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Letter From The Editor

ONE MORE SHOW, ONE MORE TAMASHA, IS OVER. DESAI HAS COME AND GONE. THE SPEECHES HAVE BEEN MADE AND THE ROLLING REVERBERATIONS OF SELF-ADULTARY RHETORIC HAVE ALL FADED AWAY. WILL THE GOVERNMENT START PREPARING FOR THE NEXT TAMASHA OR WILL IT (AT LAST) WAKE UP TO THE REALITIES THAT THREATEN TO OVERWHELM IT WHILE, MESMERISED BY ITS OWN SELF-IMPORTANCE, IT LIES COCOONED IN A DREAM WORLD OF APATHETIC SELF-COMPLACENCY? Few Governments in the history of democracy have held 86% of the seats in the elected legislature. This can be a source of strength but it can also be the Achilles Heel for its destruction. One has only to talk to some of the knights in shining armour of the Government who seem to think that it is enough to shout "dharmista, dharmista" to realise how eighteen months of near total power can induce a state of mind that must inevitably lead to destruction. What is the current chorus of those who flatter and who have thereby succeeded in worming their way into positions of strength in the Establishment? All our Cabinet Ministers, say the knights in shining armour (really sycophants), are the greatest and the best in the land, if not in the world: that there are no weak links among them to cause the chain of dharmista power to snap: and that all our Secretaries and top public administrators are *par excellence*. Not one official in the team was below standard—to be kicked out or put into cold storage. All public sector corporation chairmen, say the sycophants, are handpicked and had passed through the needle's eye of the Select Committee in Parliament—and the Select Committee is also a magnificent unit in the wonderful Establishment, where everything is great, just and good. It was only necessary to retire or transfer a few middle-rank bureaucrats to get the administration to perform miracles. And with this chorus, business goes on as usual. The sycophants, in an aggressive and defiant mood, proclaim "never change horses in mid-stream.....never change a winning team....." But is Sri Lanka winning? By Sri Lanka, we mean the worker, the peasant, rural agricultural labourer, the lower middle class, the middle class—all of them who worked and fought for a change in 1977. They are patient and are still prepared to wait for results, for sometime longer, but the stupid delays, unnecessary postponements, the routine repetition of the same promises coupled with the continuing inaction, strikes at the very marrow of their pain-racked and ill-nourished frames. The sycophants who now rule the roost do not seem to know what the ordinary people of Sri Lanka want: and that every day counts in the rat race in which this country and every country in the world is currently involved. But this is not the only thing these sycophants do not understand or know for they have not been in the grass roots fight to secure the return of JR and the UNP in 1977 (those who had sweated it out then continue to sweat it out still for what lies ahead are) fast becoming a forgotten tribe. Most of those who now determine policies, programme, appointments, selections, promotions and even contracts at different levels, do not seem to know that political interference in the public service and the administration is worse now than in the 1970-77 era. Deputy Minister Percy Samaraweera addressing a meeting at the YMCA last week (and reported over SLBC) complained that there was an increase in political interference in the Public Service. Today, bureaucrats, technocrats and public servants are fed up, but they have no fear of the Establishment as they did in the past era—with the result less work is done. Between the new brain drain and growing inaction in the public services, the future for Sri Lanka is dark and gloomy. Speeches, tamashas, conferences and seminars will not help.

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EDITOR'S NOTEBOOK

Global Developments; Morarji Desai; Deng Xioping

Colombo, Feb. 7,

A great many events of importance and significance were crowded into the last fortnight. Sri Lanka celebrated its National Day on February 4, with the Indian Prime Minister Morarji Desai as the Chief guest. His visit, the results and the implications thereof have been dealt with separately in this issue. The Desai visit was given the biggest media coverage Sri Lanka has seen for a long time. The usual platitudes were expressed, the usual expressions of goodwill and cordiality were exchanged and Desai re-iterated more than once that India would help Sri Lanka in every way. All this is good, happy and auspicious, but will all this help to restore some of the lost euphoria to the UNP? Will Desai's visit and the grand tamaras on Feb. 4 help the UNP out of the doldrums.

But before Desai's arrival, stirring events had shaken the world. The Iran of Shah, Reza Pahlavi, propped up by USA and the Western powers, had disappeared into thin air through an internal campaign of opposition, non-co-operation and strikes by an overwhelming majority of the population of a country which had become fed up with the robbing of the country's oil wealth by the foreign oil companies and the Shah, his family and his entourage of personal supporters. But more than this, the brutal savagery of Savak and the government in respect of all dissidents had roused the people to such a pitch that opposition forces from religious conservatives

to political radicals were welded into one whole against the Shah. The loss of Iran and the end of the Shah's regime is the biggest political and diplomatic defeat for the USA and the West in the post 1970-era, if not the most serious economic setback in the post-second world war period. Even if the USA and the West succeed in bringing the Shah back—this is doubtful—it will not, and cannot, be the *status quo ante*. At the moment, there is tussle between Khomeini and Bakhtiar. Khomeini has the backing of practically the entirety of the people whilst Bakhtiar is counting on the loyalty and support of the 400,000 odd armed services men of the Shah. The USA and the West are in a dilemma not knowing what to do: if they back Bakhtiar and lose, they will burn their boats with Khomeini and the Islamic Republic; but if they abandon Bakhtiar they will be at the mercy of Khomeini. The western strategy seems to be to back Bakhtiar up to the point at which Khomeini would be willing to "negotiate" with Bakhtiar so that some of the vested interests of the West could be salvaged. But the West has little chance of bringing into being a set-up as under the Shah.

In Southern Africa—South Africa, Namibia and Rhodesia—US-UK plans, proposals and strategies—have failed. In the Horn of Africa, there are indications that Somalia will come to terms with Ethiopia over Ogaden and even resume friendly relations with the Soviet Union. All this has begun to cause further concern to the US, UK and the West. The recent developments in Indo-China are also regarded as not being favourable to West because the new Kampuchean government is undoubtedly pro-Soviet.

The USA had rushed the normalisation of the relations with China last December by hastily cutting

itself adrift from Taiwan. Such normalisation has no doubt been long overdue, but Deng Xioping has seized the opportunity of USA's undue haste to come to terms, when many matters connected with Taiwan were unresolved, to mount an anti-Soviet campaign which is bound to embarrass the Carter Administration more than help to restore its image after the setbacks to the Camp David Accords and the ouster of the Shah of Iran.

Deng Xioping, in the best style and manner of Don Quixote, has tilted at windmills of his main obsession, i.e., "Soviet hegemonism". In spite of frantic hints from Washington before he left China on his recent visit, that the Carter Administration would appreciate it if he did not attack countries friendly to the USA during his visit, Deng Xioping was not deterred by such hints. In every speech he made he had attacked the Soviet Union and mightily pleased the old brigade of diehard conservatives in the USA who had held on to Taiwan as bulwark against Chinese and world "communism", as they understood it. These conservatives no doubt were thrilled to hear Deng Xioping call for a world campaign to defeat the Soviet Union.

The Chinese Vice-Premier's constant chorus in the USA was as *Xinhua* reported from Washington on January 31: "Chinese Vice-Premier Deng Xioping today called for 'unity among the United States, China, Japan, Western Europe and other countries of the world to deal with Soviet hegemonism. He said this at a luncheon with American journalists here. He said, China was not against negotiations for concluding treaties such as the SALT, but 'you cannot restrain Soviet hegemonism through negotiations or agreements.' Entertaining American correspondents at a luncheon in

he Guest House, he cited three agreements in the past 15 years between the United States and the Soviet Union to prove that such agreements have no effect whatsoever in curtailing unbridled Soviet military buildup. 'We are not against the conclusion of agreements between the United States and the Soviet Union to limit strategic arms,' he remarked, but it is clear that 'you cannot restrain or reduce the Soviet effort for military build up, their policy of military buildup through such measures as negotiation and agreements. All we want to say is that the people of the world should not have illusions in this respect. They should not be lulled by such agreements.' Vice Premier Deng said, 'What is needed are more realistic steps, practical steps—for instance, unity between the United States, China, Japan, Western Europe and other countries of the world, unity among these countries to deal with soviet hegemonism.'

The USA no doubt realising that it had caught a Tiger's tail (or a Tartar) in Deng Xiaoping has been trying to wriggle out of its embarrassment by speaking of the USA having "common interests" but "different perspectives".

The relevant part of the joint communique stated: "...The talks were cordial, constructive and fruitful. The two sides reviewed the international situation and agreed that in many areas they have common interests and share similar points of view. They also discussed those areas in which they have differing perspectives. They reaffirm that they are opposed to efforts by any country or group of countries to establish hegemony or domination over others, and that they are determined to make a contribution to the maintenance of international peace, security and national independence. The two

sides consider that the difference in their social systems should not constitute an obstacle to their strengthening friendly relations and co-operation. They are resolved to work toward this end, and they firmly believe that such co-operation is in the interest of their two peoples and also that of peace and stability in the world and the Asia-Pacific region in particular."

US spokesman, after the Deng Xiaoping left the USA, have made feeble statements that they did not regard the USSR as a "hotbed of war" or as an enemy. The Soviet Union, as to be expected, has come down heavily on Deng's statements in the USA. An article by Alexei Petrov in the *Pravda* on Feb. 1 stated: "...Deng did not find a single word to say about socialism, the national-liberation struggle of the peoples or the revolutionary changes in the world. While advocating obtrusively Peking's Maoist thesis on the inevitability of a new world war, Deng described the Soviet Union as 'the main hotbed of war.' He ascribed to the Soviet Union a striving for 'military superiority', and in doing so he used mythical data which even rabid anti-Sovietees in the West do not resort to. In this context Deng Xiaoping villifies the idea of conclusion of SALT 2 agreement between the USSR and the USA, saying that such an agreement is 'of no use'. While openly playing up to these circles in the USA which oppose the conclusion of SALT 2 and impudently lecturing the Carter Administration, Deng Xiaoping alleged that such agreements should not be relied upon. He said outright that he found more appealing the position of 170 retired American servicemen, who, as is known, declared against the idea of any agreement with the Soviet Union in the field of disarmament, than the position of President Carter whose

subjective views, Deng says, cannot 'stark reality'. After the conclusion of this agreement, Deng asserts, the arms race will continue.

"Deng persistently persuades the USA, and above all President Carter that they should orient themselves to China, to co-operation with it as the surest way to preserve American influence in the world. Advertising the 'benefits' of Sino-American rapprochement—evidently in the hope for a response from certain American circles, which find detente unpalatable—Deng cynically says that 'from the broader perspective of global politics' the United States could gain more if it helped the 'poor friend' of the West to carry out the 'four modernisations' programme the pivot of which is China's equipment with modern Western arms and technology. As a matter of fact, the Peking visitor subserviently begs of the ruling circles of the USA certain privileges and waits for hand-outs, chiefly in the military-economic sphere. 'If we really want to be able to place curbs on the polar bear' (i.e. the USSR—editor), Deng Xiaoping says, 'the only realistic thing for us is to unite'. 'If we only depend on the strength of the US, it is not enough. If we only depend on the strength of Europe it is not enough. We (i.e. China—Ed.) are an insignificant poor country, but if we unite, well, it will then carry weight.'" Among those whom Deng would like to have within a 'united anti-Soviet Front' is also Japan although its government, as is known, dissociates itself from such statements which draw it within the orbit of China's great-power policy. It is clear from Deng's interview that they in Peking are revising the Maoist theory of 'the three worlds' in such a way that imperialism disappears from it altogether, while the United States is assigned the role of China's ally. It is charac-

teristic that in this renovated concept of Peking there is no place left even for verbal assurances on the 'leading role' of states and the peoples of 'the third world' in the world's development, on the significance of the non-aligned movement and other international forces to which only recently the Peking leaders used to make assurances of their loyalty.....".

It will be recalled that Japan refused to fall in line with a Chinese suggestion for "joint action" against Vietnam in Indo China. Sri Morarji Desai, in his press interview in Colombo on February 6, when asked what he thought of the Chinese Vice-Premier's call for a world pact against Russia, dismissed it with: "why not then a world pact against China or one against India? Why a world pact against one country?" Regarding Kampuchea, Desai had said that India would recognise any government which is firmly established.

Prime Minister Morarji's statements, speeches and press conference in Sri Lanka are a far cry from Deng Xiaoping's new-bystencal but calculated outbursts in the USA mainly against the Soviet Union. The Indian Foreign Minister is due to go to Peking this month. Will Peking extend concessions to India on the border disputes in the same manner it yielded to the USA on Taiwan? Apart from the Karakorum Road through the disputed Aksai Chin, India has the headache of Chinese help to the Naga guerillas?

THE DESAI VISIT

Most Successful And Productive

by R. Varadachari
PTI Correspondent in Colombo

Indian Prime Minister, Mr. Morarji Desai's first visit to Sri Lanka which lasted four days from February 3 to 6 was most successful and productive by any reckoning! Huge crowds gathered to greet him wherever he went, be it Colombo, the capital, Kandy, the island's hill capital, at foot of central high hills, or Kotmale in upper reaches of the tea land where plantation labour of Indian origin are concentrated. They showed their love and affection for the Indian Premier in abundance with buntings, Indian tri-colour flags and welcome arches and above all vociferous greeting "long live Morarji Desai" and "Jai Hind".

DURING MR. DESAI'S VISIT it has been decided firmly to further expand mutual trade relations and economic collaboration between the two neighbours with age-old cultural ties. In this connection a joint press statement issued at the end of his visit said, "during the discussion on bilateral matters there was emphasis on economic trade matters and closer co-operation between the two countries in cultural affairs research and development. Particular attention was paid to the question of pursuing action for increase of trade between the two countries and establishment of joint ventures in industrial and the export promotion zone (first of its kind set up by the ruling United National Party of President, Mr. J. R. Jayewardene north of Colombo around Katunayake International Airport).

Already Birlas are so far the biggest investors among foreign firms in the Free Trade Zone and work

is soon to start on its project to start a 'big complex in the zone for the manufacture for export of footwear. Large number of fields for Indian joint ventures in Sri Lanka's Free Trade Zone and elsewhere such as cashew plantations, rubber, aluminium, graphite and pharmaceutical products have already been identified. It has also been agreed to enter into an Investment Guarantee Agreement to help encourage Indian investment in the island particularly in the Free Trade Zone. Indian consultancy services suited to developing economy like that of Sri Lanka is also another segment identified for collaboration. India has also agreed to help to bridge trade gap which have been weighted against Sri Lanka heavily for several years by agreeing to buy back arrangements from Indian ventures in Sri Lanka.

Though the late Lal Bahadur Shastri and Mrs. Indira Gandhi on the Indian side and Mrs. Sirimavo Bandaranaike on the Sri Lanka side had removed two irksome issues which befouled the otherwise cordial relations between the two countries namely future of one million stateless persons of Indian origin in Sri Lanka and the Maritime boundary between two countries to which was linked the emotional issue of ownership of Kachchativu island, much headway was not made during the previous seven-year rule of Mrs. Bandaranaike in forging close economic ties.

This was because of apprehension in the mind of Mrs. Bandaranaike that any close economic tie up with 'Big Brother' India might lead to the strangle-hold by Indian cartels and monopoly firms on Sri Lanka's fragile economy. Such an apprehension is not in the mind of Mr. Jayewardene who is an ardent champion of regional economic co-operation and

admirer of Indian economic leap forward. He is fully convinced close economic relations with India would bring highly beneficial results to the island and he had sent after his visit to India in November last, his Minister of Trade, Mr. Lalith Athulathmudali to New Delhi for forging closer ties on the economic plane. Mr. Athulathmudali sought and secured what he called "special treatment" in this field from Indian Ministers concerned to offset the recurring adverse trade balance, and also assurances for increased Indian participation in industrial projects in the island, big, medium and small scale ones.

TO ENSURE THAT the newly envisaged economic ties do not elude implementation Ministerial level the Indo-Sri Lanka joint economic commission which was set up during the visit to India of Mr. Jayewardene in December 1969 when as Minister of State he was second in command to the late Sri Lanka Prime Minister Dudley Senanayake has now been revived. This high level machinery remained practically dormant during Mrs. Bandaranaike's rule which replaced that of the late Senanayake in 1970. This Commission will now meet in New Delhi and Colombo every year alternatively to review and expand further economic collaboration and clear any bottlenecks. With the economic ties as the main focus during Mr. Desai's visit to Sri Lanka, Mr. Athulathmudali was appropriately named Minister in Attendance to him. Mr. Desai also stressed economic co-operation as the main feature in future bilateral relations in his farewell message to Mr. Jayewardene on the eve of his return to India. He said "what I have seen and my discussions with you, your Prime Minister and other Ministers confirms my belief that I have entertained for a long time that our countries and people together have

a bright future of mutual co-operation in the common task of development. Opportunity of extending the scope of such a co-operation is even greater under your enlightened and dedicated leadership." It would now be the endeavour of Mr. Desai on his return to New Delhi to persuade leading private Indian firms and Government undertakings to go all out to help Sri Lanka in its economic developmental programmes by joint ventures and other means such as offer of technical advice and know how.

The rousing welcome which Mr. Desai got in the island was not only because of his own political stature in the world today but also because of the special appeal which Mr. Jayewardene had issued to the members of Parliament belonging to his United National Party on the eve of his visit to give him a "warm and cordial welcome" as he is a "true friend of Sri Lanka."

IN HIS ADDRESS OF WELCOME to Mr. Desai, M. A. Bakeer Markar, Speaker of Sri Lanka Parliament struck the same note. Introducing him to the parliament members at the special session which Mr. Desai addressed, Mr. Markar described him as "the oldest young man in public life in the world today because both in spirit and action your youthfulness has overcome many obstacles in your cherished path lighted by the torch which lights your search for truth. Your Excellency counts wide experience in state craft, you belong to the great band of freedom fighters and with Mahatma Gandhi and Jawaharlal Nehru and Abdul Kalam Azad won freedom for India." Sri Lanka's Prime Minister, Mr. R. Premadasa, was no less profuse in this acclaim for Mr. Desai in his address of welcome in parliament he said Mr. Desai "is the chosen leader of the largest democracy in the world. He is one who has dedicated his entire life to the creation of a

new society a society based on the highest moral values which are relevant at all times and in all places—truth, justice, peace and respect for human values. It is this special quality in the person I am introducing to you today which invests this occasion with an unique significance." Mr. A. Amirthalingam, called Mr. Desai a "Karma Yogi".

Mr. Desai had also occasion to demonstrate his special regard and affection for Mr. Jayewardene. Unveiling a bronze bust of Mr. Jayewardene in the precincts of Parliament he said, Mr. Jayewardene was not only a "great personal friend", of his, "but his statesmanship, dedication to the cause of his country, devotion to his religion, his parliamentary gifts and significant contribution he has made to the promotion of good neighbourliness between our two countries have won recognition both at home and abroad. You could not have chosen a better occasion to associate myself with this great tribute to his personality and achievements." The decision to instal the bust of Mr. Jayewardene was an unanimous decision of all the three political parties represented in parliament—the ruling United National Party, the Tamil United Liberation Front and the Sri Lanka Freedom Party of Mrs. Bandaranaike. The bust was cast by the reputed Tamil sculptor Mani of Madras and was brought in the special Indian Airforceplane in which Mr. Desai travelled to Sri Lanka.

MR. DESAI'S VISIT could be best summed up in his own words contained in his address to the Sri Lanka Parliament. He observed, "today there are no problems between India and Sri Lanka. Those what we have inherited from our colonial past have been resolved through goodwill and negotiations. We stand on a threshold of a new and meaningful era of co-operation

In which we can work together in harnessing our energies towards development and mutual bilateral co-operation. I am confident that in this endeavour our two governments will be greatly fortified by the national support which they enjoy in pursuing this objective.. ..May the light of Asia as the West knows him and the Enlightened One as we both recognise him endow the thoughts and endeavours of both our countries with success."

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BETWEEN THE LINES

BY SERENDIB

○ Brain Drain

*WHY THEY QUIT. Dr. S. N. de S. Seneviratne, Plant Pathologist, Central Agricultural Research Institute, Gannoruwa, Peradeniya, whose presidential address at the annual conference of the Society for the Advancement of Science some years ago was published in the *Tribune* some months ago in instalments, sent us a letter dated January 29, 1979 readings: "...It is good that you have taken up the subject of the 'brain drain' in the recent issues of the *Tribune*. I am enclosing an extract on this subject from a paper I wrote in the subject area agriculture for the preparation of the National Paper for the United Nations Conference on Science and Technology for Development which will be held in Vienna in August 1979. The *Lanka Guardian* published some other extracts of my paper—on foreign experts, and the concluding section. I am pleading for a 'fuller life' for the citizens—all citizens—of this country. Science and technology too can make a contribution to the achievement of that objective.."

What he has to say about the brain drain is most interesting:

"The Causes of the 'brain drain' could be considered under two aspects. What induces the 'brains' to leave the country? What attracts 'brains' to other countries? It is probable that, whatever the attractions elsewhere, many 'brains' would not have fled this country for the sake of these attractions alone. *The principal cause is the fact that brains do not receive adequate recognition in this country. In fact, it is sometimes dangerous to have brains. Technical personnel are often pushed around and humiliated by unscrupulous administrators, bureaucrats and politicians. They are denied job satisfaction in their specialist fields and the opportunities of utilising their skills for the benefit of the country.* All this constitutes a form of violence. 'Brains' are devalued in this country—they do not receive the remuneration or the conditions of service commensurate with their abilities and contributions. This leads to intense frustration. Racial and communal prejudices generate resentments and fears. 'Brains' have other options open to them abroad where they could find better conditions of service, greater job satisfaction and higher pay. The fortunes that can be amassed in employment abroad and the lure of the consumer goods of the affluent world too are factors influencing the drain. However, it is probably true that the vast majority of 'brains' will remain in this country at the service of their motherland if given fair conditions of service and due recognition and spared the pain of administrative and political violence.

"The 'brain drain' can be arrested effectively only by giving the scientist his rightful place in this country, by ensuring for him the possibility of creative and satisfying work for the upliftment of his motherland, but giving him a

fair reward for his labours, and by affording him protection from the violence inflicted by bureaucrats, administrators and politicians.

"The result of the 'brain drain' is impoverished technical capability which must be met either by the production of more personnel within the country or by importing replacements from abroad. The former is preferable but when even the minimum numbers are not being produced to meet the country's needs in the various specialist fields, it seems unrealistic to expect 'mass production' to offset the effects of the 'brain drain'. The second course is a further affront to the nationals of this country. Not infrequently, mediocrities imported into this country as "experts" and "consultants" enjoy conditions a fraction of which if provided to the country's nationals would meet their aspirations for a satisfying life in this country....."

The new brain drain is gathering momentum.

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TRIBUNE RECALLS

Comment On "The National Flag" In Cinemas

The *Sun* of February 1, 1979 under the heading NATIONAL FLAG WON'T BE SHOWN ON FILM reported: "The State Film Corporation has instructed all cinemas in the island to discontinue the screening of the filmlet depicting the National Flag. This follows a directive made by the Government in this respect. Mr. Eric J. de Silva, Acting Chairman of the State Film Corporation told *Sun* yesterday that the Government's decision came after it was felt that screening the National Flag was not serving the purpose it

was originally meant for. "The screening of the National Flag in a cinema does not build any patriotic feelings among the people" he added. Mr. de Silva pointed out, that the cinema was not a place where the people were expected to display their national feelings."

The filmlet showed the Flag unfurled while the National Anthem was played. It was screened at the beginning of each show because nobody wanted when it was shown at the end. It is pertinent to recall that in its issue of October 21, 1978 (Vol. 23 No. 17) the *Tribune* in its column MARGINAL COMMENT stated: "...On Tuesday October, 10, the Ministry of Justice for no apparent reason issued a communique which stated that 'the Government had appointed a Committee under the chairmanship of Montague Jayawickreme, the Minister of Public Administration to gather information and prepare a Code of Conduct to be followed by Government Departments, Corporations and Members of the Public regarding the use of the National Flag. This is consequent to a decision by the Cabinet that respect for the National Flag should be cultivated among all sections of the population and guidelines for the proper use of the Flag should be drawn up and published.' All this is highly commendable, but can 'respect' be instilled by *diktats* from top? But, getting back to the playing of the National Anthem in cinemas, any survey will show that less than 40% or so in a theatre stand up when the Anthem is played. Can we consider this 'disrespect' for the National Anthem? To answer this question we must ask another. Why do people generally go to a cinema? For relaxation, and they do not usually feel like standing up when they have comfortably settled down in their seats. And, in our opinion the National Anthem

should not be played at all in cinemas. It is foolish to attempt to compel 'respect' from people by fiat and laws when even the most patriotic among us feel disinclined to rise when the anthem is played in a cinema theatre? There is a time and place for everything, and a cinema theatre is certainly not the place for the National Anthem. It is a hangover from colonial rule that imposed itself in so many ways upon a subject people, and must a free and sovereign nation slavishly follow this practice? By all means, let the National Anthem be played at public functions, ceremonial occasions, national events and the like and we have no doubt that 90% of those present will 'respect' it by standing up. But dissidents, even if they are as much as 10% should have the freedom to do what they like as long as they do not become a nuisance or cause of civil commotion or disturbance. In the bad old colonial days, the Anthem was originally played at the end of the show. But when it was found that very few people stayed behind, the practice was started of playing it before. This improved the situation slightly, but not much. And, if now, we have come to a stage when policemen with guns are going to be at our backs to make us stand up and 'respect' the national anthem and flag, it is a sorry state of affairs indeed. Patriotism cannot be pushed down people's throats. It must be something that must come naturally. Can we talk of democracy and freedom whilst we try to force down patriotism? If we feel patriotic it is because the State has something to make us feel patriotic about. It will be a far more profitable exercise to try and find out why this sense of patriotism is lacking in our people, if it is indeed lacking, than try and enforce it under the jack boots of

blundering policemen. It is to be hoped that the Committee which has been appointed will view the situation realistically and find the proper solutions. To expect a hundred percent in a cinema theatre to stand up for the National Anthem is asking too much of any people. To insist on people doing it by enacting laws is to invite trouble and also disrespect for the law. Such a law will become a joke as some of the laws now on the Statute Book are (it is time they are removed and it will be stupid to add to the number). If the Government does not act sensibly and is carried away by cheap emotionalism a day may dawn soon when we will have to walk around with a booklet on Do's and Don't regarding the National Anthem (and/or Flag) as well as other similar matters with fear in our hearts that the 'guardians of the law' may be behind us with bayonets. I hope we do not live to see that day."

Tribune congratulates the Government for the action it has taken on this matter. Many people had fears that the government would compel "respect" for the Flag and National Anthem at the point of the bayonet. Incidentally *Tribune* is the only paper that had protested against the stupid police attempt to force ordinary citizens to show respect to the Flag in cinema theatres.

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PUBLICATION RECEIVED

Worker In Sri Lanka

THE WORKER IN SRI LANKA —RIGHTS AND DUTIES published as an issue of **LOGOS**, Volume 17 no. 1, July 1978, 98 pages and Rs. 5/-, published by and obtainable from, Centre for Society and Religion, 281, Deans Road, Colombo 10.

THE WORKER IN SRI LANKA contains (1) An Introduction by Charles Abeysekera, (2) The Labour Movement—A Brief Historical Background by Kumari Jayawardena, (3) The Labour Movement in the Plantations by Kumari Jayawardena, (4) Education of Estate Population of Indian Origin by Tissa Balasuriya, (5) An Analysis of the White Paper on Employment Relations by the Centre for Society and Religion, (6) Worker Participation at the Level of the Enterprise by the I.L.O., (7) The Free Processing Zone and Labour by Batty Weerakone, and (8) A Note on Women Workers by Kumari Jayawardena. Except for the first and last pieces which are notes, the others are compact essays. This slim volume is presented as a modest contribution to focuss attention on two important themes that have come up for discussion at the national, policy-forming level, namely the condition of the plantation workers, and reform of the Labour laws and the industrial relations system.

Facts are presented as processes and not discrete events. The processes are seen in their historical context—of an implanted development of capitalist relations within a feudal society, the instrument of implantation being British colonialism. The main actors in the story are the working people, identified both as patriots and an evolving class, and the beneficiaries of their sweat, the owners of wealth and power. The suffering of the workers in semi-slave conditions, their exploitation, each phase of their attempts at organization and the setbacks, the stagnation and underdevelopment of consciousness, the struggles and confrontations, the limitations and compromises are all sketched in to provide an *all-sided* view of condition. This is the method used in the essays. Some of them are

noteworthy for their consideration of moral imperatives—rights and duties of not only workers, but also of employers, and even further, of governments. *What emerges in the overall is a clear and succinct picture of historical trends, their present day forms and manifestations, and the all-important issues raised by the present Government's plans for reform.*

None of these are offered as smug academic pieces. Rather they are reasoned challenges to all of us to inform ourselves about subjects which have been consistently neglected by the policy maker, the implementer and leaders of the elite. They are the kind of essay which will provoke the reader to take a stand and make a contribution—however small—to social change. This is particularly the case with the plantation workers, whose neglect is a classic failure of basic humanity and elementary democracy. Therefore the policies pursued *vis-a-vis* the plantation workers need to be relentlessly exposed for their content of deception and the double-standard-talk and no deeds, gross discrimination on unadmitted racial grounds, denial of representation... and the resort to tokenism and petty concessions.

The Analysis of the White Paper is a comprehensive document covering the whole subject of the development of trade unions, labour laws and the practice of the industrial relations system in the modern period. It is a serious response to the Government's call for comments and representations. While it is highly critical of the main content of the economic and political strategy in it, it is just as receptive to its positive aspects. The spirit of this in-depth analysis can be seen from this penultimate para: "Employment relations and the problems of employment cannot be resolved except within the

wider framework of the type of society we want. We therefore raise these wider issues. We would like the Government to give consideration to its overall programme of policies including decentralization of power and not to push ahead legislation that is likely to deprive the working class of the gains of several decades of struggle and evolution. The alienation of the working class in the urban areas, in the plantations including the coconut industry is far too high a price to pay to satisfy the pressures of local or foreign capital."

It is very important that studies like this should be put to the *greatest possible use*. Activists should digest these essays and transmute their thinking into popular opinion. Writers and journalists should reflect these concerns in their day to day writing. All concerned and patriotic Sri Lankans would welcome research and scholarship in the service of the people, stripped of dogma and rhetoric. For those who are closest to the workers, these are handbooks for daily and weekly discussion, debate and further inquiry. We would remind the Centre for Society and Religion that for the maximum use to be made of this, its Sinhala and Tamil translations should be out on the shelves as soon as possible.

One major criticism relates to its production. The proof reading is atrocious. On every page, there are numerous mistakes.

Susil Siriwardene



SRI LANKA CHRONICLE

Jan. 18—Jan. 23

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

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

THURSDAY, JANUARY 18:

President J. R. Jayewardene said yesterday that the Cabinet had decided to set up a Centre of Fundamental Research in Science which was a longfelt need in the country; 'we want to make it a centre that would attract students from all over the world,' the President said. Serious concern over the imposition of barriers on the export of manufactured and semi-manufactured products from developing countries was expressed throughout the Ministerial meeting of the Asian Group of the Group of 77 which concluded yesterday at the BMICH. The prices of all liquors and cigarettes were increased from midnight, yesterday; foreign liquor was increased by Rs. 10 per bottle; while all varieties of local liquor was increased by Rs. 2 per bottle, local beer by Rs. 1/50 per bottle and cigarettes by 3 cents each; Cinema rates were also increased. The Government has approved an initial expenditure of Rs. 10 million to set up a centre for Fundamental Research in Science in Sri Lanka; research in the institute will include such disciplines as astronomy, space science, physics, chemistry,

biology, the origin of life and the causes of epidemics. Jaffna's minority Tamils who planned a Thai Pongal seige on the temples that remained closed to them on the grounds of caste were permitted entry without obstruction—CDN. As language is the principal means of communication between people, the government has decided that all three languages—Sinhala, Tamil and English—will be introduced in schools from the time the child starts schooling; so said President J. R. Jayewardene when he declared open President's Block, the new two-storeyed block of 12 classrooms of Colombo Hindu College, Bambalapitiya yesterday. The striking employees of Ceylon Tobacco Company failed to report to work yesterday morning when the company deadline ended. Dr. Nissanka Wijeyeratne, Minister of Education and Higher Education, is examining the question of reducing further the minimum age of school admission from five to four years and six months—CDM. Allegations of infringements of fundamental rights and other injustices that occurred prior to the adoption of the new Constitution in September 7, 1978 will not be within the jurisdiction of the Ombudsman to be appointed soon. The Prime Minister, Mr. R. Premadasa yesterday moved into ensure that the country's cinema goers are given a better deal by theatre owners. Several state officers in Colombo and other areas not affected by the recent cyclone have drawn salary advances on account of the disaster—SU. The Minister of Mahaweli Development has decided to plant expensive trees in 28,000 acres in the form of forests in the next 5 years. The Tourist Board is to construct a new 1000 acre tourist complex in Trincomalee at a cost of Rs. 18 million—DM. Sri Lanka might be forced to call for applications from abroad

to fill Technical grade vacancies in the country in the near future at thousands of highly trained Technicians are leaving the country daily for employment abroad. The Fisheries Ministry is considering importing fish from Maldives and selling it at a cheaper price than the prevailing fish prices—LD. The leader of the LSSP has sent a number of proposals to the President which includes giving employment to those who lost their jobs because of the cyclone and giving free ration etc. to the cyclone victims—JD. Exhausted and humiliated the Shah of Iran finally bowed to overwhelming public pressure yesterday and flew abroad from a capital erupting in joy over his departure. At least 1000 people were killed when a powerful earthquake struck northeast Iran yesterday. Fighting raged in the Gulf of Thailand as Vietnamese-led forces battled units loyal to the Pol Pot government for control of Koh Kong Island off the west Cambodia coast. The Shah's departure from Iran has improved prospects for ending the months of turmoil but the new civilian government still has only an even chance of survival US officials said yesterday. Ayotullah Khomelni who has led the religious opposition to the Shah of Iran from exile, plans to set up a provisional government leading to an Islamic Republic he announced yesterday. PM James Callaghan last night told strike-plagued Britain that he was sticking to his tough wage policy and urged lorry drivers to go back to work—CDN. King Hussein of Jordan held private talks with Syrian President Al-Assad yesterday following reports of a planned merger between Syria and Iraq—CDM Prince Sihanouk accusing of Vietnam behaving like Nazi Germany has appealed to the US to intervene in Kampuchea. US Special West Asian Emissary, Alfred Atherton

arrived in Israel yesterday where he will try to get the west Asian peace negotiated moving again—SU.

FRIDAY, JANUARY 19:

Many people including Members of Parliament had asked him to use his powers and throw out, by the scruff of their necks, saboteurs and others engaged in corruption; but he did not do so because he did not want to be a dictator, said President J. R. Jayewardene at a meeting which followed the opening of a Vihara Mandiraya at the Sri Ganegodarama Purana Viharaya at Vatina-paha in the Minuwangoda electorate yesterday. Police officers will have powers to arrest any person found drunk and disorderly in public places; persons found guilty of such an offence will be liable to a maximum punishment of two years rigorous imprisonment or to a fine of Rs. 2000; selling liquor to any person under 18 years will also be an offence; these provisions will be contained in the 12 clause anti-liquor legislation that was prepared on the initiative of President J. R. Jayewardene to curb drunkenness. The Sri Lanka Freedom Party MP for Gampaha, Mr. S. D. Bandaranayake, yesterday said it was the duty of every right thinking citizen to discard political differences and support the Government in all its efforts to develop the country. The Government Parliamentary Group yesterday unanimously decided that Deputy Ministers and District Ministers should donate 15 per cent and Members of Parliament ten per cent of their salaries every month for one year for cyclone rehabilitation work; the Ministers at their meeting on Wednesday decided to donate 20 per cent of their monthly salaries towards this cause. The Government has decided to cut down drastically on expenditure in celebrations marking this

year's National Day on February 4—CDN. The President Mr. J. R. Jayewardene yesterday told the Government Parliamentary Group that Rs. 1000 million was needed for reconstruction and rebuilding of the cyclone devastated areas; he said that if every citizen donated two or three rupees each month, it would be sufficient to realise the required amount for rehabilitation. 'Don't register doctors who have violated laws of regulations in their home countries,' Medical Councils abroad will be requested by the Ministry of Health shortly; this step is the latest taken by the Ministry in its efforts to curb the flight of medical talent from this country—CDM. Mr. Abeyratne Pilapitiya who was recently re-appointed to the Kalawana seat in Parliament took his oaths yesterday when the House resumed sittings. A blocked account of Rs. 7.5 million belonging to American film distributors and lying with the Sri Lanka Government, is to be released to the State Film Corporation to build a cinema complex at Bullers Road, Colombo. Six massive textile finishing plants are to be set up in Sri Lanka at a cost of Rs. 36 million. Indian Premier Morarji Desai will address a special session of Parliament on February 6, President J. R. Jayewardene announced yesterday—SU. If people who apply to Job Banks for employment fail to accept jobs that are offered, they will forgo the 50/- allowance; a similar fate awaits those who fail to turn up for interviews after applying—DP. The Government expects a revenue of Rs. 135 million from the recent increase in prices of cigarette and liquor. The Minister of Health said in Parliament yesterday that taking in to consideration the service done by apothecaries the government has decided to reduce the number of years an apothecary

should work before being recognised at a Doctor—DV. A number of Japanese businessmen have come forward to cultivate vegetables in the island to be exported back to Japan; Vegetable will be cultivated in 12000 acres under the scheme if the government accepts the scheme—LD. Less than 24 hours after the Shah left the country Iran's delicate political balance slid in to confusion today amid reports of dozens of deaths in heavy army shooting in a big provincial city. Iran is to resume and export oil for the first time in three weeks with the next few days, Iranian oil company said today. Britain PM Callaghan yesterday accepted the advice of his social envoy for Africa Clodwyn Hughes and decided against convening an early Camp David style conference on Rhodesia. The US Treasury said yesterday it raised 329 million dollars by auctioning 1.5 million ounces of gold as a part of the programme to bolster the dollar—CDN. Palestine Leader Yasser Arafat today called for the guerilla war to be intensified against israel and urged greater Arab and Palestinian unity to resist Egyptian Israeli peace moves. President Carter said today that Chinese vice premier Deng Yioping has personally asked to meet former President Richard Nixon during his forthcoming visit to the US—CDM. Thai PM Kriangsak Chamanond was yesterday reported to have asked Japan to support his country against a possible attack from the Hanoi backed Kampuchean regime. For the second time this week Britain's entire railway system lay paralysed today. The 28,000 locomotive drivers went on another 24 hour walk out to press their claim for a 10% pay bonus—SU.

SATURDAY, JANUARY 20:

The Government has already fulfilled its pledge to the people to

set up a free society; not only have the people been freed from the shackles that bound them during the previous regime but all their democratic freedoms have been enshrined in the new Constitution, President J. R. Jayewardene said yesterday; he was speaking at a meeting which followed the opening of a chaitiya and the unveiling of a pinnacle at the Dharmarakshitharamaya, Kuda, Buthgamuwa, Angoda, in the Kolonnawa electorate. The Minister of Labour, Capt. C. P. J. Seneviratne yesterday said the private sector was required to comply with the proposals for salary increases. A seven-member Parliamentary delegation leaves for India today at the invitation of the Indian Lok Sabha; the delegation led by the Minister of Lands, Land Development and Mahaweli Development, Mr. Gamini Dissanayake will be in India for nine days. Sri Lanka has entered into a double taxation agreement with Czechoslovakia—the first taxation agreement between Sri Lanka and any East European country—CDN. The members of the Board of the Greater Colombo Economic Commission met yesterday and on the instructions of the President Mr. J. R. Jayewardene resolved to restore all powers of Mr. E. P. Paul Perera who was absent from the Commission since November 3, 1978—CDM. The Government is to convert the People's Bank into a National Bank of Sri Lanka, and Indian Co-operative expert now on loan to the Sri Lanka Government told a press conference in Colombo yesterday. A datebank for all tourists arrivals to the country is to be established immediately according to decision taken by the Police and immigration officials. A multi-purpose radiation facility which will be used for food preservation, sterilisation of medical products and for several other purposes

will be set up in Sri Lanka shortly with French assistance—SU. TULF leaders met the Minister of Education, Nissanka Wijeyeratne and expressed the view that the basis for university admission i.e., district population ratio was only a smokescreen to completely debar Tamil students from University education—VK. If the President doesn't take up the suggestion put forward by the TULF to appoint a Conference to investigate the standardisation regarding university admission, the TULF has decided to protest inside and outside Parliament—EN. The government will save 13,000 tons of rice per month from those who will lose their rice ration book with the salary increase this month—DV. The UNP is considering to give turns as PM to senior members of Party to train them for

the future leadership; some quarters consider this is a plan to oust the Present PM and to replace him with the present Minister of Youth Affairs Mr. Ranil Wickremasinghe but the Minister of State is tipped to be the successor because of his seniority and the Minister of Trade has an outside chance—DK. The US yesterday put forward fresh proposals to try to break the impasse in peace negotiations between Egypt and Israel. Syrian Information Minister Ahamed Iskander Ahmed yesterday confirmed his country's plans to merge with neighbouring Iraq and to sink long held ideological difference in forming one single state. Millions of people are expected to march through towns and cities all over Iran today to hail the Ayatollah and demand that the Shah should never return—CDN. Iran's

THE RS. 600 EXTORTION

Sir,

It is reported that a flat rental of Rs. 600 per year will be charged on all telephones except from religious bodies. That savours of political expediency. I am a subscriber for the last 25 years, I have never come across such an inefficient service. Complaints have been made repeatedly but they fall on deaf ears. The nuisance is practically an every day occurrence. Here is the last experience.

I am 72 years and very ill. I had an appointment with an eminent physician at Matara at 7 p.m. on 10th January. I was told by my son in Colombo to give him a call and inform him of the result. I gave a call at 9 p.m. and the line was engaged. I asked the Matara operator why he failed to check up and give me a connection when the line is disengaged. He cut the line. I tried to contact him for about 45 minutes but he would not answer. I managed to get a call the following morning.

I received the 1978 directory a few days ago. The M.P.'s and Colombo got them months ago. Yes, they must keep the M.P.'s happy. I find I have been given a number for Colombo too, which I gave up 4 years ago. Is it for this service that we are asked to pay Rs. 600—it is extortion. At least they might confine this to those who have the facilities of direct dialling. We, the village folk, are at the mercy of the telephone exchange. In the provincial section of my copy, pages 63 to 94 appear twice and pages 30 to 62 are not included. I write to you, because reports to the Department are of no avail. Let the public know.

Richard Wickremaratne

The Waluwa,
Tellijawila.
20.1.79

PM Bakhtiar was quoted in the British press today as saying that the army would take power in a bloody coup if Ayatollah Khomeini succeeded in forcing the present government from office. An estimated two million Iranians today joined the newest anti-Shah demonstration in Teheran called by the opposition religious leader Ayatollah Khomeini from his exile near Paris—SU.

SUNDAY, JANUARY 21:

By the end of next month, the first of sixty nine top class American films will begin their run in Colombo; an agreement between the State Film Corporation and the Cinematograph Renters Society of Bombay, who represent the seven major Hollywood Companies, was signed last Thursday. One of the tightest ever security operations will be enforced during Indian Prime Minister Morarji Desai's visit here from February 3 to 6; eight thousand policemen, both regulars and reservists, will be involved in the operation at its peak—SO. Is the State-owned Ceylon Shipping Corporation authorised to import ammunition? The question has arisen owing to last Wednesday's discovery of ammunition imported from China in a specially chartered ship that arrived in Colombo. In his view export corporations should be moved outside the state sector, giving them the required elasticity to take spot decisions, said Mr. Lalith Athulathmudali, Minister of Trade and Shipping—ST. The government yesterday announced the adoption of a Parent's Charter embodying the rights and duties of parents in the education of their children—a new move to coincide with the International Year of the Child. Schools have begun and the majority of the parents are haunted by the problem of non availability of certain text books for their children. The inter-

nationally reputed Indian "Apollo" circus is scheduled to perform in Sri Lanka in February and March—WK. Mr. S. Rajadurai first MP for Batticaloa is likely to be thrown out of the party if he fails to reply a letter sent by the TULF High Command asking for his explanation. Tea production in many upcountry areas is being seriously affected mainly due to the return of many estate workers to India—CM. Sri Lanka is to use the telephone wave system in the future instead of telephone lines. A huge telephone wave transmitting power will be built in Colombo, capable of transmitting telephone talks to any where in the world—RR. Indian Income tax officials today searched a farm belonging to former PM Mrs. Indira Gandhi following a report that a large treasure chest was buried there. Iran's PM Dr. Bakhtiar has said the Ayatollah Khomeini is free to return but says he will not hand over power to him. The PLO vowed today to continue a mounting wave of bomb attacks in Israel a few hours after Israeli troops attacked a Palestinian stronghold in S. Lebanon—SU. PM Morarji Desai said today that India would recognise the new government in Kampuchea when a request was received. Ayatollah Khomeini exiled leader of Iran's religious opposition movement said huge street demonstrations throughout the country had effectively dethroned the Shah—ST. For the first time Palestinian leaders today admitted their political and military support to Iran; leaders today admitted their political and military support to the Iranian revolution. India's ruling Janata Party has decided not to proceed with the controversial plan to nationalise key industries. The detection of an official of the East German Ministry for State Security to the West has sparked

off a massive spy hunt in the Federal Republic of Germany—WK.

MONDAY, JANUARY 22:

President J. R. Jayewardene will inaugurate the Kirama Oya development project at 2.30 pm on Sunday, January 28; this is one of the major irrigation and agricultural projects to be undertaken in the Hambantota district this year under the integrated rural development project drawn up under the auspices of the Ministry of Plan Implementation. A group of international entrepreneurs of which Australian Press, Radio, TV and Cricket tycoon Kerry Packer is a member, wants to establish a massive "Tourist Entertainment Complex" in Sri Lanka. The Coastal Conservation Division of the Ministry of Fisheries will soon implement a Coastal Sedimentology Project (use of nuclear technique to study the pattern of movement of sand lying at the bottom of the sea) with assistance from France. Steps to expedite compensation payments on land acquired have been introduced by the Ministry of Lands and Land Development at the initiative of the Minister of Lands, Land Development and Mahaweli Development Mr. Gamini Dissanayake. Rural councils in the island are to be re-demarcated in a manner which would ensure the building up of a unified nation; the Prime Minister and Minister of Local Government, Housing and Construction, Mr. R. Premadasa recently appointed a Committee for this purpose—CDN. Ceylon Tobacco Co., began recruitment on Saturday—from over 25,000 applicants—to fill about 1800 vacancies created by the termination of employment of striking employees who failed to turn up for work on January 17; The Company had set this deadline after the bonus issue, over which the unions downed tools, was referred by

the Ministry of Labour to an Industrial Tribunal. Millions of yards of textiles produced by the Department of Textile Industries, Sri Lanka's biggest textile manufacturer, are piling up at the Department's textile mills because Lanka Salu Sala has refused to purchase them on the grounds that they are of inferior quality—CDM. Government is now considering the introduction of Constitutional Amendments which will enable Members of Parliament who are sacked from their respective parties to continue as MPs; according to Government sources Ministers will shortly review this amendment and other issues relevant to this matter. The TULF is to issue "a final reminder" to Mr. C. Rajadurai, 1st MP for Batticaloa asking him to submit his explanation for violating a party resolution; the resolution related to a TULF decision barring its members from attending any function where Cabinet Ministers are present. The Government has decided to amend the Land Reform Act of 1972 so that children under 18 years of age of landowners could have their own 50-acre holdings—SU. Many estate trade unions have approved the proposal to put forward by the government that estate workers should also be appointed through Job banks—DP. The General Secretary of the CP of Sri Lanka, Mr. Pieter Keuneman speaking in Jaffna said that Tamils should be given regional autonomy but the country should not be divided into two—EN. The Minister of Trade etc., has decided to give small traders all over the island a Training Course to train them to run their establishment efficiently—LD. The Cement Corporation has taken special steps to increase the cement production by 30% by the middle of next year—DM. The Minister of Plantations has decided to launch a

scheme to replant tea in 50,000 acres which has been neglected for various reasons in the past. The price of petrol, diesel and kerosene oil are to be increased from next month again—DK. US special envoy Alfred Atherton held a surprise midnight meeting with Israel officials last night after Washington clarifying controversial issues holding up the signing of an Israeli Egyptian peace accord. PM Morarji Desai said yesterday that India was not concerned about China aiming itself with sophisticated new weapons like the British Harrier Jumper Jets Fighters. About 20 members of Iran's Parliament have resigned in response to appeals from exiled religious leader Ayatollah Khomeini it was officially announced last night. Ugands said yesterday it was being invaded by enemy forces which had advanced seven miles inside Ugandan territory west of Lake Victoria. The new Iranian government last night released 162 political prisoners leaving only eight all convicted of charges with political murder still in jail—CDN. Ayatollah Khomeini exiled leader of Iran's religious opposition will return to Teheran next Friday aides said yesterday. Angola announced yesterday, it has accepted a request from China for a meeting to discuss the establishment of diplomatic relations the official News Agency Angop said—CDM. Egyptian President Anwar Sadat accused the Soviet Union yesterday of starting secret conspiracies in west Asia and Africa with the air of undermining stability by causing unrest and quarreling. Former Cambodian strongman Prince Sihanouk claimed he has been asked by the new Vietnamese backed Phnom Penh government to return as President of Cambodia, yesterday's newspaper reported—SU.

TUESDAY, JANUARY 23: The government has proposed a Master Plan to rehabilitate the

rubber industry which has lagged behind targets in both production and replanting; the question today is how to create a balance between imports and exports; for economic developments of a country it is important to raise the per capita of both import and export; the Minister of Trade and Shipping Mr. Lalith Atulathmudali said so yesterday. Laws are to be enacted to bring to book those who instigate or rouse communal feelings and instincts; punishment will include confiscation of property and imprisonment; Mr. K. W. Devanayagam Minister of Justice is now in the process of drafting the legislation. The Government of the Netherlands yesterday informed the Minister of Finance and Planning, Mr. Ronnie de Mel, that Sri Lanka will receive assistance in forty four million Dutch guilders (approximately Rs. 300 million) this year. The Tamil United Liberation Front's Central Council which met at Paddiruppu on Saturday decided to bring the youth wing of the party, the Tamil Ilaingar Peravai (Tamil Youth Congress) under its direct control; the meeting lasted nearly eight hours. The fifth International Tamil Research Conference will be held in Madurai in South India in July 1980 and not in London as decided earlier—CDN. Two opposition MPs are likely to quit their parties and support the government; this is, however, expected to take place after government amends the Constitution to provide for a Member of Parliament continuing to be a member although he leaves his party or is expelled from it—CDM. Sri Lanka's Foreign Minister, Mr. A. C. S. Hameed has consulted members of the Non-aligned Coordinating Bureau on a note sent to him by Mr. Hun Sen, Foreign Minister of the new Kampuchean regime. In view of the recent cyclone disaster in the East the

decided not to stage any demonstrations but to boycott the Independence Day celebrations on February 4. Mr. Herbert Ernest Tennekoon, Governor of the Central Bank of Sri Lanka, expired in Singapore yesterday where he stopped over, enroute to Colombo after attending a meeting of Asian Central Bank Governors in Manila. Firms setting up industries in the Free Trade Zone will be required to recruit employees through the Job Bank. Indian Premier Morarji Desai who is expected in Sri Lanka on February 3, will be received at the Colombo Airport, Katunayake by Prime Minister R. Premadasa—SU. The Minister of Public Administration and Home Affairs is taking steps to give a special monthly allowance to government servants working in places like Jaffna and Vavuniya. The USA has presented 10 large paddy mills under the aid scheme—DV. The Department of Labour and the Department of Statistics are facing the problems of not having the amount of unemployed people in the country at present as the last such assessment was done in 1971. Labour Department statistics says the unemployment is 580,156 which is considered to be an unrealistic number—LD. Private companies like Maharajah's, Dasas and Ebert de Silva will be first companies to compete with the CTB from February 4th—JD. The Government of USA has agreed to establish 9 rice mills at a cost of 50 lakhs of rupees under the aid scheme—DP. A major artillery duel was reported in the ragged mountains around this southern Lebanese town yesterday and Palestinian commandos said they had chocked out on Israeli tanks. PM Bakhtiar vowed last night that he would not resign in the face of pressure from religious leader Ayatollah Khomeini who plans to return to Iran this week to set up an Islamic Republic. US special envoy Alfred Atherton

postponed his scheduled departure for Egypt following failure to reach agreement on new proposals for a Middle East peace treaty—CDN. One million and a half low-wage workers joined Britian's pay revolt today and troops were called in to replace striking ambulance drivers. The collapse of Iran's economic life has put some 3.5 million Iranians out of jobs according to the Teheran Chamber of Trade and Industry—SU.

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OBITUARIES

Jan. 25—Jan. 31

Alfred Fernando, *Bolawalana*; H. D. S. Dharmasiriwardana, 108, *Veluvana Place, Colombo 9*; N. Rufus de Silva, *Wellaboda, Balapitiya*; Mrs. Caroline Dias Gunasekera, *Meegahawatta Kalahe, Wanchawela*; Justin Perera, 112/50, *Vauxhall Street, Colombo 2*; John Nicol Pieris, *St. Anne's Lane, Katukurunda, Moratuwa*; C. C. Sayakkara, 84, *Biharawekanda Path, Kandy*; H. E. Tennekoon, "Bank House," *Bullers Road, Colombo*; Mrs. D. A. P. Weeraratne, 19/2, *Chapel Road, Nugegoda*; S. Ambalavanar, 38, *Sivan Kovil Road, Tirunelvely, Jaffna*; D. S. A. Jayasundera, 19, *Templar Place, Mount Lavinia*; Denzil Anderson, 12, *Elimatta Street, Rydalmere, NSW*; Leonard Clements, 17/1, *Swarna Road, Colombo 6*; James de Silva, 344A/7, *Nevil Perera Mawatha, Nalluruwa, Panadura*; Sanath Ittapana, 45, *Mangala Mawatha, Wadana, Panadura*; Tuan Kamal Cuwcheer, 70/4, *Ampitiya Road, Kandy*; Mrs. Eva Jayawardene, 190D, *Hill Street, Dehiwela*; Pedrupillai Phillip, *Kamrampon, Kayts*; H. B. Sawal, 11, *Jayasuriya Mawatha, Ganegoda, Kandana*; Mrs. M. E. Senanayake, *Verella Estate, Mirigama*; Quintus Tony Cruz, *Kinigama SPO, Bandarawela*; L. C. Karunaratna, 72, *Edirisinghe Road, Mirihana, Nugegoda*; Joseph Navaratne, 156, *Ratnaville Hendala, Wattala*; L. K. Pourajah, B-1, F-2, *Bloemendhal Flats, Colombo 13*; Lucy Ellen Abeysekera, *C/o. Ragama Church*; Mrs. Mary Fernando, 15, *Customs Road, Negombo*; Sipirana Perera, 145/1B, *Taladuwa Road, Negombo*; Palipane Kumarihamy, 452, *Katugastota, Road, Kandy*; J. Michael Perera, 9/1, *Kalyani Mawatha, Wattala*; S. Arumugam, "Sorna-giri," *Kokuvil*; Richard Cooper, 84, *Pepiliyana Road, Nugegoda*; Rosaline de Silva, 71/1, *Yakkala Road, Gampaha*; T. S. Sandarasegera, 30, *Inner Vandervert Place, Dehiwela*; Mrs. Emily Wijesekera, 61, *Borupana Road, Ratmalana*; Lucian Barthelot, 148/82, *Prison Quarters, Borella*; Seenivasagam Ethirmanasingham, "Kasipillai Illam," *Urumpirai South, Urumpirai*; Udaris Gallage, 93/3, *Subadrarama Lane, Nugegoda*; Eric Godlieb, 34/2, *Bloemendhal Lane, Kotahena*; Claude F. G. Holmes, 17, *Morning Crescent, Aranda, Canberra, Australia*; Helena Perera, 7, *1st Lane, Pagoda, Nugegoda*; Sister Zuchary, *St. Anthony's Convent, Borella*; Melroy Schokman, (A. F. Raymond's); Mrs. Mory de la Motte, 81/21, *Ramayawatta, Kalapaluwawa, Rajagiriya*; Ernest Fernando, 997/11, *Park Lane, Nawala*; B. E. Goonasekera, *Karangapokuna, Wattala*; D. Benedict Silva, 842, *Kategawatte, Ragama*; Mrs. Chandra Sudasinghe, *Pilipana Junction, Mawatagama, Homagama*; Mrs. Laura Wijesekera, 9, *Lady Evelyn de Zoysa Road, Idama, Moratuwa*; N. A. Amarasinghe, *Leelasiriya, Udapitiya*; Mirissa; Manuepillai Bastian, 189, *Galle Road, Colombo*; Mrs. Caldera Hamine, 123/1, *Perakum Mawatha, Maharagama*; Sithamparam Elankayar,

Kaithady North, Kaithady; Ekana yake, Pidumwella, Uhumeeya; Mrs. H. R. Nagendra, 8, Nandimitra Place, Balapokuna; Omar Sheriff, 154/11, Station Road, Kelaniya; Saman George Swaris, 9/2, Pamankada Lane, Wellawatte; H. D. P. Samaraweera, 67/16, Poorvarama Mawatha, Kirillapone, Colombo 5; Miss Agnus Dias Senanayake, Madabawita, Kurunduwatte, Danowita; A. Simeon Fernando, Boralessa; W. S. Fernando, 56/1, Jayaratne Road, Negombo; A. D. A. Gunasekera, Batulawatta, Habaraduwa; Don Andris Kulasekera, Upulchandana Mudungala, Gambana; Sylvaester Perera, "Loretto", Wewela, Ja-ela, Mrs. Helen Peiris, 76, Sinhapura Road, Chilaw; M. S. Perera, F/21, Mangala Road, Narahenpita; James Cyril Vethecan, 19, 5th Lane, Ratmalana; W. M. P. Wijekoon, 338, Battaramulla, Thomas Francis, 363, Mahawatta Road, Mirihana, Nugegoda; Mrs. Angelliammal Gonsalves, 63, Paramananda Mawatha, Kotahena; Shan Uyanogode, 34, "Kalhaven", Pepiliyana Road, Nugegoda; Arunachalam Mahendrarajah, 126A, Allen Avenue, Dehiwela.

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THE WORLD TODAY

compiled by
The Recorder

Middle East

—Camp David, Baghdad

Summit, New Perspectives—

IN THE MIDDLE EAST, inspired news leaks from Jerusalem, Cairo and Washington suggested that a compromise formula had been worked out to bring Egypt and Israel to the negotiating table again and conclude a Peace Treaty. Fori

nearly three months the world has been fed with stories of how the US was endeavouring to bring both parties together. Israeli intransigence was mentioned as the prime cause for the breakdown in the talks coupled with Egyptian determination to ensure a Palestinian State on the West Bank and Gaza. But with Atherton's failure to get both parties together, the stalemate continues.

It is interesting to note how American newspapers viewed this matter. On January 19, *The Washington Post* said: "The central point on which a new approach is mandatory is the link between an Egyptian-Israeli treaty covering the Sinai, and an agreement on Palestinian self-rule in the West Bank. Responding to Arab accusations of selling out the Palestinian, the Egyptians last month demanded a tight link. The Israelis, unprepared to make a treaty with Egypt hostage to a West Bank negotiations that no Palestinian is now willing to join, insisted on a loose link. Last month the United States supported Cairo. If there is no change, the Camp David process appears dead. The new factor—the X factor—is Iran. Has the turmoil there made Israelis and Egyptians (and the influential Saudis) more interested in completing a treaty by way of trying to stabilize at least one sector in an increasingly turbulent region? Or has Iran made Israel less willing to meet a neighbour halfway, and Egypt (and the Saudis) less able to buck a running Islamic tide? It's uncertain. One of the larger tasks of American diplomacy is to convince the parties that the Iranian upheaval can only mean trouble in the area and that their best protection lies in moving toward an Arab-Israeli peace."

The *New York Times* stated: "The stability on which western interests depend in the Middle

East requires American partnership with the region's three most important nations—all of which happen to desire it. As the Saudis know even better after the fall of the Shah, their fate is tied to American influence in the area. And that influence would be jeopardized by another round of war between Israel and Egypt. Together, these four nations can huddle against the storms. But if Egypt and Israel fail to complete their bargain while their own politics allow it, the outlook for all could be grim indeed. Suspicion and fear are growing on all sides. The Saudis may be tempted to appease radical Arab currents even when their interest so obviously requires the opposite. Egypt and Israel may come to believe their propaganda about the broken faith of the other since Camp David. Building on December's pique, the United States might actually believe that only Israel blocks the path, and pressure an already weakening Begin government to the breaking point. These attitudes are greater obstacles than the quarrels over language in the Treaty. The Saudis have found it convenient to pretend that the negotiations do not concern them. The Egyptians, having been judged reasonable by the White House, prefer to let the United States wring all remaining concessions out of Israel. And the Israelis, always fearful that they must pay disproportionately, are digging in stubbornly and trying to resolve their partisan strife with provocative new settlements in Gaza and the West Bank. A credible American mediation needs to pull everyone back to the basic deal that lies at hand. That means pressing the Saudis to use their paymaster's influence in Cairo to support the Camp David compromises. And it means forcefully

reminding Egypt and Israel of the essence of their bargain: the return of territory for a total peace that will stimulate similar accommodations on Israel's other fronts. Contrary to American assertions last month, it was not reasonable for President Sadat to try to dilute, even slightly, the proffered peace until Jordan and the Palestinians have also been satisfied. Mr. Sadat is the author of the proposition that more can be gained from the Israelis by assuring them than by frightening them. It was a sound and admirable approach and he should return to it. Contrary to Israeli claims, it is not reasonable to ask Egypt to renounce all mutual ties to other Arab nations as it signs this treaty. Whether Egypt will ever again fight Israel on behalf of other Arabs depends not on a treaty but on events, which the treaty itself can influence. The Israelis were right to recognize this Egyptian leader's desire for peace; if all the treaty ambiguities are to be dismissed as tricks, many of the Israeli undertakings would fall as well. And contrary to Egyptian demands, there is no advantage in linking this treaty to deadlines on deals with Palestinians and Jordanians. That would only mortgage the agreement to those who oppose it. The links are real enough without timetables. Israel could not long reap the benefits of peace with Egypt if it spurned recognition from and negotiation with other Arabs. But neither is it likely to trust other Arabs without first experiencing peace with Egypt. These are busy days for Mr. Carter, but a final even-handed push in the style of Camp David could ease his pressure on all other fronts. He can hardly afford not to try."

But all this see-sawing between Israel and Egypt with the US acting as an umpire is viewed very differently by the rest of the Arab world. The *Baghdad Observer* in a

recent editorial on *The Stalled Negotiations*: "If one were to allow oneself to be guided by the despatches of the Western news agencies, one would come to the conclusion that 'serious differences have emerged in the negotiations between the Sadat regime and the Zionists in occupied Palestine. The information machinery in Cairo has also been galvanised to give credence to the supposed differences', but with an added slant, namely, that Sadat is waging a real battle to get better settlement terms. The crucial question, however, is whether serious differences keep Sadat and Begin apart and, therefore, from concluding a so-called 'peace treaty' or whether new and important developments in the area have compelled Sadat, Begin and especially Carter to change their tactics? Sadat, according to political observers, has proceeded a long way along the path of surrender and has reached a point of no return. His statements and speeches bear testimony to this. Sadat, moreover, has shown that he is a man who is prepared to offer concession after concession to the Zionists in order to reach a 'final settlement irrespective of the dire consequences these may have on the inalienable rights or the very existence of the Arab Nation on its homeland. However, the supposed differences, Sadat claims, are over 'linking the peace treaty' with a 'Sadat-Begin solution' for the occupied West Bank and the Gaza Strip. But just prior to the Baghdad Arab Summit the Sadat regime had abandoned any such linkage..why the sudden change now? When Sadat signed the ignominious Camp David Accords, Begin made it quite clear to Sadat about Zionist expansionist aims in the West Bank and the Gaza .. and particularly over Arab Jerusalem. But as a camouflage it was

announced that Arab in the West Bank and Gaza would be given some kind of self-administration (a Middle East version of a Banustan) under dubious, pro-Zionist 'representatives'. And Sadat accepted this 'formula' at Camp David. If, therefore, Sadat is willing to make every humiliating concession to the Zionists, why the sudden 'difficulties' in concluding the so-called treaty? The supposed new 'difficulties' it should be emphasised, have nothing to do with technicalities, wording or principles. The 'difficulties' are the direct result of the Baghdad Arab Summit. The Baghdad Summit, and particularly its resounding results, was one factor the Carter-Sadat-Begin trio did not take into account when they conspired behind closed doors at Camp David. They under-estimated the Arab capacity to unite when Arab rights are threatened. Carter initially believed—albeit subjectively—that he could divide the Arab homeland and use the division to impose Sadat's betrayal in the region. The unanimous opposition by Arabs at the Baghdad Summit deflated Carter's hopes. Moreover, Carter has been compelled to take cognizant of the fact that the Baghdad Summit results have led to the isolation of Sadat from the Arab world. More important the Baghdad Summit unequivocally demonstrated the Arab will to resolutely fight for legitimate Arab rights.. even if the largest Arab country is neutralized through imperialist machinations! Thus, it was not entirely surprising that in the post-Baghdad Summit period there emerged 'differences' and the negotiations began to stall. Now however, there are speculations as to whether there will or will not be a 'peace treaty'. Western news media has cast gloom over the prospects, while others argue that one 'breakthrough formula

will be worked out by the trio. The truth, however, is that Carter—despite his public statements to the contrary—is deliberately stalling the negotiations because of unanimous Arab opposition to the Camp David Accords. He is now scheming to sell the same Accords in another guise..by asking the concession-granting Sadat to make 'tough' demands and the Zionists to 'reject' these demands initially. Later the Zionists will be asked to 'concede' to Sadat's 'tough' demands and..hey presto..a 'new and more acceptable peace treaty' will be signed. The Arabs, needless to say, will not be deceived by this new arrangement!"

From Tel Aviv, the *Middle East Intelligence Survey (MIS)* reviewing "1978 In Retrospect" summed up the section on Egypt thus: "But the most serious development of 1978 for Egypt's regional position took place in the Fertile Crescent where opposition to Sadat's policy has gradually been growing, bringing together the various political forces there in a concerted effort to undermine Egypt's peace diplomacy: 1. Syria, which had for years criticized Egyptian moderation, now fully joined the radicals, creating with them the "Front of Rejection and Steadfastness." 2. Jordan, whose collaboration with Egypt was once taken for granted, has shifted from a sympathetic-neutral position to more hostile neutrality and continues slowly drifting in the direction of the radicals. 3. Iraq convened an Arab summit meeting to denounce Egyptian policy, with the participation of all members of the Arab League but Egypt. 4. These processes were accompanied by a series of reconciliations—some of a declarative, some of more serious nature—in the Fertile Crescent: Syria-Iraq, Iraq-PLO, PLO-Jordan and Jordan-Iraq. For the Egyptians, the greatest dis-

comfort was caused by Saudi Arabia's participation in the Baghdad conference. Sadat has managed to demonstrate a remarkably firm posture vis-a-vis the Saudis; at times it seems as though he was pressuring them rather than the other way around. This is explained by a number of factors beyond Sadat's *sang-froid* and Egyptian pride. Egyptian economic dependence on the Saudis has been declining with the growth of the Western component in the financial aid it receives. Moreover, the very same radical and Soviet pressures which have constrained the Egyptians elsewhere have made Sadat's regime indispensable for Riyadh. The Saudis' pro-US orientation make collaboration with Sadat inevitable. All these factors have led to a situation which some Egyptian officials have perhaps overstated by saying that "Saudi Arabia needs Egypt more than Egypt needs the Saudis." Whichever the case, Sadat's statement that Egypt was undergoing one of the most difficult periods on record, seems to summarize 1978 for the Egyptians."

It is also interesting to see how the Israelis view Saudi Arabia. The *MIS* under the heading *Devaluation of a Powerful Image*, stated: "During the last year, many of the prevailing assumptions about Saudi Arabia's policies—whether in regard to its so-called moderation, its power, or its willingness to assist the United States—proved at least partially incorrect. In early 1978 the Carter Administration sought to convince everyone involved that Saudi Arabia was a central factor in the advancement of the ME negotiating process. Yet it gradually emerged that Saudi Arabia was not only not prepared to support Sadat, but by July 1978 was even trying to persuade Egypt to give up negotiations with Israel altogether. Then

the Saudis refused to endorse the Camp David accords and lent their full support to the rejectionist camp. And it is difficult to imagine the Iraq call to the Baghdad summit enjoying the favourable response of all Arab states (apart from Egypt), without the blessings of Saudi Arabia. Thus the belief in Saudi moderation appeared to be groundless. And the success of the Baghdad Summit in formulating its unanimous rejection of Sadat's policies was due, in no small measure, to the participation of Saudi strongman Crown Prince Fahd, the man with whom the United States will possibly have to deal as the future King of Saudi Arabia. The Saudi drift into co-operation with the rejectionists stemmed not only from its opposition to the Egyptian initiation, but also from its own sense of weakness and insecurity despite its economic power and influence. The Saudis fear Arab divisions, because such divisions forces them to take sides and create enemies. Thus they preferred to preserve their solidarity with the vast majority of the Arab world rather than assist Egypt. Having shifted away from its erstwhile ally into the camp of its potential enemies, Saudi Arabia is now faced with its own inability to do anything to protect its interests in the face of growing Soviet penetration: in the Horn of Africa, South Yemen, Afghanistan and lately, in Iran—not to mention its inability to further American interests. This exposure of the Saudi regime's inherent weakness may prove fertile ground for the opposition at home. A possible internal struggle over the succession to the throne could give the opposition an opportunity to strike at the monarchy. And the enormous quantities of weaponry being accumulated in Saudi Arabia might eventually turn out to be the means to topple a

regime on which the United States has staked a great deal. After the events of 1978, the time may have come for a re-assessment of the Saudi Arabian role in US polity."

With the collapse of the Pahlavi-US empire in Iran and the merger of Iraq and Syria, a completely new situation has arisen in this

region. The failure of the Atherton mission underlines the importance of the Baghdad Summit which was attended by all Arab nations bar one—Egypt.

There is talk now of another Carter-Begin-Sadat Summit. Will it help?

ditions have contributed toward^s deepening the crisis of economic development and aggravating the crisis of the industrialized countries. This in addition to the series of accumulated crisis in the fields of monetary and financial issues, food and primary commodities.

The economy of Iraq shares the problems and aspirations of the majority of the developing countries with some minor and detailed differences as a result of the country's particular characteristics and objective conditions. Doubtless, the Republic of Iraq shares with the developing countries their determination to struggle for the elimination of backwardness and dependence and to fully participate with them in taking the necessary measures to change the present international economic system and its inequitable economic relations. This entails the achievement of a genuine and balanced economic, social development to eliminate dependence and all forms of dominance, exploitation as well as reaffirming complete and permanent sovereignty over their natural resources in the interests of their people. In conformity with this principle, Iraq's political leadership in 1972 was able to achieve a historic victory by nationalization of activities of foreign oil monopolies in Iraq. This has made Iraq one of the leading countries in the Middle-East which accomplished a total economic independence and integrated the oil sector into the national economy.

Now Mr. President, allow me to make some general observations on the major items of the provisional agenda of UNCTAD V. Mr. President, the restrictions imposed by the industrialized countries and the tendency to intensify them have constituted a source of great worry to the international community, particularly the developing countries. During the last few years

FOURTH MINISTERIAL MEETING IN COLOMBO, JAN. 15—19, 1979

Statement Of Iraqi Delegation

TRIBUNE will in the coming months focus attention on UNCTAD V and the fight of the developing countries for a new international order and then on the Havana non-aligned summit where the new international economic order will also be one of the most important matters discussed. Elsewhere in this issue a columnist has summarised some of the more salient features of the meeting of Asian Ministers of the Group of 77 that met in Colombo from January 15 to 19 to prepare for the UNCTAD V at Manila in May.

We have tried and so far failed to get the documents submitted by the Sri Lanka delegation at the Colombo Conference for study and analysis. There does not seem sufficient awareness among our officials in the relevant government departments for the need to have studies-in-depth on all matters that will come up at UNCTAD V. So far only the Embassies of Iraq and Indonesia have sent us the statements made by their delegations at the Colombo meeting. This week we publish extracts from the statement of the Iraqi delegation. In a coming issue we will publish extracts from the statement of the Indonesian delegation. —Ed.

THE FOLLOWING IS THE STATEMENT MADE BY HEAD OF THE IRAQI DELEGATION, H.E. AMBASSADOR ABDO ALI HAMDAN AL-DAERI.

"...Indeed, it is difficult to discuss the present international economic developments in seclusion without considering its relationship with the new International Economic Order and the effort being deployed to contain the contradictions and crisis and to identify the effects of these development on the economies of the third world especially in achieving its objectives in economic inde-

pendence and developments. Recent events have demonstrated the depth of the structural economic crisis of the industrialised countries and the seriousness of the crisis of economic development of the third world and their organic inter-relationship. Under the present unbalanced international economic relations, the negative developments in the industrialized countries were multiplied and transferred to the developing countries. While at the same time, the developing countries do not but enjoy very little of the positive effects of these developments. These con-

and especially recently a considerable number of industrialized countries have undertaken restrictive protectionist measures in the face of their imports from developing countries, and this development is contradictory to the present international efforts taken within the framework of The Tokyo Declaration about multilateral trade negotiations, which are supposed to be wider in its application than the previous rounds. Naturally this course of action, that is to say the protectionist policies pursued by the industrialized countries, have a negative and harmful effect on the world economy and in particular the economies of the developing countries.

Recent studies made by GATT, UNCTAD and IMF indicate the continuity of the developed countries taking more protective measures in the face of imports from developing countries. This is due to the reluctance of these countries to solve their structural problems and adjust them. *Since some of the developing countries hope to pay their foreign debts through, the expansion of export in their manufactured products, we believe it is quite indispensable to exert great effort on the regional as well as international levels to control the pressures which lead to protectionism.*

With regard the integrated programme for commodities, we wish to register our disappointment for the failure to implement all the necessary measures and arrangements as contained in Resolution 93 (IV). As for the Common Fund despite the progress achieved in the last resumed session of the negotiating Conference, we believe that there still remains differences which necessitate the continuation to exercise greater pressure by the developing countries on the industrialized countries with the aim of realizing the goals and ob-

jectives of Resolution aforementioned.

In view of the importance of the industrial development and trade co-operation, we wish to emphasise the following:— 1. Improving the industrial capacity of the developing countries. 2. International co-operation for industrial development and restructuring the industrial and trade sectors. 3. Industrial and trade co-operation between the socialist countries of Eastern Europe and developing countries. 4. Co-operation with UNIDO.

As with regard to the Generalized System of Preferences we believe that it has special importance to the interests of developing countries and it still needs greater efforts to improve it and make it capable to respond to the trade requirements of the developing countries. In this regard we wish to emphasise the following:— 1. Expansion of its product coverage. 2. Simplification of rules of origin. 3. Elimination protective measures. 4. Protection of the interests of developing countries, vis-a-vis the erosion of preferential margin which are expected to emerge from multilateral trade negotiations. 5. Extension of the period of GSP.

Now allow me, Mr. President, to make few observation on the questions of money, finance and transfer of real resources for development. On the question of debt, we still support what has been agreed upon in Manila particularly the following:— (a) Elimination of official debts; (b) Rescheduling the debts and undertaking the necessary measures to organise debt operation in the future on easy terms; and (c) Lowering debt servicing. *Furthermore, we endorse the demand for the developing countries to increase official development assistance from developed countries*

to meet the ODA target of 0.7 percent of GNP, not later than 1981. This in addition to the demand that the ODA flows should be predictable, continuous and assured.

As regards the international monetary system, my delegation's position could be summarized that the current system in its present mechanism needs fundamental changes. These changes must take into account the interdependence of the problems of the international monetary, financial and trade system and increasing the share of the developing countries in the decision-making process. In addition, the new system must aim at a process of balance of payments adjustment that will remove the inequities inherent in the present system, so that it may contribute towards creating international liquidity in such a way that it mobilizes resources for development and contributes to the stability of exchange rates. In addition the new system should be universally applicable and should reflect in particular the rights and interests of the developing countries and assure them equitable treatment that take into account their development need.

On the question of transfer of technology, Iraq views this question with special importance due to the closeness of this subject with the process of development programmes for developing countries. We also support all measures aiming at strengthening the technological capacity of the developing countries and lessening their dependence on others. We consider the International Code of Conduct for the transfer of technology as the appropriate means for the transfer of technology, and believe that the Code must be legally binding on all. Mr. President, in this regard we wish to express our disappointment for the lack of sufficient political will

on the part of developed industrial countries during the UN negotiating conference on the International Code of Conduct on the Transfer of Technology. We emphasize the need to work resolutely to bring the Code into being. Iraq as well supports that necessary measures that should be taken to exchange technical and scientific know-how among developing countries, calls on the developed countries and the international financial institutions to take all necessary measures to help developing countries to maintain their technical and scientific personnel.

In respect to shipping, Iraq wishes to stress the following:— 1. Increase the capacity of developing countries to participate in the carriage of bulk cargoes. 2. The need to phase out the flags of convenience. 3. Work must be done to secure financial and technical facilities to help national fleets of developing countries. 4. The need to increase technical assistance given to the developing countries by the Shipping Division of UNCTAD. 5. Achieve co-operation among developing countries in the shipping sector. 6. Work must be done to lower the freight rates which are increasing rapidly. We also wish to emphasize the need for undertaking the necessary steps and measures to protect the interests of shippers and their participation in the multi-modal transport so as to help facilitate international trade and promote the technological developments of multi-modal including containers and other means of transport in developing countries.

We also support all measures relevant to the needs and special problems of the least island and landlock developing countries and would like to point out that my country has taken several bilateral measures to lessen the economic burden of these countries.

The co-operation among developing countries occupies special importance in Iraq's relations. This process has been accelerated since the historic triumph to achieve a complete economic independence. Our political leadership have embarked upon a policy aiming at strengthening the commercial relations with developing countries which has taken the form of concluding trade and economic agreements. Moreover, special attention has been given to increase our imports from least developed, and island and land-lock developing countries. Furthermore, we have concluded a number of economic and technical co-operation agreements for the purpose of exchanging technological, scientific and other kinds of experiences with the developing countries. Part of these agreements contained provisions to provide grants and loans at very soft terms. This is in addition to our contribution to regional and international Funds.

In conformity with this principle the Iraqi Fund for external development was established in 1974 with the aim of financing part of the development plans and implementing development projects in developing countries through the following principles:— 1. Granting the development projects in the developing countries medium and long term soft loans coupled with giving preferential treatment to the projects which are of basic necessity to the countries concerned. 2. Participate in the development projects and in particular in those that have an investment nature, 3. Deployment of capital directly or indirectly in such way that meets the development requirements of developing countries. 4. Providing expertise and technical assistance in various fields. 5. Financing the engineering studies and feasibility studies for development projects.

Within the context of Iraq's national policy and in order to strengthen the bonds of friendship and co-operation with developing countries the Revolutionary Government of Iraq has given aid since 1974 to more than 25 Afro-Asian countries which amounted more than 2,200 Million Dollars which represent about 4% annually of the GDP of Iraq. However, we would like to stress once more our point of view namely that the crucial issues which are confronting the developing countries could not be solved through grants and loans alone but efforts should be exerted towards liquidating all remnants of the political and economic exploitation which still exists in some of the developing countries.

I would like to point out that in our world to-day there still exist some regimes which continue to violate international law and human rights conventions that makes it incumbent upon us not only to severe economic and trade relations with them but also to impose economic sanctions on them. In this regard I refer in particular to the Zionist racist entity in occupied Palestine and the racist regimes in Southern Africa and Rhodesia.....

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BRITAINS 1948
SECRET DOCUMENTS

Interesting Revelations

The British Government, like many governments today, release documents from the classified and secret list, after the lapse of thirty years. On January 2, 1979 the classified documents of 1948—Cabinet papers etc—were released in London. Some papers regarded as highly "sensitive" in the con-

text of current—international or bilateral relations are still withheld. We publish comments from an Iraqi, an Indian and a Soviet paper about some of the revelations that had come to light in the 1948 papers released. —Ed.

HOW BRITAIN ABANDONED PALESTINE:

London,

New light is shed on Britain's withdrawal from Palestine in 1948 by secret documents released Tuesday, January 2, 1979. British government files, made public after the expiry of 30 years, show how Britain lost its nerve and abandoned Palestine on the pretext that could no longer pursue a pro-Arab policy. They record Britain's difficulties with wartime allies over the question of Zionist immigration into Palestine which it had been trying to limit since 1939.

In May 1949 Britain, unable to contain the mounting Arab-Zionist fighting, hastily evacuated its forces from Palestine and handed back responsibility for the territory to the United Nations, giving up a mandate which began in 1922, the document says. On the day the mandate ended, the Zionist entity was proclaimed and instantly recognised by the United States. Among documents released was a Foreign Office memorandum of 1948 complaining that elements in the French government were actively involved in the illegal immigrant traffic by giving facilities to "suspect" ships in Marseilles. It also said that the flow of Zionists into Palestine, funded and masterminded in the US was helped by American officials in the allied control council in post-war Italy.

In other documents the Foreign Office noted that while the US State Department was sympathetic to Britain's policy, officially nurtured public opinion in American

supported the creation of a Zionist entity. A British diplomat in Washington complained that a US judge was "acting on instruction from higher up" when he refused to jail a group of arms smugglers with Zionist connections who were arrested while trying to export explosives from Jersey City Docks, New Jersey. And the British High Commissioner in Palestine, Sir Alan Cunningham, warned in February 1947 that US crews were increasingly used in immigrant ships in a bid to cause diplomatic incidents between Britain and America. The British navy's inability to control the tide of Zionist refugees into Palestine by ship—sometimes with over 500 aboard—underlined the fact that by 1948 Britain no longer ruled the waves. Cabinet records show that in 1947 the government decided against the use of a strong-arm tactics on the high seas. It thought that the repercussions of boarding foreign ships would overshadow the security benefits.

The story of the end of the British mandate in Palestine is far from complete. This year, as in previous years, files have been kept back by government departments obsessed with secrecy. The gaps in the index on such subjects as arms smuggling, intelligence gathering in Arab states also reflect continuing sensitivity in Whitehall over how Britain washed its hands of responsibility for Palestine.

—Baghdad Observer, Jan. 6, 1979

SECRET US-BRITISH PLANS OF 1948 REVEALED.

London,

ALREADY IN 1948 LABOUR PARTY foreign secretary of Britain Ernest Bevin was worried about India's stance after winning independence. He felt that India might really take an independent position and get out of British

hands. He submitted a secret memorandum urging action to "prevent the weakening of the Commonwealth through the secession of India and possibly Pakistan."

This emerges from the secret British cabinet papers which became public after the 30-year-ban period which enables such papers to be kept hidden from public eye for that period. These papers also throw light on the way the policy of the British government was being moulded. One of the most illuminating revelations of the times is a private proposal that was made to the British and American governments by Winston Churchill, then leader of the Tory Party in opposition in the British parliament. In April 1948 Churchill called for the launching of a nuclear war against the Soviet Union before Soviet acquisition of an atomic bomb could be attained. One of the recommendations by Churchill, who had earlier set the tone for the cold war with his "iron curtain" speech in Fulton, Missouri, was that the US and Britain should force the "Soviet Union to get out of Berlin and eastern Germany under threat of having Soviet cities "razed" by nuclear attack."

If the US and Britain hesitated to go to war against the Soviet Union at this time it was due to the political inexpediency of having unwilling populations. As the British cabinet papers show, much of Atlee cabinet's time was taken up with raising the "communist threat" and with eliminating the "communist influence" at home and abroad. Throughout 1948 this line was pursued with growing avidity by Ernest Bevin, the right-wing Labour foreign secretary, who submitted one memorandum after another warning that "communism is on the march" and that something must be done to stop it.

When the Czechoslovak working class took power in March 1948, Bevin and his advisers in the foreign office composed a memorandum entitled "the threat to western civilization," which was seriously discussed in the Cabinet. It proclaimed that "after all the efforts that have been made and the appeasement we have followed not only is the Soviet government not prepared to cooperate in any real sense with any anti-communists but is actively preparing to extend its hold over the remaining part of Continental Europe, and subsequently over the Middle East and no doubt over the bulk of the Far East as well."

Having set forth this prospect, Bevin announced that "unless the US and Britain took immediate positive and vigorous steps it may well be that within the next few months or even weeks the Soviet Union will gain political and strategic advantages which will set the great communist machine in action leading either to the establishment of a world dictatorship or (more probably) to the collapse of the organised society over great stretches of the globe."

Bevin's memorandum included a proposals for a western European military pact. His other papers submitted during the year show the progress of this step, which resulted in the formal establishment of the North Atlantic Treaty Alliance in April 1949.

—New Age, New Delhi, Jan. 21, 1979

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TOP SECRET "DROP SHOT"

Moscow,

Documents come to light from time to time from the secret depths of the defence and foreign affairs departments of certain Western countries which confirm most convincingly how, behind the smokescreen of slanderous inventions about a "Soviet threat", schemes are

hatched which are fraught with mortal danger for mankind. I believe it pays to describe two such plans in detail.

It has been reported that, among the secret papers of thirty years' prescription, recently disclosed by the British Foreign Office, are pronouncements by Winston Churchill pertaining to 1948. The Soviet Union sacrificed the lives of 20 million of its sons and daughters to deliver humanity from fascism. It gave every ounce of its strength to the restoration of its war-devastated economy. It was precisely in this period that Churchill proposed that a nuclear war be started against the Soviet Union, which still had no atomic weapons at this time. It transpires from the papers that this greatest of haters of our country insisted that Great Britain and the United States put an ultimatum to the Soviet Union: clear out of Berlin and the eastern part of Germany if you don't want your cities to be destroyed by nuclear weapons!

The only reason why Lewis Douglas, then US Ambassador to Great Britain, regarded Churchill's proposal sceptically was that in his view, there were some "practical defects" in it. But just the same, the Washington representative agreed to Churchill's main idea, and for a good reason. At that time work was in full swing in the United States on similar misanthropic designs. One of these plans was revealed in a book, "Drop Shot," published in New York in 1978. The sub-heading shows what lies behind the code-name, *Drop Shot*, namely an American plan of a world war against the Soviet Union in 1957. This top-secret, plan running to nearly 600 pages, was elaborated on the instructions of President Harry Truman by the Joint Chiefs of Staff in 1949. The United States' brief

monopoly of the atomic bomb gave rise, among Churchill—and Truman-type short-witted politicians, to an euphoria of "American omnipotence."

"Drop Shot" is a product of the US military. It shows them up as getting ready for a world thermonuclear war. This plan envisaged the use of 300 A-bombs against the Soviet Union in the first months of war alone. The authors of the Drop Shot plan were too confident that the flame of thermonuclear war would not spread to the United States. They methodically drew up plans (the book is full of them) according to which the war would rage on the Rhine and in the Alps and in the Pyrenees and in the Apennines and in Turkey and in the Middle East. The Pentagon's adventurist plans accorded the capitalist countries the role of pawns. The brasshats had figured out well in advance what countries would be the United States' allies, what would join it in the course of the war and what would offer their economic resources and even territory to the United States.

The main objective of the plan was to rout the Soviet Union and the entire socialist community. It should be noted that one of the versions of the plan suggested that a strike would be dealt at the socialist world from the eastern Mediterranean via Rumania and Bulgaria. The authors of "Drop Shot" have made it clear that they have learned nothing from history. They wrote that the very nature of the socialist system posed a threat for the United States and that it was necessary to "eradicate Bolshevism" and "divide Russia" to remove that threat. The Pentagon generals went so far as to draw up a plan of "occupation of key centres and regions" of the USSR and meticulously counted how many invading divisions would have to be stationed and in what Soviet cities.

Thirty years have elapsed since then. Some of the authors of the Drop Shot plan may have passed on. As for the Soviet Union and other socialist countries which the Pentagon warriors had planned to destroy they are growing ever stronger and are moving on along the path they have chosen. Our country and Europe as a whole have been living in peace for 33 years now. Yet, this historical achievement is not manna from heaven.

The Drop Shot plan, just as Churchill's misanthropic designs, were not put into effect only because the people who masterminded them did not dare to fight, since the alignment of forces began to change not the way they had expected.

The facts revealing the dangerous plans of the imperialists make us exercise great vigilance. We stand for lasting world peace and for ending the arms race. At the same time, we know what any unilateral weakening of the socialist countries' defence capability in the face of imperialism's military machine may have dangerous consequences for the cause of socialism, peace and the freedom of the nations. It is mainly the might and combat ability of the socialist countries that can thwart the misanthropic designs harboured by the aggressive imperialist circles.

—Pravda, Jan. 10, 1979

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IN CHINA

The Changing Fortunes Of Teng

by W. Lionel Fernando

Teng Hsiao-ping, Senior Vice Premier of the People's Republic of China (spelling now changed to Deng Xiaoping after the adoption of the Chinese phonetic alphabet), the man twice purged by

Mao with his wings chopped off and rehabilitated every time with greater authority, returned from the USA a few-days ago after what could be classed as one of the most important political events of the century—the finalization of the Sino-US agreement on the normalisation of diplomatic relations between the two countries.

In 1975, one year before Mao's death, Teng was in charge of the work of the Central Committee when Hua Kuo-feng was groomed by him to be his successor. "The two men" an American commentator says: "...Co-operate closely on policy toward science and technology and also worked together on some dimensions of foreign policy, especially regarding the release of captured Soviet helicopter pilots in December 1975."

Deng had a second fall in April 1976 a few months after the death of Premier Chou En-lai his mentor and this put Hua as the First Vice Chairman of the CCP. With this fall, Teng became in the eyes of the CCP theoreticians—possibly under the influence of the "gang", "the arch repentant capitalist roader representing the interests and aspirations of the bourgeoisie both inside and outside the Party, attempting to subvert the dictatorship of the proletariat and restore capitalism."

In a lengthy article in the *Hongqi*, No. 5 of 1976 and translated into English and published in an abridged form in the *Peking Review* No. 23 of June 1976 under the heading "Teng Hsiao-ping's Total Betrayal of Marxism", a Commentator Li Chang said that "In order to thoroughly settle accounts with Teng Hsiao-ping's crimes, it is extremely necessary to expose and criticise in a deep-going way, ideologically and theoretically, his reactionary nature in betraying Marxism." Described as "a renegade to the

dictatorship of the proletariat', the writer accused Teng as having "denied class struggle in socialist society, opposed the proletariat exercising all-round dictatorship over the bourgeoisie, and vainly attempted to subvert the dictatorship of the proletariat and restore capitalism. Thus he completely betrayed the Marxist theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat." The writer then goes on to refer to the political movements initiated by Chairman Mao to consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat—the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, the criticism of Lin Biao and Confucius, the criticism of Water Margin etc., and says: Betraying our Party's basic theory and practice over the last two decades, Teng Hsiao-ping did his utmost to deny class struggle in socialist society. When the socialist transformation of the ownership of the means of production was basically completed, he followed Liu Shao-chi in trumpeting the theory of the dying out of class, struggle, alleging that 'class contradictions have now been solved in the main' that 'since classes have been eliminated basically, we should not stress class struggle.' His revisionist stand remained unchanged even after the Great Cultural Revolution. Shortly after the revisionist programme of 'taking the three directives as the key link', denying class struggle as the key link and tampering with the basic line of the Party. He even babbled: 'How can we talk of class struggle every day.' He thus openly betrayed Marxism.

The writer went on to criticise Teng of having taken "the lead in whipping up the Right deviationist wind to reverse correct verdicts, pushed a revisionist, line, tried to reverse the correct appraisal of the Great Cultural Revolution and settle accounts with

It, and he represented the bourgeoisie in launching a wanton attack against the proletariat. It is clear from Teng Hsiao-ping's words and deeds that, from the superstructure to the economic base, he attacked and opposed whatever was conclusive to consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat and preventing the restoration of capitalism; and he gleefully hailed and tried by a thousand and one ways to push forward whatever was beneficial to restoring the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. Teng Hsiao-ping and his followers openly declared that it was impermissible to mention the dictatorship of the proletariat in the fields of science and technology; they energetically opposed turning the schools into an instrument of the dictatorship of the proletariat; opposed the revolution in education, in literature and art and in health work and tried to reverse the correct verdicts on the revisionist line followed in the 17 years before the Great Cultural Revolution. All these were aimed at restoring the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie in those spheres."

Teng, the writer went on to say, has "ferverishly opposed restricting bourgeois rights and had deep hatred for socialist new things which restrict bourgeois right from various aspects was determined by his reactionary stand of opposing the dictatorship of the proletariat" and says: "After Teng Hsiao-ping's plot to turn the dictatorship of the proletariat into the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie by pushing a revisionist programme and line was exposed and frustrated, the bourgeoisie inside and outside the party and the unreformed, landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries, bad elements and Rightists he represented hurriedly launched a frantic counter attack on the proletariat. They viciously

assailed our country's dictatorship of the proletariat and tried to make Teng Hsiao-ping China's Nagy, stage a counter-revolutionary coup and establish the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. Teng Hsiao-ping "is a stubborn trumpeter of the theory of productive forces. As early as in 1956, he and Liu Shao-chi advocated that the principle contradiction at home was 'the contradiction between the advanced socialist system and the backward social productive forces that 'the future task is construction as the task of revolution has in the main been completed.' Last year, Teng Hsiao-ping once again trotted out the theory of productive forces to serve as the theoretical basis of his revisionist line. He preached 'taking the three directives as the key link', negated taking class struggle as the key link and putting the label of the four modernisations (modernisation of agriculture, industry, national defence and science and technology) on the theory of productive forces, he called for stirring up an 'economic hurricane' and a 'hurricane for vocational work.' His real aim was to sweep away the movement for the study of the theory of the dictatorship protect bourgeois right and safeguard the economic base on which the bourgeoisie and especially the bourgeoisie within the Party rely for existence."

Recalling Teng Hsiao-ping's oft repeated saying, "It doesn't matter whether it is a white cat or a black cat, any cat that catches mice is good," the writer says: "This serves better than many long articles to reveal more clearly the revisionist nature of the theory of productive forces. In criticising Teng Hsiao-ping, Chairman Mao has pointed out "This person does not grasp class struggle; he has never referred to this keylink. Still his

theme of 'white cat, black cat' making no distinction between imperialism and Marxism. Teng Hsiao-ping regarded revisionist and imperialist trash as treasures. In his eyes, material incentives, putting profits in the command, servility to things foreign, the doctrine of trailing behind others at a snail's pace were things which he could not part with for a moment. If his revisionist line were followed, it would be impossible to develop socialist production. Only socialism and only Marxism-Leninism-Mao-Tsetung Thought can save China. This has been proved by history and reality. Therefore Teng Hsiao-ping's clamour for the development of the productive forces and the four modernisations was a fraud; his real aim was to restore capitalism... Teng Hsiao-ping's aim in advocating material incentives was to further strengthen and expand bourgeois right. The theory of material incentives is an important view-point of revisionist political economy. The Soviet revisionist renegade clique has always used it to protect their wanton appropriation and exploitation of Soviet proletariat's fruits of labour; at the same time it inculcates decadent ideas of bourgeois selfishness in the minds of the labouring people so as to blunt their revolutionary will and make them willingly submit themselves to oppression and exploitation.. Teng Hsiao-ping's clinging to material incentives shows precisely that he is a revisionist who has betrayed Marxism."

Then, he went to say: "The struggle between political lines is often linked with the two line struggle in the philosophical field. Ring leaders of the opportunist lines in our Party—from Chen Tu-hsiu and Wang Ming to Liu Shao-chi and Lin Piao—all philosophically betrayed Marxist dia-

lectual materialism and historical materialism and based their opportunist line on idealism and metaphysics. This is also the case with Teng Hsiao-ping. In philosophy, a conspicuous manifestation of his betrayal of Marxism was his using idealism to oppose materialism and palming off eclecticism as dialectics.

"When the socialist transformation of agriculture was in full swing, he opposed the movement for co-operation. In the initial stage of the Great Cultural Revolution, he and Liu Shao-chi pushed a bourgeois revolutionary line to suppress the revolutionary masses. This time he fanned the Right deviationist wind to reverse correct verdicts negated the Cultural Revolution and socialist new things and opposed whole-hearted reliance on the working class and other labouring people thereby further laid bare his features as proponent of historical idealism.

..Electicism is revisionism. In putting the three directives on a par, and placing politics and economy, politics and vocational work and technique all on an equal footing. Teng Hsiao-ping was using sophistry to negate the principal contradiction and the main aspect in a contradiction. This was an exhortic sleight of hand. Lenin pointed out in criticising Bukharin 'His theoretical attitude is: 'on the one hand and on the other, 'the one and the other'. To push a political line which represents the interests of the bourgeoisie, the opportunists and revisionists invariably attack or revise the three component parts of Marxism. From Bernstein to the present day they all betrayed Marxism in an all round way on the pretext that Marxism is out-dated. After Liu Shao-chi and Lin Piao had played their part, Teng Hsiao-ping stepped out to serve as a teacher by negative example. Didn't he

often say that (one mustn't always talk with ready terms, but should say something new?) From the above analysis we can see clearly that by 'ready terms' he meant the basic principle of Marxism and 'something new' meant the theory of the dying out of class struggle, the theory of productive forces, idealism, eclecticism and other revisionist trash. The struggle to beat back the Right deviationist wind has won great victories. On the proposal of our great leader Chairman Mao, the Party Central Committee decided to dismiss Teng Hsiao-ping from all posts both inside and outside the Party. This greatly heightened the morale of the revolutionary people and deflated the reactionary arrogance of the class enemies. But the struggle is by no means over. We are still confronted with the important and militant tasks of deepening our criticism ideologically or theoretically, of Teng Hsiao-ping's revisionist line."

That was in 1976. One year later his future changed and he was rehabilitated with greater authority. How did this happen?

To Be Concluded

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SPOTLIGHT

by Canax

Family Justice Is Alive And Well

Mr. Justice John F. Fogarty of Australia certainly had a point when he told a press conference at the Galle Face Hotel the other day that disputes arising within a family were very special problems requiring the attention of specialised courts. I should know, because I have been holding court at home for years now with resounding success; in most of the cases before me I have been in the enviable dual role of judge and

accused which, I suppose, is always to be preferred to that of judge and jury.

I am sorry to disappoint the eminent jurist, but I must say that informality has always been a special feature of my court although I haven't made a song and dance about it. Everybody wears just about what he or she pleases, and I have enough hair on my head not to have recourse to wigs to produce the courtroom atmosphere. As for reducing the expenses of litigants, I can't see anyone bettering my court record: every member of the family advocates on his or her own behalf, and I have all along waived the judge's stipend. So justice doesn't cost a dime over at my place.

I am inclined to agree with Mr. Justice Fogarty about divorce figuring in only a small percentage of cases because, in my own court, the point was raised only once in the past ten years. In the course of her oral submissions one day, my wife put forward the proposition that she would be better off divorced than, as she put it, "live like this," whatever that meant.

I suggested that she assist court with detailed written submissions elaborating further on the point, but she declined with the disturbingly fatalistic observation,

"Never mind, Your Honour, we women are born to suffer." As you can see, I had precious little to go on and yet my judgement, delivered in a matter of minutes, deserves to go into the Law Reports for its exceptional insight, foresight and hindsight, though not necessarily in that order.

I prefaced my judgement with the observation that my wife did justice a dis-service by not pursuing her point on divorce more vigorously. Nevertheless, I held that her husband should not, if requested, refuse to give her a divorce provided that she, in turn,

paid him an adequate monthly alimony so that he could continue to enjoy the creature comforts and standard of living he had got used to over the years while, and indeed by, living with her. It was beyond question or argument that her husband had got used to living without incurring any expenditure on servants, a house keeper, nanny and cook, or having to pay for a couple of other services so obvious they didn't even need recalling or the record.

I held that, once divorced, the husband would have to start paying for all those services, which really meant that she would have to pick up the tabs. It was my considered view that she would find it unbelievably cheaper, possibly even better, therefore to continue to "live like this" than the other way she was proposing.

My wife is a good woman, but an even better lawyer, and knows a bad brief when she holds one. Divorce was never mentioned in our court after that.

The kids once sought a permanent injunction against their mother to restrain her from ever again serving for lunch items, which they described, perhaps with childish over-enthusiasm, as "left-overs from last year". Since lunch that day was only a few hours away, I proposed skipping the breakfast adjournment to enable court to hear my wife's submissions.

All she said was, "I don't see why I should be the family dustbin all the time" I naturally held in her favour, and my wife did a most unusual thing on hearing the verdict. She kissed me in open court, and I had to remind her gently but sternly about upholding the dignity of court at all times.

Actually, I have over the years come to love holding court at home. It's the lunch-breaks that I don't really look forward to.

—X— —X— —X—

FROM BATTICALOA

Rehabilitation Of Cyclone-Ravaged Areas

by K. Kanapathipillai, B.A., F.R.C.S.

NOW THAT THE TERRIFYING CYCLONE has receded from our shores and we have, if not fully, at least partially, recovered from its shock and are beginning to view its ravages in the correct perspective, we are, as a reasonable and thinking community, compelled to view its effects on the community from various angles of vision.

Once the ill-effects of a natural cataclysm have passed it is the fortunate tendency of human beings, who have been affected by it, to forget it completely, and slip once again, almost insensibly, into a complacent mood. Still, man with his inherent capacity to reflect, more often than not, digs and delves into his past memories that lurk in his inner self. It is indeed a happy circumstance that man has been endowed with this rare capacity to store impressions of memorable events in his memory and the consequent emotional upsurge in his sub-conscious, and to repair to them and reflect on them and seek for the causes and effects in his calmer moments.

The gale has passed, and the time has come for man, both affected and un-affected, to think deeply, seriously and earnestly of this formidable holocaust and destructive force of nature and of the devices for safeguarding and protecting themselves and their belongings in case they happen to be affected by a similar occurrence in the future. One thing we are certain of is this: that the Eastern Sea-board of Sri Lanka from Dondra Head to Point Palmyrah extending into the interior as far as Polonnaruwa, Anuradhapura and even Mannar, is, in a zone that is likely

to be affected from time to time by gales of cyclonic proportions and destructive nature. Situated as this region is on the Western margin of the Bay of Bengal it may be said to be weatherwise a very vulnerable region, especially during the season of the winter monsoon, particularly during the months of October, November, and December.

THINKING ANIMAL that nature has intended man to be, man has to think, to reflect, to design, to plan and to execute—all, for his own personal safety and security. Once and for all we have to take this clear view: that we, in North and East Sri Lanka, with the exception of those in the central hill country and the South West country which is no other than an extension of its Western piedmont and lies on its gale shadow, are fully exposed to frequent cyclonic spells of weather that are likely to occur either in a miniature or on a gigantic scale. As such, we are almost compelled to give serious thought to this subject and treat it as our most formidable and inevitable natural foe.

Nearly a couple of months after the terrible disaster that befell us, we have come back almost to semi-normality, thanks to the bold attitude of the people who have suffered and the unstinted liberality and openhanded generosity of the benign State, and the citizens resident in the rest of Sri Lanka and our friends and well-wishers and fellow-men overseas. This effort and generous gesture on the part of the State, and of one and all in the un-affected parts of Sri Lanka and those resident overseas to help restore normality in the mood of the afflicted people, their attitude to life and the immense problems that nature has posed, is a good sign of the times. It is a sign that augurs well for the genuine

good spirit that resides in every person: be he Sinhalese or Tamil or Muslim; be he Buddhist or Hindu or Christian or Islamic in faith. It would appear that natural calamities of gigantic proportions, such as the recent cyclone, help to bring people together, to bring out some of the finer and nobler qualities in them, and impel them to think kindly and charitably that they are all one people, one nation with allied efforts, and identical aspirations. It looks as though all thoughts of caste and creed, of all hairsplitting differences of language and race, of social status and conflicting cultural trends have been cast to the winds, and that the pristine nature in man, the genuine man, has merged victorious.

Now is the time to think and to plan, and to execute: to rebuild that which has been shattered and turned into crumbling dust and shard and debris; broken hearts and blasted hopes in a matter of eight hours. And the most significant question that may reasonably be posed is this: How can this problem of long term re-habilitation be tackled?

THIS PROBLEM, it would appear, can be tackled on fifteen fronts, namely: 1. The formation of an 'Emergency Rehabilitation Pilot Committee' in Colombo under the direct aegis of the Prime Minister; 2. The formation of an 'Emergency Rehabilitation Committee' at the affected spot; 3. The provision of adequate cyclone and flood-proof shelters to the victims; 4. The provision of clothes to the victims who are in dire need of them; 5. The provision of adequate and wholesome food to those victims who are in need of it; 6. The provision of adequate health and sanitary facilities; 7. The provision of employment opportunities to the un-employed and the organisation of an emergency work force;

8. Improvement of all means of communication and 'Power Supply'; 9. The rehabilitation of the existing local industries, especially of those at the cottage level, that have been irreparably damaged; 10. The rehabilitation of the major economic concerns such as the coconut plantation industry, the fishing industry, paddy cultivation etc; 11. Renovating all damaged schools and making suitable provision for their normal running; 12. Improving the vegetation cover of the affected area; 13. Maintenance of law and order in the affected region by bringing the area under the emergency regulations; 14. Practising austerity in the pattern of living of the people in all parts of the country; 15. Overall Town and Village planning.

WITH A VIEW to seeing to it that the problem of rehabilitation is tackled effectively and efficiently it would be necessary to have the entire programme systematically planned with the help of expert opinions that may be obtained from countries such as Australia, Bangladesh the Carnatic Coastal States of India and the Gulf Coast States of USA that have at onetime or other been affected by Cyclones. For this purpose 'emergency rehabilitation pilot committee' shall be set up in Colombo, headed by the Prime Minister and assisted by the Minister of Justice with a Secretariat to function for a period of 5 years or if need be even longer. This Committee may have on it experts on various aspects of the rehabilitation programme. It will have to function permanently in Colombo so that it may study the several aspects of the programme and provide the know-how and the necessary direction to the emergency rehabilitation committee that shall be organised in the affected area and shall serve as the 'action committee'.

The 'Emergency Action Committee' shall be composed of the

District Minister, the Government Agent, the Asst. Government Agent and some representative and prominent leaders of the area. This committee, being at the affected spot, will, with the assistance of the various departmental heads, make a thorough survey of the various aspects of the rehabilitation problem and with the assistance of the 'Emergency Rehabilitation Pilot Committee' in Colombo draw up a five year rehabilitation programme of work. Their main subjects for study, investigation and research may fall under the following heads:

Town & Village Planning. The Emergency Rehabilitation Committee may make use of this opportunity to re-plan the entire Urban and Municipal set-up and remodel the dwelling houses, demarcate the residential areas, the business areas, the industrial areas, the administrative areas etc. providing the direction and guidance to all future house builders to construct cyclone-flood proof shelters for each and every dwelling house. The State must see to it that all Banks, Record Rooms, Libraries, Hospitals, Prisons, Schools, Post Offices, Police Stations, Railway Stations, Provisions Stores etc., are housed in well constructed cyclone-flood proof structures. It would appear that buildings with a concrete shell modelled on a circular base, roofed with a reinforced concrete top will be ideally suited to a cyclone-flood affected region. Even the smallest hit in the zone should have atleast a common community cyclone-flood proof haven to which the inmates may repair in times of emergency. Dwellings covered with corrugated asbestos sheets should be surrounded by a 'fortification' of a concrete wall (gable) all along the margin of the roof, and dwellings covered with the calcicut type of flat tiles should have firmly bonded ridges and a binding ridge all along the margin.

For the present three types of habitations may be recommended to meet the requirements of the three major income groups! *Type one:* Low cost huts for the low-income group comprising of those who get an income of less than Rs. 300/- Per mensem. These habitations should be provided with cyclone-flood proof community centres. *Type two:* Houses for the middle income group, that is, those families that get a monthly income of from Rs. 300/- to Rs. 500/-. These may be two-roomed houses with a cyclone-flood proof shelter attached to it. And to the extent of 75% of the total estimated cost of damage sustained may be given to repair the damaged dwelling and to provide a cyclone-cum-flood proof shelter. *Type three:* Houses for the higher income group that is those families who derive a monthly income of more than Rs. 500/-. To the extent of 50% of the total estimated cost of damage or a long-term loan may be given. The house should have a cyclone flood proof annex attached to it. All new houses have to be constructed in keeping with type plans provided by the Town or village planning authority. Street and road lines and tree lines of the Town and village planning authority have to be strictly adhered to.

All aids in kind and in cash have to be channelled through the 'Emergency Cyclone Rehabilitation Committee' and will have to be accounted for; and progress made by persons who have availed themselves of the aids should be strictly supervised, recorded; and it would be advisable to publish a detailed quarterly report of the progress made in the daily papers so that the people may be kept informed of it.

Health and Sanitary facilities: These may be provided through the Department of Health and Sanitary services with the Medical Officer of Health as the

head, assisted by a team of public Health Inspectors and Public Health Nurses, and a number of voluntary workers who shall be employed for the purpose after they have been given the necessary training in field work.

Employing the Unemployed:

All unemployed persons in the region, both males and females over the age of eighteen shall be enrolled to form a 'Work Team' for assisting the team of skilled and semi-skilled workers in constructing houses, planting trees as wind barriers, cultivating subsidiary and staple food crops, constructing roads, re-erecting telegraph and telephone and power posts and lines and other similar activities.

It is essential at this juncture to re-establish and re-model the available local industries at the cottage level in the area. Weaving, carpentry, horticulture, poultry-keeping, fish and prawn culture, animal husbandry, coir industry, mat-weaving, processing of timber, shaping of coconut rafters and beams and reapers, brick-making, manufacturing of asbestos sheets out of available raw materials etc, may be given a fresh impetus of the Department of Small Industries.

Rehabilitating and Regenerating the Green Blanket:

Tree planting should be given special attention. Palmyrahs, Eucalyptus, Casuarinas, Polytheas (Indian variety) Maducas, Berriyas, Teak and other useful trees may be planted as wind barriers on bare lands far removed from human habitations. Fruit trees, especially the dwarf varieties of coconut that yield in from three to 20 years of age, dwarf varieties of mango trees, anonas, murungas, plantains, manioc and vegetables of all kinds may be planted in home gardens and compounds. With a view to improving and maintaining

the annual rainfall at the level of 75 inches per year it is imperative that the vegetation blankets of the land should be promoted and maintained at an appreciably high level. Trees, and shrubs and grass should be considered the real weather of the human community and all possible efforts should be made to preserve the existing vegetation and promote and maintain sylviculture, pasture and cover crops in every available square foot of land. All plant and animal waste should be used to produce compost for fertilising the soil; they should not be burnt. Land should never be allowed to remain bare and fallow; for, land shorn of vegetation becomes barren and has an adverse effect on the climate. Earthworms should be effectively introduced into the soil, and their action promoted.

Maintenance of Law and Order:

At a time of crisis it is necessary for the affected area to be brought under Emergency Regulation so that law and order may be maintained, and bribery and corruption, nepotism and black-marketeering and thuggery and looting may be stamped out. It would even be necessary to declare curfew during the nights since anti-social elements are often found to be on the prowl. An emergency police and army unit and a force of volunteers for security may be employed to maintain law and order; and no party politics of any kind shall be permitted to disturb the peace of a cyclone-stricken convalescing community. All anti-social and communal elements and acts of partiality that are likely to disrupt the peaceful carrying out of the rehabilitation programme shall be kept out of the region purely as a safeguard against any form of disruption of the peace, and for promoting the peaceful progress of the rehabilitation programmes.

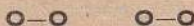
Duty of the Citizens: Every true and patriotic citizen of this country shall have his share in this programme of the rebuilding of the community and contribute his mite towards this noble service in however small a measure; and it shall be the citizens' bounden duty to observe the strictest and sternest form of austerity in his or her pattern of life. No true citizen shall participate in any form of carousing festivities and expensive pleasure parties, until the last trace of the formidable destructive and ruinous forces of nature has been totally effaced.

Educational Programme. The Educational programme in this region shall have a new orientation and adopt entirely new methods to suit the immediate needs of the people. The teaching of the sciences shall take a practical trend. Instead of the teachers and pupils wailing and bemoaning and complaining about the loss of furniture and equipment which will take some time to make good, they shall view the various components of their environment: The air and the water, the earth and the vegetation and animal life as very useful items that are intended to enable them to lead a richer and a more-awakened life. Scientific studies will thus bear a special significance and a meaning for them, and Nature in all her multitudinous forms and multifaceted aspects shall become the true book of knowledge that she, in reality, is meant to be.

There will then be a greater awakening in man's life on earth despite the storms and gales, tornadoes and cyclones, earthquakes and volcanic eruptions, tidal waves and wind drifts and floods and pestilences that very often beset it. Man will they discover a supreme meaning in what otherwise might appear to be Nature's wayward ways. Being part

and parcel of nature man has to so plan his life as to enable it to be in harmony with nature.

Forgetting and forgiving with a perennial fund of charity and mercy the acts of omission of the past two months, of the countless errors and irregularities that might have been committed especially by officials and others handling the situation in a state of confusion and rude shock that generally come in the wake of a natural calamity of this gigantic proportion let us summon fresh courage and face the stupendous problem confronting us with clear-headed evenness of mind and serenity of spirit.



LAW FOR THE LAYMAN

by Lawman

Changes In The Constitution

***THE CONSTITUTION:** A Constitution is said to be a soul of a nation. It has a philosophy and a spirit which inspire a people. The history of a people, the emancipation of a people, the story of their struggles, their development and their aspirations are embodied in the Constitution. In the words of a judge "it pulsates with the life of our people." It is a shield that protects the people from men in power. It belongs to a people and not to governments. It cannot be chipped, chopped and changed with the peculiar needs of a particular government.

If so made to change, it does not belong to the nation, which owes allegiance to it. If it needs such frequent changes, then the makers of the Constitution must be condemned as inefficient and incom-

petent. The nation likes to swear allegiance to a Constitution which has some permanence unless it extends the philosophy that nothing is permanent—to its Constitution. Lawman suggests that provisions must be made rendering Members of a Government, its officers or any other person liable for punishment if they violate the provisions of our Constitution.

Moreover, amendments must be made only when it is necessary in the interests of the nation and only if more than half the opposition members also vote for it. The people have a right to otherwise expect and demand some serious permanence to their Constitution.

***BY-ELECTIONS:** There is a very welcome provision in our Constitution that there should be no by-election with every vacancy or resignation of a member of Parliament. After all the electorate has made its choice and voted for a party, and sent its Member to Parliament to sit and vote for 5 years. If that particular member dies or renders the seat vacant by his resignation, then that particular party to which that member belonged nominates another of its members to fill up the vacancy so created. This quite rightly saves the Government from pre-occupying itself with by-elections and continuing the implementation of its policies.

On the other hand where the election is challenged on the ground that there has been some foul play affecting the election result and the candidate, it is alleged, was offside when he gained a goal for the party, it is not open to the party machinery to nominate another, for the simple reason that a goal scored in a foul manner or by the goal shooter being offside, if proved so, cannot be counted as a goal for the party. In such circum-

tances, the Constitution in due respect to the principles of democracy provides for a by-election.

Another instance providing for a by-election is when an elected Member renders his seat vacant by breaking faith with his electorate which voted him as a member of a party which stood for certain policies. When that member is expelled from his party, the electorate again is given an opportunity to either endorse or reject the new policies of the elected member. Some rumour is gathering force that there will be an amendment to the Constitution to accommodate Members breaking faith with their electorate. This is unlikely. The UNP with its giant strength does not need to alter the Constitution for such members. If it does alter it, Lawman wonders whether the party has enemies within its ranks who are advising it on the wrong lines.



THIRTIETH ANNIVERSARY

COMECON

JANUARY 25 MARKED THE 30TH ANNIVERSARY of the founding of Council of Mutual Economic Assistance (CMEA), commonly known as the Comecon. Started in 1949, with the Soviet Union and a few European socialist countries as members, the CMEA was a body co-ordinating trade and credits among member-countries. Today, it has 10 full-fledged members—USSR, GDR, Bulgaria, Hungary, Cuba, Mongolia, Poland, Romania, Czechoslovakia and Vietnam. The CMEA never was a closed organisation as the European Economic Community; it is an open organisation with which any country can co-operate on the principle of independence and so-

vereignty and on efficient solution of problems arising in the course of economic co-operation taking into account the interests of each member and the whole community.

That is why since 1964 Yugoslavia has been co-operating with the CMEA under an agreement and it is represented on standing commissions of the CMEA and takes part in the realisation of some projects in terms of the Comprehensive Program of socialist economic integration adopted in 1971. Finland is the first country with a free market economy which has concluded an agreement on co-operation with the CMEA and in November 1978 summed up the results of this co-operation for five years to prepare the basis for further co-operation. The CMEA has since concluded co-operation agreements with Iraq and Mexico. At the latest CMEA session in Bucharest, Angola, Ethiopia, Democratic People's Republic of Korea and Laos were for the first time represented as observers.

Why is it that more and more countries are becoming interested in developing co-operation with the CMEA? First of all, the CMEA which started within the framework of trade co-ordination moved over to production co-ordination among member countries and also as a pool of manpower resulting in inter-member country movement of labour. In early sixties, it set up the International Bank for Economic Co-operation and introduced transferable rouble as the common currency of the CMEA, a currency which is unaffected by fluctuation of the capitalist monetary market system and exchange parity problems. The CMEA also has established an integrated power system in electricity generation and distribution and built up a tremendous "Friendship pipe line" to transport oil. The comprehen-

sive program of socialist economic integration is a long-term affair and has already contributed to the dynamic economic development of CMEA-countries. For example in the last 10 years, their combined trade turnover trebled and stood at 91,000 million roubles in 1977. The 28 joint projects currently under construction have investment of 9,000 million roubles.

The CMEA member-countries account for only 10 per cent of world population and occupy 18.7 per cent of world's land area but it accounts for about onethird of world industrial output and their industrial might is greater than USA and that of all west European states. The CMEA countries today put out 3.3 times more industrial goods and have a 2.5 times higher national income, in per capita terms, than the world's average. In 1951-77 period, the CMEA countries registered a national income growth rate of 7.6 per cent and industrial production of 9.6 per cent as compared to 4.2 and 4.9 per cent respectively in the industrialised capitalist countries.

Take another indicator. Compared with 1950, the volume of industrial output in CMEA countries went up by 11 times and their share in world output rose from 18 to 33 per cent. During the same period, the ECM countries industrial output share in world output dropped from 22 to 16 per cent. As against 1950, the national income of CMEA countries in 1978 went up over 7.5 times and industrial output by almost 12 times and gross farm products by more than 2.5 times. In this period, there was a 10-fold growth in capital investment, nearly 18-fold rise in exports and over 19-fold rise in imports. Between 1950 and 1978, more than 70 million flats have been built which means that about two-thirds of the population of CMEA member countries

have moved into new flats or into improved houses.

One may ask, but how are the developing countries, for example, India, are to be interested in the CMEA? The answer is not far to seek. The share of CMEA countries in the world production of key items of industry ranged between 21 and 36 per cent in 1977. The CMEA countries are currently superior to the EEC countries in many respects. Above all, the CMEN countries are setting an example of a new type of international co-operation, thereby narrowing the sphere of imperialist expansion. CMEA holds a consistent position of support to the, developing countries in their desire to change the present international economic order. Plans for the assistance of the CMEA countries to the developing countries provide for the construction of 3,560 projects of which 2,856 have already been put into operation. Trade turnover between the CMEA and the developing countries increased by more than 40 times in 1977 as compared with 1950.

CMEA is giving substantial aid to young states also in training national personnel of skilled workers and socialists. This academic year more than 40,000 students from over a hundred developing countries are studying at technical secondary schools and colleges of the CMEA countries. Above all, it is the world's most stable economic communities offering equal terms of trade and economic co-operation and is the staunchest ally of the developing countries in their struggle for economic independence—APN.

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LETTER

Two Voices

Sir,

The New Year message of Mr. Amirthalingam that appeared in the *Daily News* and its sister paper the *Thinakaran* of the 1st January, 1978 makes very interesting reading. Anyone who reads both would have been struck by one fact, namely, the last two paragraphs in the message is different in the English version from that of the Tamil version whilst the first two paragraphs are a direct translation. When the contents of the last two paragraphs are analysed closely, one cannot but realise that the paragraphs for the English version was framed expressly for the benefit of the English reading public and the paragraphs of the Tamil version were couched to placate the sentiments of certain quarters of the Tamil speaking public.

Whilst the Tamil version talks about Government's detrimental steps towards the Tamil speaking people and therefore the spirit of freedom springing within the hearts of the Tamil speaking people. The English version, very significantly, has omitted such sentiments.

Then again, the 1st paragraph in the Tamil version speaks about greater unity resulting in organised action and such action resulting in freedom. The English version does not embody such high sentiments. The English version only voices such sentiments as Justice and equality and peace and the right of self-determination being recognised.

All that I wish to know is why this double tongue existence on the part of the TULF and its leaders? Why this Jekyll and Hyde existence? Is it to curry favour

with the Government that the message in the English version is watered down? Is it because their stock in the Tamil speaking areas is so low that the Tamil version is so high sounding? What Mr. Amirthalingam fails to realise is that this is politics of a base kind bordering on political dishonesty, quite apart from showing him up as a coward.

Come, Come, Mr. Amirthalingam, I am sure you are made up of better stuff.

G. G. Ponnambalam Jr.

7, Greoury's Road,
Colombo 7.
15.1.79

○—○ ○—○

SNIPPETS

Revenge is a kind of wild justice; which the more man's nature runs to, the more ought law to weed it out.
—Francis Bacon

When I am dead, I hope it may be said: his sins were scarlet, but his books were read.
—Hilaire Belloc.

○—○ ○—○

The advantage of doing one's praising for oneself is that one can by it on so thick and exactly in the right lace.
—Samuel Butler.

○—○ ○—○

'Tis melancholy, and a fearful sign of human frailty, folly, also crime, that love and marriage rarely can combine.
—Lord Byron.

○—○ ○—○

The belief in a supernatural source of evil is not necessary; men alone are capable of every wickedness.
—Joseph Conrad.

○—○ ○—○

Confidentially

Tamashas

WILL NOT MANY READERS WONDER why we have used an October 15, 1977 picture of the Vap Magul ceremony at Isurumuniya near Anuradhapura on the cover this week? That the reason is simple and straight-forward? That we wish to remind our readers that eighteen months after the Government assumed office it is still in the throes of Conferences, Rallies, Seminars, Meetings and the like? That through this unending maze of meetings and tamashas, many imposters, knaves and fools—newcomers to the scene after July 1977—have climbed the band-waggon by insinuating (behind-the-scenes, through relatives and catchers) that loyal genuine UNP stalwarts who had worked to bring the UNP to power were "saboteurs"? That this smokescreen about sabotage (crying 'Wolf, Wolf') provides an excellent cover for adventurers to push aside honest elements including loyal UNP party workers (all of whom are now in the throes of frustration and disillusionment)? That so far as sabotage is concerned, it must be stressed that anti-government elements do not have to resort to sabotage to destroy this government? That the canker of suicidal self-destruction has already taken root inside the administration and bureaucracy—and this canker is nothing more than the reluctance and unwillingness of administrators and of bureaucrats to do any work? That to get rid of this canker it is not necessary to start a witch hunt against oppositional dissidents? That all that is necessary is to rid the Establishment and the Adminis-

tration of the imposters, knaves and fools who have very nearly brought everything to a grinding halt by throwing their weight about wielding political big sticks? That wage-earners, workers, bureaucrats and administrators will respond to governmental firmness as long as there is fairplay? That fairplay will be possible only if cheats and humbugs are thrown out? That in eighteen months a very large number of such parasitic political windbags have succeeded in pushing aside those who could have really done a job of work? That even the good ones are unable to do anything with the administrative and governmental machine clogged up by these extraneous and ignorant elements with political pull? That there is not the slightest doubt that there are still—in spite of the brain drain—enough technically qualified and competent persons who can efficiently carry out the plans and programmes of the government, but they—even the most UNP-minded among them—are not the kind who are willing to indulge in sycophancy to hold their jobs? That all of them are persons who do not hang on the trees of families that seem to matter today?

IS IT NOT TRUE that the *modus operandi* of sycophants and family tree climbers to cover their adventurism in running governmental organisations is through a plethora of conferences? That it has already become an insidious cancer in our body politic? That this cancerous disease of holding too many conferences has been called *Conferencia*? That the incidence of the disease has reached international dimensions necessitating the intervention of no less a person than the UN Secretary-General, Dr. Kurt Waldheim? That in a press statement had deplored the increase in the number of international conferences, sessions

and gatherings. "The result is that fewer and fewer people listen to the speeches even among the representatives of Governments, let alone the Press or the public." He also said that "leaders and high officials (of the Governments) spend an increasing amount of time and energy (he might have added EXPENDITURE of Public Money also) in attending meetings of a global, regional or specialised nature." That in Sri Lanka the cancer of "Conferencia" has proliferated in the most staggering fashion? That every ministry, every department every corporation and every organisation in this country insists on holding conferences and seminars once, twice or even three times a year? That every time such a conference or gathering takes place, many thousands of rupees are spent on this tamasha with further additional expenditure on Supplements in the daily newspapers? That not a day passes without one or two such conferences or seminars being held in Colombo? That this mania for conferences and seminars has now spread to our provincial and district capitals as well? That most officials now find it easier and more profitable to organise conferences and seminars than do work in the office or the worksite? That in Colombo these conferences are usually held in air-conditioned comfort? That unless the government ends this cancerous plague of *Conferencia*, output in governmental and semi-governmental departments and undertakings will drop in the most disastrous fashion? That the picture on the Cover is of the Vap Magul tamasha which ended in a buffalo stampede? That if such tamashas, conferences and seminars are not ended soon, the common people of Sri Lanka will stampede against the government that permits such tom-foolery?

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