soil goes away with the flow off! With the rains the plants put out struggle for years to establish themselves while the land is gullied and washed further till some strubs grow to give cover. Why they do not try out systems of "no burn" clearing as practiced in Malaya about 40 years ago is not clear.

Recently after the cyclone I have seen the severest damage to reforested areas lying on the 35 mile stretch between Uhana, Gonagolla up to Mahaoya and Padiyatalawa. It has to be seen to be believed. On this stretch of 35 miles your eyes meet with uprooted and tree trunks without canopy stands. The entire area is a mass of brown of drying leaves of these fallen trees with a few stumps sticking out. The hills are bare rocks. You don't see even a single bird flitting about! It is desolate as if after an aerial spray of herbicide! I wonder if planting Teak stumps in reforesting is a satisfactory practice or should it be seeding in situ! For the number of uprooted trees indicate the lack of a vigorous tap root. After all forest trees grow from self grown seeds! Now how much research on Forestry is done in this country I wonder? What happened to the animals in the jungle? This

damage to the flora of the region will cause the drying up and desiccation of the area in the dry season and also encourage the 'surface' flow of most of the rainfall in wet seasons. Soil erosion will be significant. In the meanwhile forest fires will enhance this disaster. The Forest Department should move in immediately, recover all timber that is suitable for woodwork and fuel and also set about to stop the vandals setting fire to these areas till the vegetation re-establishes itself with scientific assistance such as filling vacancies etc, by the department. This is a challenging tale.

E. T. Andrew

37A, Geo E. de Silva Mawatha,
Kandy.

14th December 1978.

—○— —○— —○—

Fiat Justitia

Sir,

I refer to the interesting note by "Serendib" in his column: "Between The Lines" in yours issue of December 16, 1978, in which he quoted Mr. E. Seemanpillai's letter (written three days before the cyclone) with its comments on "the President's Latinic reminiscences" and the Roman poet Horace's *Fiat justitia ruat caelum*.

In a letter published in the *Ceylon Daily News* of February 11, 1978, I wrote: "When Mr. J. R. Jayewardene took his oaths as President under the open sky and in the presence of the people I was reminded of the Latin *Fiat Justitia Ruat Caelum*, "Let justice prevail even if the sky tumbles in ruins". The initials DS of the first Prime Minister, Mr. D. S. Senanayake, coincided with the initial letters of the name of the Dominion Status Constitution recommended by the

Soulbury Commission. May we all hope that the new era ushered in on February 4 when JR took his oaths will rest firmly on the foundation of Justice and Righteousness.

I would like to now add, Let us have Dharmista in full measure, but may His Excellency take a dim view of pedlars of Dharmhistrionics and Dharmhysterics.

To get back to Horace, Finance Minister Ronnie de Mel had recourse to him when he said in his first Budget speech in November, 1977: "The task is no doubt difficult; but we can take courage in the words of Horace: 'Aequam memento in difficilis rebus'—'Always keep a steady mind in difficult circumstances.'"

I do not know whether the Minister or the Printer's Devil (despite Satan's absence from the House) was responsible, but there seems to have been a misquotation. What Horace wrote in his Third Ode was:—

*Aequam memento rebus in arduis
Servare mentem*

(Mr. De Mel's English translation of this is accurate).

The Editor of my copy of Horace's poems, James Boyd, has this comment on the verses: "The individual to whom the ode is inscribed (O. Dellius) was remarkable for his fickle and vacillating character; and so often did he change sides during the civil contest which took place after the death of Caesar as to receive from Messala the appellation of *desultorem bellorum civilium*; a pleasant allusion to the Roman *desultores* who rode two horses joined together, leaping quickly from the one to the other."

Among the Classical authors quoted in speeches in the English Parliament (a habit more prevalent some decades ago than now). Horace was a favourite and the poet is honoured by the existence of a Horatian Society. Mr. L. W. De Silva, the retired Puisne Judge,

now residing in Britain, has achieved unique distinction as a Sri Lankan for his brilliant translations of Latin poetry into English and of English poetry into Latin, as well as for composing original verses in Latin. This has been one of his hobbies since his school days at St. Thomas' College 60 years ago. His book "Latin Elegiac Versions" was published by John Murray and in the Preface to it Mr. T. W. Melliush, MA, formerly Senior Classics Master at Bec School and Joint Honorary Secretary of the Classical Association of England, wrote: "The President of the Horatian Society, Mr. L. P. Wilkinson, Public Orator at Cambridge University, said in his introductory speech, 'We welcome as our honoured guest tonight a member who has come from the Antipodes. Judge de Silva has shown that Horace, like St. Thomas, could penetrate as far as Ceylon flying, *non usitata nec tenui . . . penna* and find there a disciple as accomplished as any in Europe, both as a translator of the Odes and as self-taught composer of Latin verse'. Such tributes and testimony from many another source lend encouragement to the hope that a wider public than hitherto might be pleased to enjoy these versions."

H. E. R. Abayasekara

10, Stubbs Place,
Dickman's Road,
Colombo 5.

3.1.79

The Land Acquisition Act (Chapter 460) As Amended by the Land Acquisition (Amendment) Act, No. 28 of 1964.

Cancellation of Vesting Order Under Section 39(1)

My No. J 65/66/H105

G.A.'s Ref. No. ATH 15/32A,

The land described in details in the schedule below was vested in

Republic of Sri Lanka by the Order No. 182 of 1967 dated 07th May 1967 which was published in the Gazette of the Republic of Sri Lanka No. 14749 dated 19th May 1967 under Section 39 proviso (a) of the Land Acquisition Act as amended by the Land Acquisition (Amendment) Act, No. 28 of 1964.

However the possession of this land has not been taken over yet on behalf of the Republic of Sri Lanka.

Hence I, Edward Lionel Senanayake, Minister of Agriculture and Lands hereby cancel the above order dated 07th May, 1967 which was published in the Gazette of the Republic of Sri Lanka No. 14749 dated 19th May, 1967 under the powers vested in me under Section 39(1) of Land Acquisition Act, as amended by the Land Acquisition (Amendment) Act, No. 28 of 1964.

E. L. Senanayake

Minister of Agriculture and Lands.

Colombo.

29.07.1978

Schedule

An allotment of land (with the building) called Gondawatte alias Ambagahawatta in extent of about 20.75P, situated in the Village of Sedawatta, Ward No. 509, Waragoda Gramasevaka Division, within Colombo Municipal Council limits Colombo D.R.O's Division, Colombo District and as follows:—

North:— Nanakotuwwatta, claimed by R. D. Pinto.

East:— Kelani Ganga.

South:— Ambagahawatta claimed by U. Somapala and others.

West:— Old Sedawatta Road.

Confidentially

The New Brain Drain ?

IS IT NOT TRUE that a new brain drain has begun to afflict the higher and even middle echelons of the Dharmista government? That some of the best are quitting in disgust to find employment in the growing private sector in and out of the FTZ and many are getting jobs abroad? That a few of the favourites who had turned green immediately after July 1977 and had captured positions of strength have begun, like scores of predecessors, to worm their way into safe berths in UN and other International Agencies? That even the ranks of powerful in Plan Implementation will shortly be depleted? That one musketeer is likely to find his way to a prestigious UN outfit? That another is well on the way to an up and coming local entrepreneurial firm that can pull many punches? That two others are switching on to new centres of power in the Administration on which they are willing to place their bets for the immediate future? That new empire now being built—a revised version of the late lamented APCs (Kobbekaduwa-cum Mahinda Silva) system—has begun to attract aspirants for politico-bureaucratic power like the moths that flock to the flames that vanish in a short time? That similar mini-empires of ministerial and bureaucratic power now flourishing in dharmista land are fast becoming over-burdened with Dale-Carnegie (ex YMBA-YMCA) types who in the years after Independence have come between governments and ordinary people (voters)? That it is

this accretion of parastic bureaucratism that has isolated every government since 1947 and brought them defeat at the polls? That when one looks back, no government since 1947 has won a second term although the no-contest-pact-elections of July 1960 had brought the SLFP (which was the leading component of the 1956 S. W. R. D. MEP coalition) to power reversing the March 1960 results that had given the UNP a flimsy lead? That at the rate things are going on now, the JR magic that had given the UNP an unprecedented victory in July 1977 is likely to vanish long before the next elections in 1983? That neither PR (proportional representation) nor the FTZ or Mahaweli will be able to save the UNP from the wrath of the people? That the PR will bring new faces into power in a way that will shock the self-satisfied and complacent strata of the present ruling hierarchy? That one of the matters that will bring defeat to the UNP, as presently constituted, is the manner in which this government has made and continues to make its selections for jobs and appointments? That this inability to choose the deserving, especially for key posts, has already shaken the confidence of all right-thinking men and women in the government? That in less than 500 days, the government has a catalogue of wrong selections and jobbery that has beaten all records? That in instance after instance efficiency, proved bureaucratic loyalty, and acceptable seniority have been thrown to the winds that are beginning to blow at a greater velocity than the last year's cyclone? That this ill wind has begun to induce a brain drain of competent men which will soon shake the foundations of the much-needed developmental technocracy and bureaucracy in this island?

IS IT ALSO NOT TRUE that this

government has perpetuated misfits and promoted unfitts? That this has also led to a brain drain of those who are needed for development? That one outstanding example of such a disaster that has overtaken a key organisation is the Milk Board? That in the period after a Boss had acquired new strength through intended matrimonial alliances with the ruling dynasty for an offspring, sixteen (16) top technocrats and bureaucrats have quit the Milk Board in less than 8 months? That each one of the 16 should be separately asked by anyone who wants to find out why this government has begun to go down the hill in popularity rating so rapidly as to why they quit their Milk Board jobs to seek employment in the private sector or in some other sections of the government or to go abroad? That we set out the names of the sixteen below? That it is a formidable list: (1) Dr. Charles St. George, Research Officer; (2) Mr. K. Kulanthaivelu, Factory Superintendent; (3) Mr. D. S. Yalagalla, Commercial Manager; (4) Mr. J. M. Kumaraswamy, Accountant; (5) Mr. Silva, Internal Auditor; (6) Mr. Soundranayagam, Asst. Accountant; (7) Mr. S. B. W. Amunugama, Personnel Manager; (8) Mr. A. S. Rajasingham, Marketing Officer; (9) Mr. J. P. Kanannagara, Mechanical Engineer; (10) Mr. D. A. R. Idamalgoda, Chief Engineer; (11) Mrs. A. C. K. Sepala, Planning Officer; (12) Mr. K. B. J. E. C. D. Fernando, Supplies Officer; (13) Mr. V. M. Selly Accountant, Ambawela Factory; (14) Mr. Anton, Asst. Refrigeration Engineer; (15) Mr. Theveraperuma, Supplies Manager and (16) Mr. S. Rathnayake, Working Director? That these gentlemen and the one solitary lady will say that they quit for "personal" reasons, but this is only the tip of the ice-berg?

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