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# TRIBUNE





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# Letter From The Editor

The picture on the cover this week reflects an important aspect of life in the country today. It is of a calm and placid scene in the midst of lotus leaves and one single lotus flower with one single duck swimming lazily along. The single lotus and single duck are symbolic of the first anniversary of this Government, but the whole scene breathes a sense of freedom and lack of fear which prevails in the island today. If there is one single thing that the Jayawardene Government has succeeded in doing, it is to bring this sense of freedom to all people at all levels. Even if prices are high it is possible to shout about the iniquities of high prices and damn the government not only in the press but also from platforms. If there is corruption in high places one can speak about it without fear. In the days of the never-ending State of Emergency during the time of the United Front and of the SLFP, freedom of expression was so circumscribed by legislation and invisible administrative controls that a critic either kept silent or spoke in parables. Every law on the Statute Book was subverted to bring the individual under the grip of a few Ministers or Bureaucrats. The Income Tax, Exchange Control and similar departments were used to harass, intimidate and blackmail individuals into silence or subservience. The Bribery Department became a department of terror and intimidation and through framed-up charges and false evidence concocted by professional witnesses and decoys on the panel of the Department, obtained the conviction of many innocent persons in special courts which were a disgrace to the judiciary. Every person, especially those who worked for government, was expected to kow-tow to the minions of the ruling hierarchy—and, if they did not, they were told that the fate that befell many of their colleagues (who were trapped or framed up by professional witnesses of the Bribery Department) would soon overtake them. Judges were not free to act according to their conscience. Many judges of the highest tribunals were often told that they "would get into trouble" if they did not decide as required in cases in which the administration was interested. The Presidential Commission inquiring into the excesses of the last regime, we are aware, will be called upon to investigate a very large number of complaints about interference with the independence of judges and the legal process. The Land Reform Law, the Land Acquisition Act and the Business Acquisition Act were used to establish a regime of invisible terror. The Police who had supreme power to ride roughshod over civil liberties and the Rule of Law made life for the ordinary citizen very difficult. All this and more made a mockery of freedom. *Tribune* itself went through experiences not different from what citizens who liked to speak their minds suffered. Under the Felixian regime of the Horagolla family caucus, matters had gone from bad to worse, day by day. What is not understandable is why LSSP and CPSL representatives in the Parliament had acquiesced in the SLFP's trampling down of personal freedom. Even the LSSP and CP will realise that their *Aththa*, *Forward*, *Janadina* and *Socialist Nation* are now able to write more freely than during the last regime. The only taboo today (for a year) is Tigers, but in the period 1970-1977, the taboos were many and all-pervasive. Today, the sense of personal freedom is real. Householders are no longer afraid to talk either in their drawing rooms or on the telephones—they have no fear of being hauled up to the Fourth Floor. Judges say that they have no fear about making decisions according to their conscience. With all the smells of the fishy mess and the impossible prices for many essentials, there is the silver lining of being free to walk, talk and argue without fear.

# TRIBUNE

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## CONTENTS

### EDITOR'S NOTEBOOK

—One Year After—2 p. 2

### BETWEEN THE LINES

—Crisis In The IMF p. 6

### POLITICS OF THE WEEK

—A New SLFP? p. 10

### INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

—Brzezinski & Detente p. 12

### ACID BOMB EXPLOSION-6

—New Lodgings p. 16

### MAHAWELI ACCELERATION

—Dangers Involved p. 18

### SMALL FISHERMEN

—Manifesto p. 20

### SRI LANKA CHRONICLE

—June 26—29 p. 22

### CARAVAN FAMILY—15

—Delft p. 25

### HUMAN RIGHTS

—Fundamental Rights p. 27

### WESTERN MEDICARE

—Cheating The Poor p. 29

### AREA H

—In Manaweli p. 30

### CONFIDENTIALLY

—Dirty Business TV? p. 32



## EDITOR'S NOTEBOOK

### One Year After—2

Although many hardships and difficulties have stemmed from the prevailing high prices and although Sri Lanka has adopted low profile posture in foreign affairs, there is no doubt that in the one year the UNP has been in power, it has done much more than any other government since Independence. The fruits of much that has so far been done will be seen and realised only in a year or two, but the discerning observer will not find it difficult to see that the foundations that are being laid will help this country to break out of economic stagnation—provided a majority of the working population and the so far privileged wage earners do an 8-hour norm of work every day for at least 280 to 300 days in the year.

**At the very outset it must be said that Mr. J. R. Jayewardene has proved to be an outstanding politician and statesman, and Mr. R. Premadasa has already begun to establish his claims as a worthy Number Two who not only has foresight and vision to know what will help to unite the country but also to get plans and programmes implemented.**

The UNP had promised a great deal at the elections, but in Sri Lanka everybody promises big. For the Sri Lankan politician and voter, small is not beautiful; it is the biggest and most grandiose—even if not realisable—that is acceptable. In the July 1977 elections, Mr. J. R. Jayewardene had undertaken to end unemployment, bring down the cost of living, uphold the socialist tenets of the country's welfarism and establish

a free trade zone which would repeat the capitalist miracle of Hongkong and Singapore.

This was electoral extravaganza, and in the one year completed, these promises are still far from being realised. Unemployment has been reduced very slightly, but with very big construction works in the Mahaweli and the Greater Colombo Area, 1978-1979 will show a marked reduction in the number of unemployed. For those who are not able to catch the early worm, the Rs. 50 dole every month to add to the family tilly will be a sop not to start trouble. The cost of living has gone up and up due to the floating of the SL rupee (this naturally resulted in a big devaluation of the currency) and the increase of the money supply without corresponding increase in local production. Mr. J. R. Jayewardene is aware of this and has not taken an ostrich-like stick-your-head-in-the-sand attitude. He is facing the problem squarely in a realistic manner and is trying to find a way out.

Lipservice, quite unnecessarily, has been paid in a big way to "socialism"—even the new titular name of the country has the word "socialist" added to it—but this country today is as far away from socialism as it was under the last SLFP government, the only difference being that whilst the SLFP flirted with and encouraged only small time capitalism and minimalism, the UNP has thrown the gates wide open to billion-dollar multi-nationals and big time mudalalis who will soon straddle the island colossus-style. The welfarism has not been touched—but a few more bits and pieces have been added to families whose income is under Rs. 300/- a month. Even the most distant vista of Hongkong and Singapore have not come upon the country, but slick operators in our semi-legitimised

underground have doubled, trebled or quadrupled smuggling operations on a Hongkong-Singapore-Maldives-Sri Lanka-India-Dubai circuit. Those taking the risks in this underground import-export business are covered with comprehensive insurance from Hongkong or Singapore.

But these are small matters that could be brought under control once the administrative infrastructure has been streamlined and brought up to date. At the time Mr. J. R. Jayewardene had come to power, the two most important problems he had to resolve to lay the foundations for a viable economy and political stability, were: (a) the elimination of root causes of the instability in government which had made it politically impossible for any government after Independence to take unpopular and anti-populist decisions; and (b) the creation of sufficient jobs to render unnecessary much of the country's extensive and expensive welfare services which the economy is no longer able to afford.

How did Mr. J. R. Jayewardene set about tackling these two problems in the first year just completed? One of the first things he did was to use his two-thirds majority to revise the Constitution so as to enable him to step down as Prime Minister and become the country's first Executive President. He is now both the Head of State and Head of Government, able to dissolve parliament but not be dismissed by it. He has replaced the Westminster system of Parliamentary democracy with a Presidential system drawn mainly from the French Gaullist system. The proportional representation in the Third Amendment, now incorporated in the new Draft Constitution, will make it extremely unlikely for any new government to have a two-thirds majority to



reverse the constitutional changes and amend the 1978 Constitution.

Critics and even friends of the UNP have characterised these measures as a slide towards dictatorship, but everything Mr. J. R. Jayewardene has said and done so far singles him out as a true democrat. The new draft Constitution is based on the Rule of Law and the Separation of Powers with an independent judiciary: it enshrines a Charter of Fundamental Rights, provisions of which are justiciable in the courts. The Constitution is intended to provide the government and the administration with authority to handle problems which in the past had proved intractable.

However, some of the other legislative measures are open to the valid criticism that they deprive magistrates of the power to grant bail in serious offences and to compel them to inflict minimum sentences. Legislative measures have also been incorporated in the Statute book aimed at terrorist organisations which earlier had been used only during a declared state of emergency. This legislation can now be used even to curb unwelcome opposition groups.

Shortly before and after the July elections, many observers of the local scene often raised the question: "Is the country governable...?" as a spirit of anarchy was in the air. Mr. Jayewardene has shown that it was possible to govern the country without a State of Emergency although some parts and areas still seem partly ungovernable.

The new Constitution is also no doubt intended to provide a framework to have an effective administration. To Mr. J. R. Jayewardene's credit, he is the first Prime Minister who has openly asked the question: "Is this country governable in its present state, ...if not, what must we do to make

it more governable?..." In the first place, even to realise that this problem exists at all is the first step towards finding a solution. Whether the amendments and the new Constitution brought in by the UNP will help to make the country really governable is something which time alone can show.

Having taken measures to ensure stability and continuity in government, Mr. Jayewardene has concentrated on finding jobs for the unemployed. Over twenty percent of the unemployed are in the age group 17 to 31—most of them having qualified at our Maha Vidyalayas. To provide them jobs, the UNP has utilised local experts to draw up concrete plans and programmes for an Accelerated Mahaweli Project, the Greater Colombo Development Plan, the FTZ outside Colombo and a massive Housing Programme.

Money had to be found for all the schemes. In the normal course, the government's total capital budget for the next five years would have been needed to do a few projects under the new Mahaweli Scheme even after it has been brought down to manageable proportions—it will involve the building of 4 major reservoirs (instead of 12) and the subsidiary feeder canals. At the cost of Rs. 11 billion it will mean a fifth of the public investment over the period and it is hoped to create 400,000 jobs during the peak of the construction. It has been pointed out that there are other cheaper methods of raising agricultural output and employment but the Mahaweli is a spectacular venture which the UNP hopes will give it political advantage to offset the unpopularity of cutting subsidies.

The Free Trade Zone is only now getting under way. At the start, Mr. Jayewardene in a quick repartee had said the Zone would

be open to "robber barons," but now he seems to have moved to a more realistic position and he has said that he wanted to discourage companies which are out "for a quick buck and then run away."

One thing many UNP enthusiasts do not seem to realise, especially those in the official media who are plugging sunshine stories everyday, is that tangible results and the plans and programmes now being initiated and implemented will be seen in terms of jobs only in about 15 to 18 months—and this if bureaucrats and administrators do not create road blocks.

To reach the present stage, the government has had to take a number of steps to "open up the economy" for capitalist development. The two-tier exchange rate was abolished last year and the rupee was allowed to float. Import controls have been liberalised to enable industries to obtain spare parts the lack of which has prevented plants from working to full capacity.

All this would not have been possible, as *Tribune* has often pointed out, without IMF patronage and blessings. David Housego, writing in the *Financial Times* stated:

"All these measures had the support—were indeed prompted—by the IMF, which last year extended Sri Lanka a \$ 110m stand-by credit as the first drawing under a potential three year extended fund facility programme. The IMF had been wanting a more radical cut-back in subsidies—and is likely to press for it in July when a new mission arrives in Sri Lanka. But the stand-by cleared the way for a much larger volume of concessionary aid, with pledges from donor nations rising by



42 per cent this year to \$370m. But the immediate impact of the measures has been an unpalatable increase in prices with inflation running at about 30 per cent on an annual basis. The government hopes to bring this down rapidly to 10 per cent. Even with such a large electoral majority there are limits as to how far the President can push. He is constrained by a bureaucracy demoralised and no longer used to handling major investment programmes.....".

On the economic front the most important development is the return to the open market. There again an article in the Special Supplement of the *Financial Times* sets out the position well: "Sri Lanka sheds economic philosophies almost as easily as its sheds governments. In the late 1960s, the United National Party (UNP) government put its weight behind the expansion of the private sector and the development of import substitution industries. This was reversed in 1970 when Mrs. Bandaranaike's left wing coalition took office on a programme of nationalisation and redistribution of wealth. Under President Jayewardene there has been a return towards a more open market oriented economy. But the real innovation of his administration is that it is the first in two decades to make a serious attempt to cut back on the welfare programme which the economy can no longer support by trying to replace subsidies with jobs. He has yet to spell out in detail how he will achieve the necessary increases in investment and output.

"But the initial measures of his regime are a step in the right direction. Support has come from the IMF—which indeed prompted much of the programme—and which last year provided a standby credit

of \$110m. The IMF is prepared to allow further drawings under the three year extended fund facility provided that after further consultations in July it is convinced that the government will make an additional shift of resources away from subsidies and transfer payments into public sector investment. Donor nations in the Aid to Sri Lanka consortium have also extended a welcoming hand by raising their pledges of new concessionary aid from \$260m in 1977 to \$360m this year. Commercial Banks, which have shied away from lending to Sri Lanka for years, are now pushing funds in its direction but are being told that they are for the moment not needed because of the flow of official aid and because the foreign exchange reserves are high. Mr. Jayewardene's immediate problem is to ride out the unpopularity of further rises in the cost of living as his initial measures of opening up the economy begin to take effect.

"In pressing the need for unpalatable decisions his task has undoubtedly been eased by the dismal performance of the economy in recent years. On the yardsticks of literacy, health and nutrition, Sri Lanka has scored high among developing nations, but unemployment has climbed to 1.2m or 20 per cent of the labour force. GDP in the 1970s has averaged 3 per cent a year as compared with a still-modest 4.4 per cent in the 1960s. In part this record of stagnant growth has been the result of the high level of welfare payments which absorbed over a third of government revenues last year. But Mrs. Bandaranaike's clumsily handled nationalisation and land reform programme also resulted in declining tea and rubber production—the island's two key export commodities—and flat industrial output. Currency and import controls encouraged a flourishing black market while de-

priving industry of spare parts and raw materials, which reduced many plants to operating at only 40-50 per cent of capacity.

"The new government has been cautious in going about its reforms. After taking office in July Mr. Ronnie de Mel, the Finance Minister, allowed a token depreciation of the rupee. Among the more blatantly populist acts of Mrs. Bandaranaike's administration had been a bid to win pre-election popularity by a 20 per cent revolution designed to cheapen imports. The depreciation of the rupee was followed in Mr. de Mel's November budget by a long overdue abolition of the two tier exchange rate—a premium rate had been available to tourists and on certain items of trade. The newly unified rupee was allowed to float at an initial parity of Rs. 16 to the dollar, implying an effective 50 percent devaluation. This was accompanied by a relaxation of import controls and foreign exchange regulations.

"The budget also made a start on phasing out subsidies by restricting the rice ration to households with incomes of Rs. 300 a month or less—about half the population. Wheat prices have since been allowed to rise as well. But to offset this—and to underscore the shift to incomes based on wages not subsidies—salaries were raised by 25 per cent. A Rs. 50 a month payment was also introduced for the unemployed but so far this has not been fully implemented. In budgetary terms the impact has not as yet been great. Food, transport and welfare subsidies still amounted to Rs. 3.5 bn or 34 per cent of Government receipts this year. This is equivalent to 8.4 per cent of GDP or marginally less than the 9.4 per cent recorded in 1977, after adjustments for the change in the value of the rupee.

The IMF had pressed for a far more radical programme



that would have made available about Rs. 3bn from this year's subsidy programme for a national development bank. But as it is capital expenditure will rise this year as a proportion of GDP by a modest 3 per cent to 9.6 percent. Still to be worked out are the timing and extent of the next cuts in the subsidy programme. This is a major political decision for the government. It would ultimately like welfare payments to be confined to those most in need. An IMF mission to Sri Lanka in July will take up the issue, as well as the financing of the new development plan that carries the country up to the end of 1982. The details are still being worked out.

"Public and private sector investment over the period has been tentatively set at Rs. 60bn at current prices. With little prospect of a substantial increase in domestic taxes which are now largely drawn from export duties, this would require the real value of subsidies to be reduced by about two thirds from their present level by 1982. Other preliminary assumptions behind the plan are an ambitious 5.5 per cent growth in real GDP, a 20 per cent marginal savings ratio, an annual 5 per cent increase in price output, an inflation rate of 10 per cent and foreign aid at least remaining constant in real terms.

"The magnitude of the task before the Government is that at Sri Lanka's historic ratio of employment to output, it would require a 7 per cent annual growth rate to absorb new entrants to the labour force alone. One of the major constraints facing it is the inherited lethargy of the bureau-

cracy. As difficult to manage will be the balance of payments, where a continuing strong growth in exports is needed to finance the imports required for investment. The government expects a wider trade and current account deficit but hopes to handle this through concessionary lending.

"It is projecting a sharp drop in the debt servicing ratio from its present high level of 22 per cent. If businessmen have welcomed the liberalisation of imports this has not yet been transformed into much new private sector investment. Local firms have several reasons for holding off. Liberalisation is a two-edged weapon which also cuts deep into the margin of companies, which have enjoyed a long period of tariff protection for high cost production of often low quality goods. The switch into export manufacturing that the government wants is a big step. They are also still intimidated by the Business Acquisitions Act—used by the last Government as its main instrument for industrial take-overs. High deposit rates mean that there are attractive alternatives to investment.

"This has thrown the weight so far of generating new investment on to the government. Last November's budget, inevitably prepared in haste, reflects existing commitments and a margin to bring capital expenditure up to the peak achieved in 1976. It makes no real provision for the four main projects on which the government is counting to create new jobs—the accelerated Mahaweli Project, the free trade zone, the Greater Colombo development plan and the housing programme. Specific allocations for these projects will only show up in this year's budget.

"At an estimated cost of Rs. 11bn over the next five years, the Mahaweli will alone absorb a third of public investment. At its height it

should employ 400,000 people. It is arguably not the most efficient way of creating jobs or raising agricultural output. It is certainly no substitute for other measures of better water management and rural credit schemes that are needed to make more productive use of the land. But it is a justifiable attempt to capture popular imagination.

"The free trade zone has also helped to dramatise Sri Lanka at home and abroad. Its impact on employment and industrial output will not be as great as Mr. Jayewardene originally suggested. In manufacturing the major increases should come from revitalising and expanding existing industries. The temptations in this situation will be to create production jobs in the public and private sector.

"There are already signs of this in the request to private industry to take on an extra 10 per cent of staff—probably no hardship after recent retrenchments and the much tougher labour laws the government is seeking to enact. The new scheme of "job banks" for filling public sector vacancies initially through the recommendation of candidates by members of parliament has yet to prove itself and smacks of the old system of political patronage. Nonetheless the government is trying harder than any of its predecessors to tackle the island's most fundamental problem of massive unemployment."

**We have cited this article in full because it explains the rationale behind the IMF-inspired plan for the (capitalist) development of this island.**

There are a large number of additional obstacles and difficulties, not envisaged by the writer, which can bring this IMF house of cards for Sri Lanka toppling down. Some of these snags have been pinpointed by Tribune in recent issues, but we will review them again as and when necessary. The Bretton



Woods US-UK dominated IMF is today facing a challenge from the EMS (European Monetary System) which has proclaimed a new approach to the problems of developing countries. How this confrontation within the capitalist system will develop is hard to say, but this is a matter to which Sri Lanka must pay the greatest heed.

There is no doubt that it was President Jayewardene who was mainly instrumental for persuading the IMF to plank so heavily on Sri Lanka, but the donkey work of getting things done has been carried out with admirable perseverance by Finance Minister, Ronnie de Mel. He is also the greatest propagandist for the policies the government is seeking to implement. He is now making speeches every day stating that subsidies should be cut—as more and more are cut. The D-date is July/August when the IMF team will come to tell Sri Lanka what to do.

+ +

## BETWEEN THE LINES

BY SERENDIB

### Crisis In The IMF

At the time of writing these notes the Bonn Summit has just started, and the outcome of this most important meeting will be known a day or two later. In the meantime, it will be useful to examine some aspects of the background of the Bonn Summit in the light of recent developments.

What exactly is the Bonn Summit?

This July 16-17 summit meeting in Bonn, West Germany, continues a series of meetings bringing together the heads of state of the seven leading industrialized, non-

communist nations, to discuss pressing economic and political issues with the purpose of co-ordinating policy—whenever possible. The participating nations include the United States, Great Britain, West Germany, France, Italy, Japan and Canada. The last meeting took place in London in July 1977 and was widely considered Jimmy Carter's debut among the leading industrialized nations; the preceding meeting took place in Rambouillet, France in 1976.

The Bonn meeting is taking place after eight European states (led by West Germany and France) had decided to set up the European Monetary System (EMS) in Bremen early this month. The organisational and other details of the EMS are expected to be finalised for inauguration by December. Though certain sections of the press have tried to make it appear that the EMS is a purely European exercise to stabilise currency in the ECM arena, the fact is that the EMS was born of the increasing hostility between some European nations and the Anglo-American oligarchy that controls the IMF.

Speaking before the International Monetary Conference in Mexico City on May 24, US Treasury Secretary W. Michael Blumenthal had demanded that the International Monetary Fund be given a blank check to impose a system of direct surveillance and policing of the world's economies. Blumenthal told his audience of predominantly private-sector bankers from around the world that the proposed IMF surveillance of member nations was "the cornerstone of a system...the vertebral column...which provides the means of evaluating responsible international conduct and permits that the influence of the international community will be felt by those nations which have failed in complying with their obligations".

Asked if Blumenthal's proposal was provoked by banker's nervousness over Peru, where IMF conditions have just slapped a 50 per cent standard of living rise on the population, a former aide to Henry Kissinger had answered: "Peru is the least of it...We want greater surveillance of the economic policies of Japan, Germany, Switzerland, and the US. We have to get the IMF right in there especially in Germany to see that they are playing their part in world stability."

Blumenthal envisioned a supranational International Central Bank, which would treat the governments of advanced sector industrialized nations in the same manner the IMF has made a mockery of the national governments of its indebted Third World customers. That was made clear by Blumenthal when he noted that the surveillance powers of the IMF would be applied to effecting a "wide revision of their exchange rate policies"—powers the IMF has never before attempted to exercise. Blumenthal's remarks that "each nation must avoid manipulating its rate of exchange" is a derisive reference to the joint central bank efforts last winter to support the value of the dollar and maintain some semblance of monetary stability for preserving world trade."

In an interview given at the conclusion of the conference, Bank of Mexico Director Romero Kolbeck rejected the IMF's supranational austerity scheme by proposing the investment of advanced sector liquidity and capital goods imports for Third World development. That is what the Third World wants for real development and it coheres with a policy of reactivating the world economy, he explained. The advanced sector countries, he added, should forget about the "locomotive and convoy" theories for austerity-



based world inflation and begin to integrate the Third World into a program for international economic recovery. A "capital goods deal is a deal which will be convenient for the advanced sector, since they would be exporting more capital goods. But, of course, we want better interest and payment terms; we don't want tied loans," said Kolbeck.

Blumenthal's speech in Mexico City had come in the wake of a new series of IMF crackdowns—in Egypt, where the country appears to be on the verge of submitting to the IMF's austerity terms in return for a \$ 750 million standby loan. In Sudan, in Zaire, in Peru and in Britain itself. Britain's Chancellor of the Exchequer Denis Healey had signed a new letter of intent, reaffirming his commitment to imposing austerity on the British economy to gain an extension of the IMF loan negotiated 16 months ago. Healey's aim was to guard against a potential collapse of the pound sterling when London begins a renewed run against the dollar and to put pressure on West German Chancellor Helmut Schmidt to go along with the IMF global policeman strategy at the upcoming July economic summit meeting in Bonn.

Blumenthal meanwhile, took personal responsibility for making his IMF strategy against national sovereignty official US policy. "The US is totally committed to the success of this procedure," he told the conference. "For this end, we have formulated specified proposals which comprise three requisites"—all involving surveillance and coercion methods that will be used to subvert the national sovereignty of the US and other IMF member nations.

As we mentioned in this column last week, it was this attempt by the IMF to place the economies of the advanced

**countries under surveillance that has led to recent developments and the establishment of the EMS.**

"At the IMF meeting in Mexico in the last week of May, it was further reported "US Treasury Secretary Blumenthal's threat to dump the dollar on international markets, issued at the International Monetary Conference in Mexico City, opened a new British offensive against the government of West German Chancellor Helmut Schmidt. His intimidating announcement is just one of the financial warfare methods being used by Blumenthal, Federal Reserve Chairman G. William Miller, and British Chancellor of the Exchequer Denis Healey to outflank the West German who, particularly since Soviet President Brezhnev's visit to Bonn in early May, have been in the forefront of a Grand Design to forge East-West collaboration on a program for world development. By threatening monetary chaos, Blumenthal is attempting to push the horrified West German into submission to a British plan for 'European monetary stability' proposed by Denis Healey last week. What underlies both 'ultimatums' is London's plan for a monetary collapse of 1929 proportions".

**The real British demand is that Germany abandon the Grand Design. The public demand is that West Germany should "reflate" its economy."**

**What exactly is the Grand Design? And what is it that the US and the UK wanted of West Germany?**

According to the NSIPS commentator Steve Parsons writing on June 17, "West German Chancellor Helmut Schmidt is organizing to make implementation of the unprecedented trade and development package he recently concluded with Soviet President Brezh-

nev the center-piece of the July 16 heads of state summit meeting in Bonn. According to sources close to US summit negotiator Henry Owen, word is out that Schmidt will couple the Bonn-Moscow agreement to an accord with OPEC nations for the development of the Mideast and Africa, which he will work out within the next few weeks following talks with Saudi Prince Fahd and a trip to Africa. As an example of what Schmidt has in mind, West Germany Foreign Minister Genscher gave his government's approval to a proposed \$ 10 billion OECD aid fund for developing nations provided it is used for 'an overall expansion of the world economy,' with lender nations granting government guarantees to private companies. 'The Comecon nations should contribute to this process,' Genscher said.

"Schmidt's historic initiatives are backed by Italy, Japan, Saudi Arabia and especially President Giscard of France, with supporting moves from the Soviet Union. If successfully pushed through the Summit, this Grand Design would constitute a total defeat for the entire gamut of British-orchestrated schemes to wreck the international economy and implement fascist austerity under domination of the bankrupt pound sterling. The British oligarchists themselves recognize this combination as the potential crushing blow against the 300-year regime of Pax Britannica. As their antiquated economy teeters on the edge of bankruptcy, their "China option" for nuclear war collapses, and their policy institutions such as the IMF and World Bank, are discredited, the British are flailing for some way out. The London *Financial Times* of June 16 admits as much, 'If the West German Economics Ministry has its way,' wrote columnist Malcolm Ruther-



ford, 'there will be little in the Bonn economic summit meeting next month to please the British Government.'

The big question mark hanging over the Bonn summit is whether the US government will join Chancellor Schmidt's Grand Design. The Carter Administration is openly split on precisely this point. In an interview in the current issue of *Business Week* magazine, Chancellor Schmidt rebuked British attempts to get West Germany to "reflate" its economy. "That word... is not much nicer than inflation," said Schmidt. "I would not take additional steps (to reflate)... Don't tell me that all we need is just to print a little more money and everything will then be corrected. I think it is just too simple." In a virtual declaration of war on the City of London, Schmidt attacked "the vulgar Keynesian economics" that can be applied only to depressed economies undergoing contraction—not to a West German economy that is preparing for enormous expansion!

Instead, he noted, "there is no such thing as a national economy. The national economies... are much more intertwined internationally than they were in the 1930s... Germany exports 30 percent of its gross national product; we import somewhat less than 30 percent. That means that we are much more dependent on developments in the rest of the world....."

Schmidt's remarks dovetail with initiatives by French President Giscard d'Estaing. At a June 14 conference, Giscard attacked the IMF plans for genocide in Zaire, stating that French policy is to support African sovereignty. He also reaffirmed France's growing links to the Soviet Union. "There is no crisis in detente," he said. Franco-German co-operation in

Africa is moving ahead. Following both nations' refusal to approve the IMF takeover of Zaire at the June 12 Brussels meeting, Schmidt made plans to meet next week with Saudi Prince Fahd in Bonn to discuss massive economic development plans for Africa and the Third World. These will channel Saudi—and other OPEC nations—petrodollars into the developing areas. The OPEC nations are expected to directly invest at least \$10-20 billion more in Third World nations this year than last, in addition to accelerating deposits in French and West German banks. Schmidt's discussions with Fahd were preceded by King Khaled's recent visit to France, during which the Saudis agreed to channel billions of dollars into French banks specifically for financing international development projects. Schmidt is now scheduled to visit Zambia and Nigeria on June 26, where he will most likely meet with Zaire's Mobutu to discuss ousting the IMF from Africa.

Schmidt's Grand Design is getting solid backing from West German industry and financial circles, as well as the Arabs. Recently, industrialist Otto Wolff von Amerongen and a leading West German banker give their enthusiastic support for "compensation deals" with the Soviets, where the Soviets would pay for the cost of West German construction of new plants in the Soviet Union with the goods produced by those plants.

Another commentator, Vivian Freyre, writing on June 21, stated: "The governments of West Germany, France, Italy, Japan and Saudi Arabia are preparing a financial and political bombshell for the July economic summit in Bonn. Working in the context of the treaties signed by West Germany and the Soviet Union during the May Brezhnev visit to Bonn, they

have been in a co-ordinated deployment over the past week to work out the appropriate monetary and credit mechanisms for the implementation of a global industrial development policy for presentation at the OECD summit. In response, Prime Minister James Callaghan of Britain issued a sudden announcement on June 21 that he would make an emergency trip to the United States to "rescue the Bonn summit."

On June 24, Steve Parsons reported: "With the announcement two days ago that West Germany has been selected to represent Saudi Arabian interests at the July 16 economic summit of the heads of state of the leading industrial nations in Bonn, West Germany, the stage is now set to turn that historic meeting into a forum for bringing the world's dollar surplus into East-West trade and Third World Development. Acknowledging his role as the spokesman for Saudi interests at Bonn, West German Chancellor Helmut Schmidt said at the conclusion of a week of meetings with Saudi Prince Fahd: 'The economic policy conceptions of the largest oil exporter of the world and, likewise, the currency policy conceptions of that important financial power which Saudi Arabia represents are of eminent interest.'

"US Energy Secretary Schlesinger has thus been caught in a lie—the lie that the OPEC nations' essentially threaten, rather than support Western efforts to develop. Prince Fahd informed Chancellor Schmidt that he had no intention of using the oil weapon against the advanced sector nations. Instead, Saudi Arabia wants to use its oil—and petrodollars—in a cooperative effort with Europe to develop technology. It is this momentum towards technological development that Schlesinger's



ravings about an oil embargo are intended to bring to a full stop,

"The Schmidt-Fahd meetings culminated a week of dramatic initiatives by the governments of West Germany, France, Japan and Saudi Arabia to politically mobilize the full financial muscle of their government reserves—together totalling some 150 billion—behind a capital-intensive export drive to the socialist bloc and the Third World and the full financing of the Grand Design proposals embodied in the May 6 Bonn-Moscow economic accords. If this financial Grand Design is adopted at the Bonn summit, the dollar could be well on its way to firmly re-establishing its world reserve currency role on the basis of hard-commodity production and trade."

These comments indicate that the Grand Design is a capitalistic plan for economic development drawing in the third world into a kind of partnership (junior partnership, no doubt, but partnership all the same) whereas the UK-US IMF plans so far only envisage a subordinate and poor third world of (permanently) under-developed developing countries (in the grip of what is described as neo-colonialism).

French President Valéry Giscard d'Estaing at a dinner given in his honour by the Association of African Ambassadors in Paris stressed that Europe and Africa have a community of interest in a program of peace through development: "For all those who want peace to reign in Africa and for each country to be able to organise its own progress in full independence, priority must be given to development aid for Africa. The Common destiny of Europe and Africa goes through an intensification of economic and cultural exchanges...After all, isn't that community of destiny under-

lined by the present economic crisis were, among the worst hit in the industrialized and developing sectors, prespectively one finds Europeans and Africans."

The Grand Design has been worked out in some detail for Africa. The US-UK group led by Brzezinski (and more recently supported by China) want to use Ethiopia, Zaire, Angola and even Southern Africa as a flashpoint to trigger a thermo-nuclear war to weaken or destroy the Soviet Union. France, West Germany and other countries refused to go along with it. This US-UK group (not Vance and Andrew Young), wanted a European (White) Military strike Force in Africa as a counter to the National Liberation Armies and Guerillas (supported by Cuban and Russians), but the West Germans and French wanted to make such force unnecessary by launching a Grand Design for the industrialisation and rapid development of all African countries. For the Grand Design to succeed detente and peace were essential.

The Brzezinski-proposed European Military Strike Force for Zaire and elsewhere was short-circuited by African countries which said OAU units would do any policing required. The details of the Grand Design for the development of Africa and the Middle East have been published—and reject all the accepted austerity, cut-welfarism, cut-subsidies theories and strategies of the IMF. The Grand Design plans for nuclear power including fast-breeder reaching—which Tri-lateral experts consider the most dangerous "weapon" in the hands of the poor third world countries.

And the Grand Design has no use for floating currencies. Sri Lanka's experience of floating currencies has been most unfortunate. Prices have shot up. Imported essentials—drugs, books, foodstuffs—are sold at prices very few can

afford. The EMS neither wants a basket of floating currencies nor the floating snake.

Further, OPEC countries, especially the Saudis, and Japan seem to have thrown in their lot with the Grand Design group, wanting to promote development. Finally, this group does not want a cold war or any war with the USSR—they want detente in trade as well. Many European commentators have said that May 1978 Chancellor Schmidt and President Brezhnev agreements are one of the most important diplomatic triumphs of the twentieth century. It is also said that these agreements are fashioned as part of the Grand Design pattern of development.

It is yet too early to predict the outcome of the Bonn Summit and other Summits of the eight or nine rich industrialised countries that are likely to follow in quick succession in the coming months. Nor is it possible to say what the confrontation between the EMS and IMF will bring. Will the IMF adopt the Grand Design programme together with the more liberal and realistic approach to rich (OPEC) and poor third world countries? Or will the IMF fight it out with the EMS?

Many do not realise that since 1971-72, the world has entered the phase of the Third World War, but so far, except for regional and localised wars, the global conflict has been on the trade, economics and currency fronts—with political overtones that stem therefrom.

So far as Sri Lanka is concerned, it should try to make the best of the confrontation between the giants of the capitalist world—it will soon be reflected in struggle between the IMF vs EMS. All these big and powerful nations were in the IMF. Now some of them have begun to ignore the IMF rules by cancelling debts owed by poor



developing nations. Members of the EMS whilst still being members of the IMF, having failed to persuade the IMF to adopt realistic policies of development for everybody's benefit, have set out on their own without breaking away from the IMF.

Countries like Sri Lanka which are now completely in the grip and clutches of the tough IMF operators can secure for themselves major concessions and benefits if she play her cards well.



## POLITICS OF THE WEEK

BY NARADA

### A New SLFP?

THE MEETINGS held by the SLFP during the week-end of July 8 and 9 attracted, according to reliable reports, large crowds. There is no doubt that the big turn-out was because of the hardships caused by the steeply rising prices. Many observers were surprised by the very large numbers who had come for the SLFP meetings. It is too early to draw any inferences or conclusions by the attendance at these meetings even in regard to the local government elections, to be held this November and December. But these are points.

The Daily News 10/7/78 report of one of the meetings, viz. at Kalutara, sets out the line Mrs. Bandaranaike is developing in her new campaign: "The SLFP's new constitution lays down a completely new attitude and method of organising the party machine which at every step would assure a democratic set-up which would empower the members of the party to throw even me out", observed Mrs. Bandaranaike addressing a

public meeting at Kalutara. Mrs. Bandaranaike said that at all levels membership from the village to town, town to district, district to province and up to the centre inclusive of selecting candidates for parliamentary seats there would be consultation and voting by secret ballot by the members of the SLFP. She observed that selectors could even disregard any would-be candidate and select another. Even the office bearers of the branches and the centre would follow that example. It would ensure the complete supremacy of the people. She urged the rank and file to organise themselves to meet the challenge of other parties. The government had promised to hold local government elections this year. That was the first opportunity the party would get to prove its strength. With broken promises, shortages, high prices in the last eleven months of the UNP rule despite promises at the last elections to bring down the cost of living and provide employment etc., it would be an easy task to win at the polls of local bodies. She said that despite changes in the Constitution envisaged by the UNP there would be definitely a defeat of that party in 1983 if the government could last that long. Dealing with the accelerations of the Mahaveli Scheme she said even an American specialist had doubted its possibility. Referring to the cutting down of subsidies free rice etc, Mrs. Bandaranaike alleged that the World Bank had made similar suggestions to her government. But she had refused to toe that line. Today Mr. Ronnie de Mel who had toured the West had succumbed to these suggestions. Speaking of the development schemes the UNP boasted of, she claimed all of them were continuations of schemes the SLFP began inclusive of the Mahaveli. There was not a single scheme, corporation or industry the UNP could boast of except for the

Lunugamchera scheme for which only the foundation had been laid. On the question of the export of rice, she added that there was no cutting down of imports of rice. Her government had to import rice and so did the UNP. If there were bumper harvests now in Sri Lanka, the UNP should not claim credit for them. Extra rice had been imported on wrong estimates of production and now there was a temporary surplus. This was the rice to be exported. Dealing with the changes in the economic policies of the UNP Mrs. Bandaranaike alleged that the UNP was taking the country back to the pre-1956 era. It was the duty of all to see that a halt was called to this 'back to capitalism' strategy of the UNP. She assured the people that the SLFP would all undo the injustices the UNP had done and also remedy any faults the SLFP had. There had been a charge that she pampered her relatives. If that had any truth it was what the UNP did today."

What she said about prices, subsidies, foreign aid and Mahaweli can be regarded as party polemics but they cannot be dismissed lightly because there is more than a substratum of truth in them. The most interesting references in her speech concerned the reorganisation of the party. In this connection, references in the daily press had indicated that the report of the Reorganisation Committee had been rejected. But from the reports it was not clear regarding what was really at issue.

The first issue of the CP weekly Forward 3/7/78, had an interesting though obviously slanted piece about this in its chatty column SO THEY SAY by Gadfly. That is what it said: "The SLFP's 'Reorganisation' report has run into trouble. Drawn up a committee consisting of Messrs K. Shinya, K. Shanmugalingam, S. S. Wij-



ratne and Anura Bandaranaike, it has proposed certain measures of democratisation aimed at edging out some of the 'Old Guard' eg. reduction of the number of Vice-President etc. The Old Guard, naturally, did not take things lying down. They fought back in a big way. While forces, led by Mr. Maithripala Senanayake attacked heavily on one flank, Mr. T. B. Illangaratne raised pointed questions which were met with embarrassed silence. Drawing attention to the section of the report which identified corruption, inefficiency and maladministration as the chief causes for the SLFP's electoral defeat, Mr. Illangaratne chose to bell the hitherto un-belled cat by asking why nepotism and family bandyism were not also identified as relevant causes. The meeting ended with further time being granted for study of the proposals. But indications are that Anura Bandaranaike's demand for greater representation of the youth in the SLFP's leading bodies may be granted. The SLFP however showed that it was no longer ready, as in the past, to leave everything to Mrs. Bandaranaike. A proposal to this effect by Mr. Wanniarachchi, former MP for Pelmadulla, and seconded by Mr. Sumathipala Jayewardene was turned down. Although Mr. Felix Dias Bandaranaike remains in the background, it is certainly not from choice. He is fighting back efforts (spearheaded by the younger members of the Bandaranaike family) to sweep him under the carpet. SLFP circles tell the story that, shortly after the general elections, Felix registered a firm of lawyers, giving the SLFP headquarters as the address of its chambers. This drew an angry response from a young SLFP ex-MP who, apart from asking whether the name of the firm was to be Bandaranaike Associates, inquired whether he could register a fish vendor busi-

ness with the SLFP headquarters as its registered address."

SLFP papers have published no reports or comments about this Re-organisation which can throw light on the matter. This is understandable.

Tribune has endeavoured to find out as much as possible of the real crux of the problem. It cannot be said that we have all the answers but what we have gathered may help to throw some light on this matter. The Re-organisation Committee did produce a Report, but for some strange reasons there seems to have been only one or two copies circulating in the higher echelons. The Report was read at the meeting and a discussion took place, but not even members of the old guard have a copy of the report: they rejected demanding that the Committee should amend it by eliminating some undesirable features which had raised a hornet's nest.

What most members at the meeting had objected to was the proposal to have two parallel organisations to make up the SLFP—the branches of the old membership and the new Youth Leagues. The higher organs of the party, Executive Committee, Central Committee, Working Committee and Politburo were to have an equal number of "nominees" from the two parallel organisation. This was a rather clumsy effort to upgrade Anura's Youth League in a way that could at some point of time overwhelm the parent body. The objections to this proposal were so violent—it brought together all of the old guard and a large number of the younger people as well—that some of the healthy and welcome proposals of the Committee were not even discussed.

The Committee is once again at the job. It has, we are told,

done a deal of preliminary work by getting the views of members from the village grass-roots level. This work is still being continued, but the stupid suggestion of two parallel organisations has now been given up. *Gadfly* in *Forward* seems to think that Anura's Youth League would have greater representation (how?) but makes no reference to the rejection of the two parallel organisations.

Discussions with those in the know indicate that the new amended report will be a worthwhile document and that it would lay down the basis for a really democratic party. The elective principle will be made sacred. Earlier, the village, district, provincial and even national leaders were, more often than not, nominees of the Leader or the ruling hierarchy. Elections, if held, were farcical smokescreen for nominations. In the old SLFP—the new is yet to be—there were a dozen vice-presidents, practically all nominated. In the new set up, every post from the top to the lowest would be filled by election. The Committee seems anxious to have a fully democratic party, but the structure, from what we understand, seems to be modelled on some of the Marxist Parties with a kind of democratic centralism. The Youth Leagues, the Women's Association, which would be under one command: that of the leader, the Deputy, the Politburo, Central Committee, Executive Committee etc. etc.

The Report of the Committee is now held up, we are told, because no agreement has been reached on the all-important matter of "policy and programme." One section wants a very ultra radical programme which would undercut all the left parties. Another section wants to have just so much radicalism as would get keep the middle classes in the towns and



villages with the SLFP. Sources inside the SLFP state that it will be at least two months before the report will be complete and it would be released only after a specially convened all-island Executive Committee meeting of the SLFP has considered the matter.

Another matter which appears to be causing difficulty seems to be Language and the Rights for the Tamil Minorities. The Re-organisation Committee is deeply conscious of the fact under proportional representation the SLFP can no longer afford to be a purely Sinhala Party.

What the final report of the Reorganisation Committee is likely to be is hard to say. What many SLFPers say is that the first report was mucked up because the so-called China wing had attempted to lay the foundation for a Gang of Four coup to take over the SLFP through the mechanism of the parallel Youth League. This attempt was more than nipped in the bud.

But a great deal of heated animosity seems to be generated by the activities of the so-called Peking-wing in combination with the Horagolla family caucus. There is a widespread undercurrent of indignation inside the SLFP directed at the China-wing-cum-Family caucus. It is said that they have the machinery at the Headquarters and the entire party press under their control.

The so-called China wing and even the Family, Caucus however, are greatly disappointed and disheartened by the present attitude of Peking towards them and the UNP. They say they could understand the Chinese Government maintaining good "state" relations with the UNP government, but the praise that Keng Piao had showered on the economic policies of the UNP took the SLFP pro-China hierarchy by surprise. Earlier

the SLFP China-wingers were disappointed with the composition of the Press Delegation to China.

Whilst the one-time supporters of Chiang Ching and the Gang of Four inside the SLFP find it difficult to re-adjust to the Hua Kuo-feng policies, they have not rushed to the Shanmugathasan line of damning Hua as a revisionist and backing Anver Hoxha of Albania. In the meantime there is a growing demand among broad sections of the SLFP that all factions—pro-China, Pro-Moscow, pro-Albania etc. etc.—should be banned and that responsibility should be handed over to SLFPers with no foreign affiliations, even ideological.

Mrs. Bandaranaike, daughter Chandrika and Sarath Cooray were invited to Iraq's Baath Party Anniversary celebrations in Baghdad last week. Iraq had also invited representatives of all other parties—UNP, CP, LSSP etc to the celebrations. And all seem to have gone.

Very soon, an all party youth delegation (even UNP is likely to join it) will leave for Havana for the Youth Festival.

A new era in the political history of this island will open with the new Constitution. It will be interesting to see how the different parties will meet the imperatives of the new situation.

## INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

by Ariel

### Brzezinski's Cold War And Detente

THE VISIBLE AND INVISIBLE Cold War among the super-powers, even in this so-called era of detente, continues to be the underlying motivation behind most of the events, developments and happenings in the world today. There is first the supreme cold war, now

suitably encased in "detente" agreements, between the two super-powers, the USA and the USSR. Whether in America, Africa or Asia, this USA/USSR rivalry for political and economic power and for ideological supremacy can be seen in every conflict, dispute, confrontation or even (healthy) competition. Apart from what the two giants do in their national self-interest, their actions are often conditioned (in a subordinate sort of way) by the interests of smaller countries and nations which ally or align themselves with one or other of the two super-powers. This is part of the general pattern of US/USSR, Capitalism versus Socialism competition and confrontation, but in every region and country loyalties, alignments and combinations change, and such changes create twists and turns and zig zags that make contemporary history interesting.

In the Middle East for instance, the Western Powers led by Britain held sway right up to the second world war. Then the USA came into the scene as a dominant power. Then after 1956 Russia too entered the arena. In the 1960s China too came in, but it is still a distant voice although its propagandistic onslaughts are loud and noisy. Detente between the USA and USSR, however, brought a new element of moderation into the Middle Eastern problem.

To understand the underlying motivations behind events and developments in the Middle East, in Southern Africa, Rhodesia, Zaire, Mauretania—in fact anywhere for that matter (including Western Europe)—one must be able to evaluate the state of detente between the two super-powers.

In Asia and especially in Indo-China, the current role of China in global politics becomes relevant. Under cover of ideological war, China disputes the dominating posi-



tion the Soviet Union has attained not only in the world communist movement, but also in global geopolitics. China is not strong enough to challenge Russia on its own, and is now pursuing the strategy of doing everything possible to intensify the confrontation between the USSR and its allies, on the one hand, and the USA and the countries of Western bloc in the hope that USA and the USSR would go to war—and global nuclear war would mean destruction of both countries, leaving China to dominate the world allegedly with its Maoist ideology.

No sooner any event takes place in any part of the world, one must first find out if any cold war considerations came into play—there are very few regions in the world where only local (and not global cold war) considerations apply. In addition to the USA/USSR cold war, there are a large number of other cold wars centred around the national aspirations of individual countries, around regional organisations like the OAU, the Arab League, ASEAN and Latin American Organisations, which must be examined to see what part, if any, they play in the development of current events. The super-powers often endeavour to exploit these bi-lateral and regional conflicts for their own global strategies. But the countries concerned also try to utilise big power rivalry for their own ends.

A study of international affairs today is not a straight-forward analysis of men and matters. It is a much more complicated and intricate matter than that.

In more recent times, the sustaining of the US/USSR detente has become even complicated than ever before especially after President Carter thrust human rights on a multi-dimensional basis into the conduct of international affairs. This was regarded as interference

in their internal affairs by many countries. The Soviet Union objected to such sermons from Carter and stepped up the prosecution of dissidents. Whereas Carter feels that he has the right to intervene on behalf of a prosecuted dissident, in the USSR, there is precious little he can do for those whom they decide to charge in their courts. Carter now feels that he has a responsibility towards such dissidents. It is probably his fervent preaching for human rights that induced some to become dissidents and risk prosecution.

But Carter's appeal for human rights was taken sympathetically and sometimes good-humouredly until recently when National Security Council Adviser Brzezinski attempted to introduce a further dimensional thrust into the cold war—which threatened to undermine and destroy the system of detente.

Brzezinski seems to be moulded in the armour of the cold war warriors of the fifties in the style and manner of John Foster Dulles and Joseph McCarthy. Whilst Dulles and McCarthy were down-to-earth sloganisers against Communism, Brzezinski is a high-calibre academic who seeks to hide the plain idiom of Dulles behind sophisticated terminology. For some reason, Brzezinski thought that a new cold war against the USSR would bring greater support for Carter not only inside the USA but also outside. In addition to seeing a Russian (with a Cuban) behind every bush in Angola, Zaire, Rhodesia, Ethiopia, the Middle East—everywhere—Brzezinski thought it good strategy to use China as a whipping boy against Russia and Cuba.

It is not clear whether the far cleverer (and wiser) Chinese mandarins inveigled the heavy-handed and obviously naive Brzezinski to

do the dirty work for them in their war against the USSR, or whether it was the other way about. It looks very much as if the Chinese had Brzezinski do their bidding whilst making him think that he was calling the tune.

Brzezinski further set about tilting at the windmills of detente. His first big show in Zaire—apart from his clownish act on the Great Wall of China where he invited the Chinese to start a war on the Russians. (The Chinese obviously took it in good humour; they do not want to fight a war with the Soviet Union, but want the American to do it). But in the Zaire affair, although Brzezinski scored initial successes by making it appear that it was a Russian-Cuban invasion of copper-rich Shaba in Katanga, his efforts boomeranged both inside the USA and outside. Brzezinski pushed the CIA chief Turner to tell the International Relations Committee of the Congress that the CIA had "proof" and "evidence" that the Shaba revolt was really a Cuban-inspired invasion. Castro started a counter campaign in the UN as well as in Havana. Senator McGovern and other US leaders began to ask searching questions. The nett result was that the CIA story was disbelieved—especially after Britain refused to support the Turner-Brzezinski story. In fact, the evidence in the hands of British and European Intelligence Services was the opposite of what Brzezinski wanted to establish. Only the Chinese, nevertheless thought it tactical to accept the Brzezinski-Turner line and jump into Zaire in a bid to promote a fight between the USA and USSR.

While the Zaire hullabaloo was at its height, Brzezinski started a new thrust that SALT II negotiations should be stopped because Moscow had violated the rules



of detente in Zaire (and elsewhere). For a time, President Carter seems to have leaned heavily on Brzezinski's aggressive cold war adventurism. He even made a few speeches demanding that Russia should accept a new version of detente on Brzezinski's terms. Russia naturally refused. Many Americans also reacted this way. It was even suggested by US commentators that the stepped-up attacks on the USSR were only a cover to divert the attention of Americans from the failures of US Home and Foreign policies (the Tax Revolt had already begun). If the new line was accepted, there would be a new arms race and the military-industrial complex would be back in business in an even bigger way than ever before. And if the policy succeeded, it would be possible for Washington to exert pressure on Moscow for unilateral political concessions.

But the Brzezinski line did not succeed fully—it only caused dents and setbacks in detente. Many officials, politicians and persons in the USA realised the dangers of Brzezinski's line. Secretary of State Vance followed a more rational and softer line. And President Carter himself then moved away from Brzezinski a little as Zaire was forgotten. This led to a big newspaper controversy in the USA about the so-called Brzezinski-Vance differences.

President Carter, unfortunately, swung on the pendulum from side to side which Brzezinski insisted on giving unnecessarily vigorous pushes. But Carter formally seems to have been persuaded to follow the softer line. The *Newsweek* July 3, 1978, had a interesting comment on the current state of detente: "When Jimmy Carter addressed 5,000 people in Fort Worth last week, he was prepared for tough questions on his energy policy. Instead someone asked

about the fragile state of detente and the reported policy differences between national-security adviser Zbigniew Brzezinski and Secretary of State Cyrus Vance. 'I am President, I make the final decisions,' Carter said with some irritation. 'And I don't think it is fair and it's certainly not right, for the Soviet Union and Cuba to jump on Dr. Brzezinski.' Then, his voice rising to meet loud applause, Carter declared: 'we want to get along with the Soviet Union. We are determined to stay strong. We are not going to let the Soviet Union push us around. We are not going to be second.' In all, Carter's swing through the Southwest sounded a militant note. With the accent on military preparedness, the Administration seemed to be in a combative mood—politically as well as diplomatically. The display of firepower, confined a Carter aide, was designed 'to send a message to the American people that this guy is no weakling'. The message was loud and clear, but there was no sign whether it would help Carter's political standing, or his relations with the Soviet Union. The omens for detente were still mixed...The diplomatic signals that were being sent by the Administration remained confusing to many. After a round of tough rhetoric earlier by Carter and Brzezinski, Vance took a softer line in testimony before Congress and in a speech at Atlantic City, telling the House International Relations Committee that the two super-powers should 'concentrate on the concrete actions we both can take to reduce tensions'. The verdict from one senior White House aide was that, after weeks of infighting, 'Cyrus Vance is the dominant voice in foreign policy around here.' But the swing from a hard line to moderation confused friend and foe alike. 'I just don't know what to report anymore,' said a promi-

nent ambassador in Washington. 'Dr. Brzezinski is up, then down. Vance is up, then down. It all goes so fast, and we don't know what to expect.' The President did his best to clear things up for Congress. Members of the House International Relations Committee had sent him a letter expressing 'confusion and doubt' as to his foreign policy. In response, Carter played host last week to 66 senators and representatives at a buffet dinner at the White House followed by a foreign policy 'seminar' in the East Room. Flanked by Vance, Brown and Brzezinski, the President spoke for 35 minutes, ticking off his foreign-policy goals (the first one mentioned: stronger ties with Europe and Japan). Vance, Brown and Brzezinski also spoke, but Carter's own theme was that 'we have one foreign policy here...'.

All this did not help Carter to sell the Brzezinski line under the smokescreen of a softer Vance policy—no doubt in a bid to give teeth to his pretty Human Rights hobby horse. The *Newsweek* continued: "Carter blamed the press for creating an 'overblown' impression of disagreement within the Administration. 'They take a phrase here and a word there, and they seek confrontation,' he said. In fact, Vance had waged a quiet little bureaucratic war against Brzezinski for weeks. 'It takes Mr. Vance a long time to get disturbed, one aide said, 'But when he does, he can truly dig in his heels. To put it mildly, Mr. Vance decided that too hard a note had been struck.' Vance dug in his heels hard, *Newsweek* learned, when French President Valéry Giscard d'Estaing suggested, during a dinner at the White House in late May, that a permanent Western peace-keeping force be set up for Africa. Carter casually agreed, but Vance was appalled. Last week, one of the Secretary's aides put on a molas-



ses-thick Southern accent and mimicked the President: 'Why, sho, Valery, we gonna help you put that li'l ol' peace-keepin' force togethah.' Vance 'stood up to the President' on the issue, the aide said, and won. As State Department officials told it, Carter eventually came to feel 'uncomfortable' with Brzezinski's penchant for baiting Moscow. 'Zbig has been shut up,' declared a Vance partisan. 'You won't be hearing a word from him for a while'. That might be premature, although Vance did seem to wrench US African policy toward a live-and-let-live philosophy last week. In Atlantic City, he said that Africa should not become 'an arena for East-West competition.' After a hint was dropped in his speech, US officials confirmed that Washington might go back on its promise to give Somalia weapons if the Somali's continue to support a guerilla war on Ethiopia's disputed Ogaden region. And the Administration sent two high-ranking US diplomats on a fence-mending mission to Angola—less than two months after CIA director Stansfield Turner had suggested to one senator that the US could resume covert aid to antigovernment guerillas fighting in Angola."

In any case there seems to be movement inside the USA to bring foreign policy back on to the rails of detente and to restrain men like Brzezinski from pushing the Americans into another vietnam.

It was the tough cold war anti-Communist policies of Dulles that led to the vietnam war with such fateful consequences for America. Very correctly many Americans faced that the Brzezinski line in Africa would lead to many Vietnams—in Zaire, Angola, Ethiopia, Rhodesia and even Namibia.

The world does not want any nambr트남 wars and international public opinion is very much against the Brzezinski tough line.

## SONG FOR

### A Weary World Tourist

We've danced  
The carnival in Rio  
Heard Big Ben chime the hour  
Sailed the isles of the Pacific  
Mounted steps to Sacre Coeur.

We have eaten duck in Peking,  
Swallows' nests in Singapore  
Irish stew in Connemara  
But still have room for more.

#### Chorus:

But when you talk of travel  
Making journeys to and fro  
Were there really any people  
We ever got to know?  
Were there really any people,  
Were there really any people,  
Were there really any people,  
We ever got to know, oh, oh.

We've seen the Taj Mahal at  
midnight

New England in the Fall  
Climbed the Pyramids in Egypt  
Heard Granada's gypsies call.

We admired the Himalayas  
Plucked guitars in Mexico  
Sun-burned on safari  
Loved Mont Blanc in the snow.

#### Chorus:

But when you talk of travel  
Making journeys to and fro,  
Who were the only people,  
We ever got to know?

Who were the only people,  
Who were the only people,  
Who were the only people,  
We ever got to know, oh, oh.

We've seen the Loch Ness monster  
rising

And walked the Bridge of Sighs,  
And we've photographed Niagara  
And the Arctic's golden skies

We've shivered in the Kremlin  
And we've seen the Pope in Rome  
In Jerusalem we tried to weep,  
Before we made for him.

#### Chorus:

But when you talk of travel,  
Making journeys to and fro,  
We remember only people  
We really got to know,  
We remember only people,  
We remember only people,  
We remember only people,  
We really got to know, oh, oh.

Music: J. Wormus.

Words: Brian Frost

—Harry Haas

—Patricia Hall

## LETTER FROM ABROAD

### The Tribune

Sir,

I take a great pleasure and pride in reading your journal. I must congratulate you on your "Editorials" and "Confidentially" and your impartiality. The people of Sri Lanka must consider themselves lucky in having a journal like the Tribune.

The President is a very strong democrat and believes in democracy and I have no doubt that he will not in any way interfere with your journal. Your journal must be a thorn on the sides of the Politicians. They must not take offence, but put their house in order.

I hope you will continue calling a spade a spade without fear or favour and be a great service to Sri Lanka.

Jack Van Sanden

Retired DIG Police.

4, Westdale Court,  
Watsoria,  
Victoria 3087.  
24th June 1978



ACID BOMB EXPLOSION—6

Chapter Six

NEW LODGINGS

by James Goonewardene

The Story So Far

Deva, an England-returned artist, failed to get a response from the art world of Sri Lanka. He found himself a job as an Art Master in a Maha Vidyalaya in a remote area by the sea. The Principal, Piyaratne, is a figure from the old world of Sri Lanka's educational system, while Ariya, the manager of the local resthouse with whom Deva has struck up a friendship, is sensitive to disturbing realities, even the underground trends, swelling up in the country at this time. In a discussion, after Deva's appointment, Ariya reveals that he was perturbed about many strange things that have happened in the neighbourhood recently. Deva gives up his rooms in Colombo and asks his brother, a highly successful money-spinning architect to look after his collection of unsold sculptures. The brother, aghast at the thought that Deva should waste his talents in a rural village school, offers him money to enable him to go back to London to resume his career as a sculptor and regain his former popularity, wealth and success. Deva refuses because he has no desire to escape to London and what the world regarded as fame. Before leaving Colombo finally, for the village, Deva wanted to contact an old friend who, though an important bureaucrat, was a kindly man. In the government office where he had worked he found a strange new atmosphere where the newly elevated peon and a revolutionary sounding clerk told him that his friend had been thrown as a reactionary. With his ties with the world he had known snapping, Deva turned to the village.

The sun shone with a sharp, clear brilliance as Deva, lugging his two bags, emerged into the narrow roadway. Not many passengers had disembarked here—just a trickle—traders returning home after a business trip, a couple of farmers from a neighbouring village. Deva looked about for a cart feeling the strain on his arms from the suit-cases. There was one parked outside an eating house. He hailed it, and climbing in he set out to the resthouse, the hard, wooden wheels shuddering under him as the cart went over the uneven road.

Beyond the bridge it was quiet. He caught a glimpse of the river, dark grey moving slowly on. His

spirits revived a bit as he felt the warmth of the sun on his body and finally he reached his destination. The rest house stood dozing in the morning sun in the centre of that mound of cabook and gravel. Dev paid his carter off and heaved his suit cases into the verandah. No one was in sight—only the brown and white mongrel that slept under the steps and scratched itself. A waiter materialised eventually. "The manager was out making his weekly purchases," he said, "He'll be back now."

"Is there a room for me?"

"You can have any room you want."

"And also a bit of lunch at about twelve?"

"Yes, you can have it by twelve."

It was once again the same large room. He dumped his luggage here and wandered down to the beach. The brine-filled air was good. He took deep lungfuls of it. It was different and wholesome and freedom-giving. The tide had been in during the night. The shingle, the coral and the shells had been pushed back in the night. They lay in an uneven line at the foot of the palm trees. The sea lapped the shore gently as if it had never stirred beyond the shallow dip in the sand dunes.

When he came back from his stroll the manager had returned, tired and hot and sweating, with his cloth hat on his head and his creased trousers flapping about his legs.

"You did turn up then?" he said, There was a note of relief in his voice.

"I told you I was coming."

"Yes, I know...but one can change one's mind...anyway you are here and I am glad you've come. Well, is everything all right—your bags taken in?"

"Yes, everything under control"

"Good—I'll get all this settled and join you."

Deva stared at the manager who was dressed like a tramp, the cloth hat sitting awkwardly on his head, sweat pouring down his neck, and his shabby trousers and battered sandals completing the appearance. He was certainly not getting rich here, but he looked happy.

"Look", said Deva detaining the manager, "If you didn't expect me back you then didn't look for a boarding for me?"

"Oh yes, I did, and what's more I have found one, but I gave them no promise—I mean about your taking it. I said I wasn't really sure you were coming back—I left it open."



"I would like to move in right away, if that's possible," said Deva.

"We can go after lunch, about three. The mistress of the house is herself a school teacher. She has to return from school. Teaches in a junior school somewhere round here."

"That's all right. We'll go at three."

The manager left to get his purchases stored away. It was a couple of hours before Deva saw him again. He had had time to relax a while, smoke a cigar and listen to the sea and watch the shadows under the trees. He had done the right thing, taking the job here. He felt sure now. In some inexplicable fashion one felt insulated from the world's troubles here.

Shortly after three they set out to the boarding house. They didn't have to go very far, a quarter mile along the main road. It was all coconut land here, hundreds of acres of coconut land running parallel to each other and flanking the roadway. Nestling among them were dwellings—belonging to people without much means or substance—a class of people who were not peasantry and not yet urban folk. Barking mongrels from inside the houses marked their progress. Finally they arrived at the house standing cheek-by-jowl with the main road, only a low parapet wall and three or four feet of laterite earth on which stood stumpy croton plants separating the verandah from the road. The architecture of the house was of a kind that was not found anymore in the island. The roof was supported by large and solid pillars. The verandah itself was flanked by two low but thick walls. The main house rose to a height well above the average modern house. Everything about it smacked of age and time, going back, perhaps, to pre-British times.

Deva and his friend climbed the long, narrow steps and entered.

Two old fashioned mahogany, straight-backed chairs stood in the verandah, the wide, empty, cement-floored verandah, an old world verandah, perhaps a hundred years old. Ariya knocked and a bosomy, energetic middle-aged woman emerged from within the house.

"Ah yes, you," said she. "Its about the boarding...and this is your friend?"

"Yes, this is the friend."

"As you see, I've only now returned from school—not changed into my house clothes yet", said the woman, brushing down her printed, voile saree with her hand. Her voice was clear and strident. There was, together with it, the confident and rather over-powering manner of a woman of her class who had taken to a career and earned money in her own right. She seemed conscious of a certain social status she had by virtue of being the school mistress of a village school.

"My husband's still at work," she went on. "He's in charge of the local sub-post office, and returns only about five. If you like I can show you the rooms."

As he had been hoping it was the front room, leading off the open verandah, that she turned to. She opened the door with a large, rusty, iron key and they went in. An iron bed with a rolled up mattress stood against the wall. In another corner was a small, square table and a battered old chair. One of the windows, a narrow, arched window, an architectural relict from an older time, looked out onto the road. It was a well lit room with sunlight streaming down from small, square, glass panes fitted into the roof, but the woman pushed the wooden window open. It contrasted with the rest of the house in which, no doubt, the inhabitants lived like moles.

Deva stood in the centre of the room and pivoted round examining it. If there ever came a need for him to sculpt again he could do it here, he thought. The feeling for his lost vocation would continue to trouble him. Seeing him stand there motionless and self-absorbed the school mistress was puzzled.

"Don't you then like the room?" she asked.

"Oh, yes, I like it," said Deva, jerked out of his reverie.

"Its quite satisfactory."

The woman was relieved. She had not known what to expect from this strange, city-bred and intense looking man. Now she was pleased. The room had been lying vacant—better to get some money for it than let it lie idle.

"Yes, I'll take it if you'll have me," said Deva turning to the school mistress.

"My friend told me I could have all my meals here."

"You can have your meals if you like, your midday meal as well. Only that will not be satisfactory. You won't have time to come from school, for just that."

"Yes, that will not work, but it should be possible for me to have someone deliver it to me at school from somewhere in the town."

"You'll have no difficulty doing that," said Ariya.

"There's one other problem, its about the lighting in the nights. You have only kerosene lamps here, I noticed. I'll need a bright light in the nights. I read a lot. I can't read in the light of an oil lamp."

"Most of the shops have pressure lamps for sale. We'll try to get you one of those," said the school mistress.

It was not till well after five that he met the husband, the sub-postmaster. He was a tubby, jovial



middle aged man with bushy eye-brows and tufts of hair growing out of his ears. When he was introduced to Deva he showed what seemed like a secret pleasure at having another man in the house. Yet he gave Deva a slow and shrewd run over with his eyes. Having met Deva he retired, and Deva withdrew into his room.

The sea was not a great distance away from the house, but blanketed, as it was, by the dense grove of coconut trees that stretched out in front of the house, the sea sounds seemed to come from a great way off. The never ending stretches of coconut land without any variety in shape, height and colour — just parallel rows of coconut palms all the way down the coast. This was a section of the island's over populated western coastal belt along which endless colonies of industrial workers, fishermen, clerks, semi-professional men, weavers, carpenters, masons, potters, toddy tappers, temple drummers and their kith and kin had gathered and multiplied themselves; mercifully this little township had not yet felt the pressures of this colonisation. It was still the quiet, peaceful backwash in which the people lived a reasonably peaceful life, and into this little township Deva had come and set himself up.

logical balance which can result in complicated unforeseen problem.

One and a half million acres are under the mandate of the Mahaveli Scheme, 900000 acres of which are for cultivation by 300,000 households in 3 acres blocks. The project area covers 39% of the entire country. Each household with an average of 6.9 persons will add up to a total population of about two million people. An experienced Director of Agriculture, Dr. E. Abeyratne, has focussed the attention of the thinking public to the tragedy facing the Purana villagers now living in the phase one of the Mahaveli scheme.

He also warns the government regarding problems of agronomy such as defective drainage, water-logging, salination, limitations of flood irrigation, absence of drip or sprinkler irrigation and danger of soil erosion. He poses the serious question as to whether the Purana Village units cannot be remodelled to meet the new social and economic demands without imposing new settlements and uprooting the Purana Goviyas with their permanent and seasonal crops. Even without new settlements deforestation has reached alarming proportions even in the sparsely cultivated mahaveli dry zone.

An expert in sociology has drawn our attention to the danger of population explosion which often follows such settlements in spite of family planning propaganda. In the Ministers own words the acceleration of the development programme is a drastic measure that is taken to prevent the unemployed from spiralling to choke this land in seething discontent.

A more meaningful and lasting solution to the grave national crisis is to have scientifically planned out an alternative integrated scheme of several industrial and agricultural projects in order to

solve the economic crisis in 5 to 6 years. The country no doubt is in the midst of a grave economic crisis, unemployment is increasing on a massive scale, under nourishment both among children and adults is alarmingly high, cost of living is rocketing and is out of control. Foreign debt and unfavourable trade balances are a severe drain on the national income.

The Mahaveli master plan need not have been disjointed in order to perform the impossible task of absorbing the entire balance of the unemployed. Acceleration of such a vast and complicated agricultural development project involves not only the time factor but also changes in the agro-technical methods involved in the development processes and plans.

In modern agricultural economy, the development of agro-industrial complexes with maximum mechanisation to increase not only the yield per acre but also the per capital output is the accepted policy both in socialist and capitalist countries, even in those capitalist countries that approve our accelerated Mahaweli development policy. The only method for the rapid improvement of living standards is to create maximum surplus for investment on national development and for accumulating social funds for welfare services. Besides this is the only known effective inducement for voluntary lowering of the birth rate.

With the Galoya experience the government ought to be well aware of the grave dangers that accompany acceleration of construction of large national development schemes. A private American engineering corporation was given the contract to construct the dam across the Pattipola area for development of the Galoya valley. In the name of accelerated development no tenders were called for. The basis of payment was a fee.

Next Week

FIRST DAY IN SCHOOL

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\* \* \*

Dr. S. A. WICKREMASINGHE ON

## Dangers Involved In Mahaweli Acceleration

Introduction of an irrigation system within five years in an area of 10,000 square miles can create such changes in the eco-



namely cost plus 11% of the target. All machinery for the project was imported at our expense. The costly engineering equipment were used round-the-clock without proper servicing and were almost cannibalised. The official target was 52 months but was completed in 32 months. The American contractors collected massive bonuses and fees from our tax payers. But maximum speed was achieved although the design of the Galoya reservoir was faulty. In the very first year of operation two big floods devastated the entire valley. Water cannot be stored in the rainy season for fear of overtopping the spill and in the dry season water is insufficient for irrigation and the operation of 10 megawatt turbines. In spite of over 1000 million rupees spent on capital expenditure and maintenance without an adequate income for over a decade, Galoya project has only made a negative impact on the national economy.

The use of bull dozers and tree dozers and heavy anchor chains not only cleared the forest very rapidly but disturbed and destroyed permanently the rich top soil as well—harvestor combines were introduced to Galoya but the Liyaddas were not big enough to operate them so they were abandoned, to be piled up in the open as scrap. The one redeeming feature in the Galoya Valley scheme was the decision not to disturb the Purana Villages. The only settlements that give an income to government today are these Purana settlements. The sugar cane plantation is in a water logged area and the quality of cane is very poor, the sugar mill is running much below capacity and the main product is not sugar but rectified spirits for conversion into liquor for the State Distilleries. A massive rice mill was set up. Also a wood working complex, mechanical brick and tile kilns, retreading tyre factory heavy mach-

ine repair and maintenance shops, mechanical barges for transport of goods produced by lagoon to the railway station.

But today all these enterprises display a ghastly spectacle of gross inefficiency, bad planning, extravagant waste and are in various stages of neglect and decay. During the next decade concentration in the Mahaveli project should be the completion of the phase one and selected projects like hydropower schemes of phase two and also engage in preparing blue prints for projects like large scale mechanised dairy farming with fodder production. Also obtain expert advice on several industrial projects to provide the necessary impact on the national economy. On agricultural production modern methods of sprinkler and drip irrigation, large scale and intensive agricultural methods now practiced in developed and developing countries must be studied and introduced. The partitioning of 900,000 acres of arable state lands into 300000 settlements completely blocks the possibilities for the application of some of the modern advanced methods for increased output with minimum cost of production. With the advise of reactionary foreign experts modern methods of agricultural development have been rejected out of hand by our governments.

Both the President and the Minister of Irrigation are dissatisfied with the UNDP/FAO team for the slow pace of progress of the scheme and the consequent marginal impact on the national economy.

The story has not been told of the USOM role in delaying the Mahaveli project. In 1958 the USOM intervened on behalf of the same American private Corporation that extorted inordinate profits from the badly designed Galoya project. Until 1964 USOM attempted to pressurise the Ceylon

government with the collusion of the Minister C. P. de Silva, into acceptance of USOM Mahaveli diversion scheme. As similar situations can arise in the future it will be of interest to have a general idea of the USOM Mahaveli project. The scheme was published by the USOM as the Ceylon government committed programme for diversion in 1960 and the Director of USOM pressed for its inclusion in the 1959-60 budget. The scheme was for partial diversion of Mahaveli by a wier near Peradeniya and carry this water by an open concrete canal 24 feet wide 13 feet deep up to Vavuniya, a distance of 124 miles. The cost of the canal would have been prohibitive. It involved 266 complicated principal concrete structures—about 48 bridges 74 culverts, conduits, tunnels, siphons etc. The damage to developed property along the track would have been very heavy. The total installed hydropower capacity of Mahaveli was only 240 megawatts according to USOM estimates. This includes power generation of Kotmala reservoir too. The right bank of Mahaveli with all its tributaries and the Maduru Oya basin were considered unsuitable for development owing to unfavourable to photography. The Rotalawala dam and Kandakadu barrage were considered unnecessary as the soil in the delta and lower left bank region were considered not sufficiently fertile for development with irrigation and flood protection, USOM total Mahaveli irrigation potential was 340000 acres.

A favourable cost benefit ratio was shown with manipulated figures to justify the acceptance of the scheme. With bulldozers, giant metal crushers, earth moving machinery and other implements of modern technology the scheme would have been completed long before 1970. Speed would have been achieved but at the expense of a nation-



nal disaster 1000 times more tragic than the Galoya fiasco. In contrast the UNDP/FAO scheme will produce 500 mw of hydropower and irrigate 500000 acres.

The danger was averted only by exposure in parliament and compelling the Minister to give an undertaking that the scheme will also be referred to the United Nations experts for their approval before approval by the government. The UNDP/FAO rejected the USOM scheme and came to an agreement with the government to make a comprehensive survey of the Mahaveli only in 1964 and in 1968 this comprehensive survey was completed. From 1958 to 1964 no progress was possible due to USOM interference.

The construction of phase one of this survey is now nearing completion but policy problems relating to irrigation, settlement, and other matters have arisen.

To conclude I can do no better than quote Dr. Abeyratnes

*"Clearly there are a number of problems which are only partially understood and without a resolution of which it may not be entirely safe to launch an accelerated programme of development. The earlier decision to take an extended period of time over the development of the Mahaweli area would in this perspective appear to be a wise one, as it would have given time for solutions to be found to these basic problems."*

FROM BANGKOK

## Small Fishermen's Manifesto — a plan of action —

### TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN

The Small Fishermen Action Committee will be grateful if your organization can publicize the charter which emerged from the First Seminar of Small Fishermen held in Bangkok recently.

Please communicate the resolutions mentioned in the charter to as many concerned individuals and organizations as possible so that our problems can be well understood especially by those whose actions have a bearing on our lives.

We will also be grateful if you can inform us of any action your organization is taking on this character. We are organizing follow-up activity related to the resolutions of this charter and your reaction to them will be of much use to us.

Further communication can be addressed to us c/o

The Small Fishermen Secretariat of the  
Asian Cultural Forum on Development  
Room 201, 399/1 Soi Siri  
off Silom Road,  
Bangkok 5, Thailand.

### PREAMBLE

We, the small fishermen of Thailand, Malaysia, Indonesia, Philippines and Japan, gathered at the ACFOD/FAO Small Fishermen

Seminar in Bangkok 22-26 May 1978 wishing to assert our right to live in harmony with the sea and sea-life, our fellow fishermen and society, wanting to draw at-

tention to our plight as being amongst the poorest communities in our countries and to the threats to our livelihood and our relationship with the sea hereby adopt the following resolutions: -

### RESOLUTIONS

1. We call for an immediate stop to all forms of pollution which destroy the rivers, lakes and seas and its life-forms. We urge the establishment of anti-pollution bodies and laws to protect the sea.

2. We deplore man-made activities such as reclamation, filling-up of mangrove swamps and shoreline development for tourist hotels, industrial factories or commercial enterprises which recklessly disturb the natural ecology and restrict the existing and potential fishing areas.

3. We urge immediate local, national and regional action which seeks to conserve and increase fish stocks and rehabilitate depleted fishing grounds.

4. We are concerned that regional fish development programmes such as the South China Seas Fisheries Programme are not benefiting us and strongly urge funding and implementation agencies not to proceed with such programmes until we have an opportunity to study them and have our views communicated.

5. We protest against the encroachment by powerful foreign fishing fleets into our national and regional waters. We also request our governments to prohibit the setting up of joint-venture fishing enterprises unless they serve the interests of small fishermen and the local consumer.

6. We draw attention to existing policies which have led to the increasing domination of the fishing industry by big business and big fishermen and call instead for posi-



tive discrimination in favour of small fishermen as against existing privileges to big fishermen. We also call for the abolition of policies eg. concessioning sea areas which only benefit big fishermen.

7. We call for the progressive elimination of privately-owned trawler-boats and the issue of licences instead to genuine small fishermen's co-operatives. Such bodies must strictly observe laws which set a limit in terms of area of fishing, power capacity and gross tonnage so that inshore fisheries can be safe-guarded.

8. We urge effective control of middlemen and other intermediaries to prevent them from over-exploiting small fishermen and call for the establishment of comprehensive integrated local and national co-operative organizations for small fishermen which can strengthen capital formation, assure fair markets for our products, strengthen community economic activity and fight against capitalist exploitation.

9. We call for special credit arrangements for small fishermen from government and institutional bodies with an emphasis on credit for coastal area development to purchase improved tools of production and for diversification of means of livelihood.

10. We urge training be extended to small fishermen to upgrade their fishing practices and other economic activities with the emphasis on appropriate and ecologically sound techniques. This should include opportunities for exchange of information and experiences between small fishermen both within and between countries to be provided by national organizations, non-governmental bodies and international organizations such as the FAO.

11. We urge the establishment of local, national and regional research and practical study institu-

tions which can serve the special needs of small fishermen.

12. We urge the building up of appropriate information and communication services to serve small fishermen both within and between countries.

13. We urge the widespread dissemination of literature on existing fisheries laws and regulations, the condition of the seas and such other literature so as to promote consciousness amongst small fishermen and the public about the problems facing small fishermen and the seas they are dependent upon.

14. We call for the provision of supplementary means of livelihood including those based on aquaculture and integrated economic projects which can set into motion the local economic and social mechanism for development amongst coastal communities and other peoples dependent on fisheries.

15. We request a realignment of government policies in non-fishing sectors eg. fiscal, infrastructural, etc. so that support can reach fishing communities who are acknowledged to be amongst the poorest peoples in our countries.

16. We call for a reorientation of attitudes and policies of government agencies dealing with fisheries so as to ensure that meaningful assistance reaches us. Presently, widespread indifference, inefficiency and even corruption characterise the departments working with small fishermen. These must be stamped out and a new strategy of development leading from the bottom upwards such as that formulated in the FAO/RAFE Small Fisheries Programme be instituted.

17. We urge the establishment of small fishermen's co-ordinating bodies at local, national and regional levels along both governmental and non-governmental basis to work for the true aspirations

and hopes of small fishermen. In this context we especially solicit the support of FAO/AD Bangkok, and ACFOD to assist in the organization of such bodies.

18. We request governments and international bodies to work for authentic "Aquarian Reform" progressive transfer of ownership of assets from capitalists to co-operatives along the broad lines of Agrarian Reform in Agricultural Development which can take into account the special problems and interests of small fishermen.

## CONCLUSION

Notwithstanding these resolutions we reserve the right to take such further action as may be necessary to protect our hereditary rights as small fishermen, especially in view of such decisions as may be made at the forthcoming Law of the Seas conferences. We urge all peoples and governments to take heed of our resolutions and we pledge our collective resources to act in solidarity to overcome our problems.

\* \* \*

## SNIPPETS

There are two tragedies in life. One is to lose your heart's desire. The other is to gain it—G. B. Shaw.

Scandal is gossip made tedious by morality—Oscar Wilde.

Marriage is like a cage: one sees the birds outside desperate to get in, and those inside equally desperate to get out—Michael de Montaigne.

True love in this differs from gold and clay,  
That to divide is not to take away—  
P. B. Shelley.

Happiness is a wine of the rarest vintage, and seems insipid to a vulgar taste—L. P. Smith.



## SRI LANKA CHRONICLE

June 26 — 29

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

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

**MONDAY, JUNE 26.** When the Lunugamwehera irrigation and settlement project is completed in five year's time, there will be employment for 25,000 people said the President on Saturday; he was speaking after inaugurating the project in the Hambantota district. The Civil Aviation Department will soon put up a modern Air Cargo Processing Centre in Katunayake which will function as the 'front door' of the FTZ now taking shape. The new tax proposals of the Minister of Finance which were passed by the NSA last week have a dual objective of giving a major impetus to widespread economic development and accelerating development programs already in hand. Far-reaching and comprehensive changes in the Births, Marriages and Deaths Law will come into force soon—CDN. The people will soon have to decide whether to continue to consume subsidised food or to buy them at world prices so that the monies that the government spends on subsidies could be used for development and generation of employment; the constitution would soon be amended to provide for the government to seek a referendum on issues

of this nature said the President at Lunugamwehera on Saturday. A new authority called the Aquatic Resources Management and Development Authority is soon to be set up. The 21 million US dollars World Bank aided Dickoya-Maskeliya Tea Rehabilitation pilot project got off the ground last Saturday with its inauguration by the Minister of Plantation Industries at Dickoya. While consumers in Colombo and other urban areas complain of the high prices of vegetables, farmers in the NWP, Maho and other areas are unable to sell their produce; it is the 'sharks' or traders who buy the vegetables for a pittance who seem to make all the profit—CDM. Revolutionary changes in the representative system of government will be ushered in with the introduction of the proportional representation scheme; these changes will come into operation once the new amendments to the constitution are adopted next month. Many Sri Lankan doctors now abroad are prepared to come back and work here according to Dr. Cyril Ponnampuruma from the University of Maryland who was recently in Sri Lanka. The rate of crime in Colombo during the first half of 1978 in comparison with the first half of 1977 has shown a marked drop according to the Police Commissioner. The flooding of the market with imported matches has caused a furore among small industrialists; the uncontrolled import of matches may compel match manufacturers to close down—SU. The leader of the TULF speaking in Batticaloa said that the party should leave aside all petty differences and join together—Mr. Rajadurai. Mr. Kasi Ananthan and Mr. Ganesalingam—to form a very strong organisation in Batticaloa—VK. High quality paper made from hay is soon to be produced in this country with the help of Chinese ex-

pertise; this is one of the benefits accruing to Sri Lanka by the visit of the Chinese Vice Premier—DP. The President has asked all ministers for a full report of the work they have done so far to be handed over to the Ministry of Plan Implementation before July 22—DM. Two ministerial posts including the Ministry for Minority Affairs might be given to TULF MP's; the President has already discussed this matter with the TULF MP's. The Health Ministry has proposed to the government to give a six month training course in western medicine for Ayurvedic physicians—DK. The Ministry of Information and Broadcasting hopes to decentralise the SLBC after constructing more relaying stations—ATH. Queen Elizabeth is considering attending the opening of the Commonwealth Heads of Governments Conference in Lusaka in the second half of next year. The President of North Yemen Lieutenant Colonel Ahmed Hussain Al-Ghasmi was assassinated yesterday morning; a booby trapped parcel carried by an envoy from the visiting President of South Yemen exploded killing both the President and the envoy. Indian and Pakistani troops exchanged fire across their borders early this week near Rajuria in the Northern Indian state of Jammu—CDN. A four member council was appointed to be in charge of North Yemen following the assassination of the President by parcel bomb—CDN. Health Minister Raj Narain said yesterday that he and Home Minister Charan Singh were contemplating resignation from the government following disciplinary censure by the ruling Janata Party. About 1000 political prisoners have been released from Kabul jail after a general amnesty announced by the new regime in Afghanistan—SU. **TUESDAY, JUNE 27:** Sri Lanka should evolve a new and



modern system of medicine which would serve as an example to the world and help to relieve people of illness and suffering; with this end in view the government has decided to appoint a committee to study all existing systems of medicine and create a new and modern system said the President. The work on Kurunegala district's Integrated Development Plan commences early next year; three officials of the World Bank are due shortly to finalise plans; the World Bank is assisting the project with a 350 million dollar loan. The long felt need of a Pali Sinhala dictionary will be met soon; Sri Lanka's topmost Pali scholars assembled and appointed a Central Board to accomplish the task—CDN. Large scale dissatisfaction in the administration of the municipalities in many areas were due to the difference, lethargy, alcoholism, abuse of political power and the consequent breakdown in discipline; these strictures are contained in the final report of the G. P. A. Silva Commission published by the government. Several changes in the registration, examination and licensing of motor vehicles as well as in the issue of driving licenses and in the penalties for motor vehicle offences are envisaged in the draft Road Traffic which is to replace the Motor Traffic Act. The Sino-Sri Lanka protocol to be signed in October this year will signify a radical change in the pattern of trade which began between the two countries in 1952; this is because of Sri Lanka being on the threshold of self-sufficiency in rice. A comprehensive plan to get the youth of the country involved in national development, vocational training and self employment has been prepared by the National Youth Service Council in participation with state corporations and the private sector—CDM. A mad scramble for television is going on behind the 'screen'

in Sri Lanka; ever since the government gave the 'green light' for a television project with assistance from the Japanese government, several interested parties are trying to outdo each other in getting the biggest part of hard and soft ware cake that goes with the proposed TV network. A code of conduct for firms recruiting employees for West Asian countries will be drawn up shortly by the Ministry of Labour—SU. Many estate workers of who had applied for citizenship are in a fix; this is because the Sri Lanka government has rejected many of the applications and even the Indian government refuses to accept their applications—DP. The Minister of Justice has requested all TULF MP's to participate in the debate when the House discusses the new parliamentary reforms bill—VK. Arrangements have been made to hold public shows at the planetarium every Saturday from July 1; this programme will be of educational and aesthetic value—IDPR No. 59. If any person refuses the job offered by the Job Bank he will be offered any more jobs and his allowance of Rs. 50 will be stopped. The government has decided not to appoint any person recommended by MP's, in rural development committees and similar rural committees—DM. 108 small rural hospitals presently under the administration of doctors are to be handed over to ayurvedic physicians—DW. Government MP's have pointed out that divisional development projects are at a standstill because all equipment and manpower is being utilised for large scale development projects—JD. South Yemen's ruling Marxist Party today announced the overthrow and execution of President Alim after 12 hours of fighting for control of the strategic red seas clountry, the country's only ally on the Arabian Peninsula. Aden radio later broadcast a decree

appointing PM Ali Nasser Mohamed as the new President—DM; The US yesterday rejected Soviet President Leonid Brezhnev's charge that the Carter administration was trying to play off China against the Soviet Union—CDN. Pakistan's military ruler Gen. Zia Ul Haq said yesterday he has abandoned attempts to bring political parties into a national government; he announced in a broadcast speech that he will appointed instead a Cabinet of his own choosing—SU. **WEDNESDAY, JUNE 28:** The government has decided to introduce legislation to establish an Employee Trust and Investment Fund to guarantee a retiring gratuity to employees both in the public and private sectors; this fund which is to be in addition to the Employees Provident Fund or other approved provident funds, will be financed by the employers; this was revealed by the Minister of Trade. Britain has agreed to sponsor a training program for Mahaweli Development Board officers of all levels on rural sociology and communication. Representatives of the world's top industrial cartels have stormed Colombo to get priority for first rate accomodation in the FTZ project. At a recent conference called by the Agricultural Development Authority in the Wennapuwa, electorate agricultural inspectors told the ADA representatives that vegetables producers were fleeced by middlemen and also that the Marketing Department was prevented from making purchases. The World Banks has granted Rs. 72 million for a new crop diversification project to develop 26,100 acres in the central and Sabaragamuwa Provinces and find gainful employment for about 4500 youths in it—CDN. Only unemployed persons belonging to families whose monthly income is less than Rs. 500 a month will be entitled to draw the Rs. 50 a month unemp-



loyed allowance as from July 1. Prices of various varieties of local rice have tumbled down in the open market within the last few days; in Colombo and the outskirts, prices of rice range from Rs. 2.70 to Rs. 2.90 a measure while in Maho, Nickeweretiya etc the prices range from Rs. 2.10 to Rs. 2.70. The sixth meeting of the Indo-Lanka Sub Committee for Economic Development Co-operation commenced at the Ministry of Finance and Planning yesterday—CDM. Closer economic co-operation between Sri Lanka and India and the problems facing the non-aligned movement will figure prominently when Indian External Affairs Minister Mr. Atal Bihari Vajpayee holds top level talks with Sri Lanka leaders this week; Mr. Vajpayee will arrive here tomorrow for a three day official visit on an invitation extended to him by Sri Lanka Foreign Minister Hameed during his recent visit to New Delhi. The dedication and endeavours of the Afro Asian People's Solidarity Organisation a non-governmental people's organisation are a statutory reminder to us in established governments, that our actions for peace and prosperity are by themselves ineffective unless there is the support of the people; this was stated by the Minister of Foreign Affairs in his address at the opening sessions of the Afro Asian People's Solidarity Organisation Conference. Families of government servants who die while in service are to get gratuity equivalent to one year's salary of the employee concerned. The new leader of the TULF will be elected at a meeting to be held at Vavuniya on July 15. Armed policemen yesterday guarded the Egyptian Embassy in Colombo and were posted at hotels where delegates attending the Afro-Asian Solidarity Association Conference resided—SU. The proposal of the government to teach Sinhala

in Tamil schools and vice versa is now taking shape for many schools are already ready with the syllabuses. The Teacher's Training course is likely to be extended to a period of three years—DP. The new officials of the Ceylon Central Transport Board have decided to conduct talks with unions of all parties to settle the present unrest; the unrest is due to their having to fill a form to be appointed to their respective centres. The Defence Ministry has discovered that illegal fir arms and ammunition are being smuggled into the country; the Ministry has ordered the strengthening of air and navy patrols in the South and North coasts. About 200,000 candidates are expected to sit the GCE 'O' level examination to be held in August—DM. The Co-operative department has decided to file action against farmers who have failed to repay their agricultural loans; there is about Rs. 500 million left to be paid by them—DW. The government decided yesterday to reduce the subsidy on fertilizer from 76 to 50%—DK. Britain's labour party was yesterday strongly urged to turn its back on Rhodesia's guerilla leaders following the slaughter there of 132 British missionaries and children. A bomb gutted a 17th century wing of Versailles Palace early yesterday destroying antique furniture and other art works. Spectacular gains by the left in Iceland's general elections brought down PM Geir Hallgrims-son's government but failed to produce a left wing majority in the National Assembly—SU. The leaders of Italy's Socialist Party cast in their traditional role of power brokers today held final bargaining sessions with the Christian democrats and communists before Presidential elections begin on Thursday—CDN.

**THURSDAY, JUNE 29:** While fulfilling the needs of the nation such as building roads bridges

and providing food and clothing and shelter we have taken positive steps to produce disciplined and cultured men; since these practices should come from men in the top rungs of society our government has laid down a code of discipline for parliamentarians; not only should we preach but we should also practice what we preached said the President yesterday while speaking at a meeting which followed a ceremony at Borelle when the foundation stone was laid for a new dharmasala and library. Drastic changes are to be made in the mode of employment of Sri Lankans abroad particularly in the Arab and Middle East countries said the Minister of Labour after his recent tour to many Arab countries. Nearly seven million people have worshipped the relics while they were on exposition at various centres in the island from April 22. No government had done so much in one year as the present one has, said the President after he inaugurated a housing scheme at Mayura Place in Wellawatte in the Colombo West electorate—CDN. The President said yesterday that he would leave no stone unturned to wipe out corruption from public life; he said that he had received complaints against Chairman of two state corporations and about five directors; he had already informed the Ministers under whom these corporations functioned that these persons would be removed if they were not prepared to resign. The new government in the relatively short period that it had been in office had moved with impressive energy across a very broad policy front, states the latest report of the World Bank on Sri Lanka's economic progress. The government would shortly spend over Rs. 500 million for the improvement of the ports of this country because they had not been improved at all for the last twenty



years said the President. Indian assistance in certain areas of development have been identified as spheres of mutual co-operation in the working group discussions held yesterday between the Sri Lanka and Indian official team. There was high drama in the KKS-Colombo mail train on Tuesday night when a passenger under the influence of liquor was shot dead while attempting to snatch a self-loading rifle of a soldier escorting the train—CDM. Future MP's will have to forego their seats in the assembly if and when they resign from the political party they were members of when elected; this will be one of the features of the amended constitution. The post of DIG, CID is to be scrapped in the new allocation of duties for DIGs: the three functional divisions of the CID are likely to be distributed among the DIG's. The price of 'Perakum' condensed milk was increased by 75 cents yesterday; the new price is Rs. 4 per tin. Undeclared goods valued at nearly Rs. 350,000 were detected on board a ship in Colombo harbour during a joint raid conducted by the harbour police and customs yesterday afternoon—SU. The Indian government will help the government of Sri Lanka to become self sufficient in the production of rice, sugar and other essential food items it was decided in the economic discussion held in Colombo between representatives of both governments—VK. The Minister of Transport has decided to amend the existing Motor Traffic Act which is 25 years old to suit the present day requirements—IDPR No. 62. With the implementation of four shift system in 69 power loom centres of the Textile Department it has been possible to provide employment to 1858 new hands during the last few months—IDPR No. 65. The Ministry of Social Services has taken steps to give social service officials a

training of international standard: The government has decided to give the full amount of compensation recommended by the committee investigating political discrimination to the victims—DW. The Sri Lanka Eye Bank has so far sent 4390 eyes abroad—DM. Investigations conducted by the Education Ministry have revealed that there are more than 3000 teachers in the Colombo district and since there is an excess the Education Ministry hopes to transfer them between September and December this year—KD. Israeli last night appeared to be toning down a sharp rejection of Egypt's latest peace proposals and was reported to have suggested the renewal of stalled Middle East negotiations. More than 800 refugees mostly women and children have died in makeshift camps along the Bangladesh border since a Moslem exodus from Burma began three months ago. Britain yesterday declared that it would not use nuclear weapons against states which did not have them and accepted non-proliferation—CDN. The next meeting of the heads of state of non-aligned countries will be held from September 3-7 next year in Havana. The oil-for-wheat deal with the Soviet Union has given Turkey its first break in attempts to barter with oil producing countries. Japan yesterday came under further pressure to increase exports and cut its current account surplus which a private think tank said would approach 18 billion dollars in the present financial year—CDM. Vietnam has launched a major military operation against its communist neighbour Cambodia, throwing troops well inside Cambodian territory with heavy bombing and artillery support despite the risk of further angering China. The Soviet Union's decision to take two American correspondents to court to face charges of 'civil slander' has created new friction

in relations between Moscow and Washington—SU.

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## CARAVAN FAMILY—15

### Nolan Of Delft

by Inna Trimmer

Mummie woke late the next morning. While the children and Daddy swam and splashed in the sea, she slept.

"Wake up laze bones", said Daddy walking in straight from his bath. "It's eight o'clock."

"There's no such thing as time in Delft", murmured Mummie sleepily. "It stood still long ago."

"A marvellous breakfast is awaiting you. One of Soosaimuttu's master pieces."

Up jumped Mummie. She didn't however partake of all the good things provided but sat down with a cup of coffee, on a mat under a margosa tree while the others tucked into the rosy tinted pitta veined with snow white shredded coconut, and a thick velvety coconut sauce as an accompaniment.

"When you have finished feeding come and join me. I want to hear more about Delft."

"Aren't we going out?"

"Not till this afternoon Richard, I want time to talk. Tell me about Nolan. Who is he? Why do they still speak of him in Delft?"

Daddy and the children joined her on the mat.

"Nolan's memory is still green because there was never another like him in this little island. He was sent here in 1811, appointed by the British Government 'for the purposes of making experiments of the soil... And improving the cultivation of flax... and manufacturing it into canvas.'



"He was not sent to start a stud of horses because they were already here, introduced by the Portuguese, nor was he in charge of them. Mr. Sansoni had been appointed some time before as Superintendent of the Stud but it wasn't long before he got 'the sack' when Nolan appeared on the scene. So Lieutenant Edward Nolan took up residence in the bungalow—where we were last evening—then known as the Residency of the Dutch Governor. There he lived in grand style, a petty king and a real despot yet kindly withal, in fact too kind. He had a soft spot for the ladies with whom he had a grand time. He had a heart like an hotel room for all."

"A real wild Irishman" said Mummie. "Was he handsome?"

"Very, so they say; very tall, well proportioned, merry Irish eyes dressed up to the nines, always with a top hat, and wild was not the word. No wonder the ladies fell for him. He lived like a Sultan in an Arabian Night story and did himself well. You remember the canal we saw. It was cut at his orders for what purpose no one knows except for him to go boating of an evening. It extends from coast to coast, through two tanks in the interior which were once sweet but turned salt as a result of the introduction of sea water by the canal. Now the island is even more arid than it was, thanks to the wild Irishman."

"What happened to him? Did he die here?"

"He would gladly have done so had he been allowed but certain men headed by the then Maniyagar reported to Government that he was an undesirable on the island. His weaknesses were his undoing; his harem his downfall. In 1824 he went from Delft, a sad but let's hope a wiser man."

"And then?"

"He returned to his home in Ireland with a pension, leaving behind a name that will long be remembered—Ah, there's Soosai-muttu. I wonder what he wants."

"Dorai, I've brought a letter from the Maniyagar."

"Bring it here. Listen Villa, the Maniyagar invites us all to lunch today, and he says his carriage will be at the jetty to take us what do you say?"

"Of course we must accept Richard, but I would far rather lie on this mat all day, 'the world forgetting and by the world forgot.'"

The Maniyagar's "trap" as he called it was a real old time contraption with seats facing each other and a huge hood behind which either folded down or could be drawn up like an old fashioned touring car. A small bony was harnessed to this cumbrous carriage.

"There's a Delft pony for you", said Daddy.

"The horsekeeper seated above them with a white Thalapa (turban) flicked the reins and away they went clop-clopping down the white road.

"I feel like Queen Victoria," said Mummie settling herself comfortably on the wide cushioned seat and leaning back. "I think I'll wave in the real royal style as I trundle along."

Suiting the action to her words she waggled her wrist and sent a crowd of half clad and completely nude children chasing into the security of their palmyrah leaf fence.

The Maniyagar came down the steps of the old Residence of the Dutch Governor to greet his guests and ushered them into the wide shady verandah. Drinks were served immediately including foaming white toddy in a large glass jug.

"Palmyrah toddy. Longevity and health to all who partake of our island champagne", he said.

"We were talking of Lieutenant Nolan when your letter came. He must have been a remarkable man."

"Ah yes, Lady! Nolan! You can't get away from him in Delft. The very stones cry out his name."

They all looked up in surprise.

"I meant it", said the Maniyagar smiling.

"Haven't you noticed the walls of rough stone everywhere? We don't have fences except to enclose our compounds. These stone walls divide our properties into Seemals (enclosures); Nolan's heritage. He taught the people the art of using up the stones with which our island abounds."

"Yes, it's the Irish way. Ireland and even parts of England have this type of wall, rough stones piled on top of each other."

"Our breakwater as well is built in the same way."

"This verandah", broke out Mummie. "How delightfully cool it is and how spacious!"

"Estoep, to give its right name. We have adopted the Dutch form and call it Esreep", said Daddy.

Mummie laughed.

"E-station. Our servant boy can never call it station."

The Maniyagar shrugged his shoulders—"spacious d'you say as regards the verandah. It, and the pigeoncot are the only spacious things about this house. There are only two rooms, one the dining room and the other, my bed room. Most of time is spent in the verandah."

He had done them proud. Lunch was a plethora of all varieties of food and when dessert was brought Mummie groaned — "Dear, oh dear my waist line!" Curd rich and creamy set solid in new earth



brown chatties, with palmyrah-treacle thicu and sweet.

"A most elusive flavour", she said savouring it under her tongue. "Perfect accompaniment to curd."

Then fruit appeared; great golden Sugar Melons on large flat dishes. Where the thin outer skin had burst and the white contents had gushed out like soft new-fallen snow.

"Honey with this too", said the Maniyagar.

"Heaven help my waistline" groaned Mummie again.

Adieux were said with the Maniyagar offering his "trap" to go round sightseeing, but Mummie refused saying she liked her two-bull chariot.

"Mr. Maniyagar," said Ranjit as they shook hands, "I'd like to have a horse."

"What will you do with it son?"

"I'll ride it."

"Oh Ranjit don't be so silly." Mummie was taken aback at this request.

But the Maniyagar put his arm round the little boy's shoulders. "I'll see what I can do. These Delft ponies though they run wild have owners. Give me time. And if I get one, what will you call him?"

"Maniyagar" was the quick reply.

"Oh RANJIT!" Mummie was shocked.

"Why shouldn't I call him Maniyagar. Both are from Delft. I'll love my pony and I'll love Mr. Maniyagar also if he gives him to me."

"Spoken like a diplomat, my son. Following in your father's footsteps, eh?"

## BACKGROUND

# Human Rights

—basis and limits—

by K. K. Mathew

The fundamental proposition that man is the central figure in international law and is also the subject of rights under that law was not perceived till recent times. The view has been gaining ground that the subject of duty and responsibility in international law is the individual human being even when he acts as an organ of or on behalf of the State. Many writers on international law have urged that the State is composed of human beings and that those responsible for its actions are individual human beings. They maintain that unless responsibility is attached or attributed to individuals it rests with no one as it is practically useless to fasten it on a mystical entity like the State.

It is the Universal Declaration of Human Rights 1948 that the individual human being first appears entitled to fundamental human rights and freedoms. And in any study of that document, it is only appropriate to bestow some thought upon the significance, source and nature of these rights and freedoms.

That the rights and freedoms embodied in the Declaration can alone furnish an enduring foundation on which humanity can build its dwelling house, to provide it with shelter from the storms of tyranny and blasts of privation and want is practically admitted by all. The Declaration assures a dignified human existence and provides the link which holds together minds widely scattered in geography, culture and doctrinal loyalties and serves as a standard of achievement for all people of all nations.

There can be no doubt that most signal and unmistakeable advance as the conception of human rights registered in recent times is the addition of economic, social and cultural rights to civil and political rights. The social and economic rights did not appear important to the revolutionaries of the 18th Century, though it would be foolish to assume that there was no one among them who perceived their worth and significance. The present century has rejected the notion that prevailed in the last one, that the classic issue of the rights of man has been settled for all times by the American and the French declarations.

The Declaration of the Human Rights has taken into account the fears and anxieties of modern man and has attempted to provide against them. It enjoins upon society to maintain the traditional rights and to give material means to make use of these rights. It puts limitations upon the sovereign power of the State so as to liberate the individual from its constraints and at the same time enlarges the orbit of its interference with his life to assure him social and economic security.

The first thing to be realised in any discussion of the question is that human rights are moral rights. Many people place the philosophical foundation of human rights on natural law. Natural law is deduced not from a speculative void but from the general condition of mankind in society. "The social nature of man, the generic traits of his physical and mental constitution, his sentiments of justice and the moral within, his instinct for individual and collective preservation, his desire for happiness, his sense of human dignity, his consciousness of man's station and purpose in life, all these are not products of his fancy but objective factors in the realm of existence". As Hamilton said, the sacred rights





of mankind are not to be rummaged for in the old parchments of musty records but are written in the whole volume of human nature by the hand of divinity itself and can never be obscured by any mortal power.

These rights, it was thought are insuperable from human nature and as such they are inalienable and indefeasible. In the same strain Jefferson said that God who gave us life, gave us liberty at the same time. This was essentially the meaning of the rousing slogan which he adopted 'Rebellion to tyrants is obedience to God.' Locke's theory of social contract which struck the deepest note in contemporary thought proclaimed that society is set up for the defence of certain inalienable rights.

In Article 2 of the Declaration of Rights of Man 1789 we read. "The end of all political association is the conservation of the natural and indefeasible rights of man". The Declaration of Rights of Man of 1793 states "The Government is founded for the purpose of guaranteeing man the enjoyment of his natural and indefeasible rights." All these reflected the liberal tradition that the autonomy of the individual is anterior to and superior to the State which exists for no other purpose than to protect and to secure the autonomy.

The liberal tradition demands freedom for the individual from the constraints of the State because it regards the individual person as an ethical end and the State as an instrument of value only in so far as it can serve the interest of the individual. The difficulty arises when the liberals try to incorporate socialist principles into liberalism. This has not been easy. Yet assimilation of socialism into liberalism is not wholly inconceivable. Today liberalism accepts constraints of the State

in so far as they are necessary to liberate the individual not only from the dire constraints of nature but also from the compulsions of the economic system.

It is sometimes said that justification of human rights lies in the fact that they are ultimately derived from some fundamental ethical principle or insight which is intrinsically valid. A qualified utilitarianism has the most respectable title deed for this approach, as it is concerned with specific proposals on the ground of its being promotive of human happiness. In one form or another principles of justice and human welfare appear as intrinsically valid. But it is problematical whether a solid foundation can be built on the so-called principles of happiness or justice, for who can foresee all the consequences of an action or balance the disparate experience of pain and pleasure?

All human rights have 'prima facie' validity in the situations in which they are relevant but they are not absolutely binding in any specific case. We cannot say what rights are categorically binding not only because we do not know with what right or rights they will conflict, but also because the consequence of abiding by or violating different rights and obligations are complex and of unequal and inconstant weight.

Perceptive writers have therefore taken the view that human rights are only 'prima facie' rights to indicate that the claim of any one of them may be over-ridden in special circumstances. The right to life is universally regarded as a basic right. But when the loss of a life is a necessary condition for survival of the nation or the State we have no scruples in sacrificing it. No rhetoric can hide this fact. A 'prima facie' right is one which is justified unless there are stronger counter claims in the particular

situation in which it is made, the burden of proof resting always, on the counter-claims.

This shows that any fanatical approach of absolute goodness of any right as an unmixed blessing is not warranted by our moral experience. "Considerations of justice allow us to make exceptions to a natural right in special circumstances as the same consideration would require us to uphold it in general." said Gregory Visatos. Despite the various doctrines of inalienable rights, no one can reasonably hold that any specific right or freedom should be gratified without regard to its consequence on the community.

Ordinarily no man can be deprived of his personal liberty without a trial in a court where he has the right to be informed of the nature and cause of the accusation, to be confronted with the witness against him, to have compulsory process for obtaining witnesses in his favour and to have the assistance of counsel for his defence. But a situation may arise when it will be necessary to dispense with the right to trial.

Human rights create perplexing complexity when they are being claimed by the enemies of the constitutional order. The survival of and the constitution might require measures which are incompatible with the maintenance of the right to trial before a person is deprived of his personal liberty.

When those who proclaimed from the house tops that they would not touch with a pair of tongs the paper on which the law of preventive detention was written began to write the same law with certain safeguards in the statute book, the great libertarians in the country were naturally offended. But it is not necessary that we should doubt the sincerity of their previous profession or the



necessity and wisdoms of their subsequent action. Actual experience in the art of governing a country makes men think of practical measures.

You cannot run a government on any doctrinaire principles of liberty any more than you can conduct a war on the principles of the Sermon on the Mount. The science of government is the science of experiment. There are few scientific criteria for running a government. In detention without trial, the necessity of survival of the constitutional order against the onslaught of subversive forces came into conflict with the value of personal liberty and its deprivation except after trial.

This only illustrates that no human right is absolutely good. Only mature reflection after weighing the pros and cons with reference to a particular situation will determine whether a right has any claim to application in a specific situation. To be more safe, as Hamilton said, the people at length become willing to run the risk of being less free.

Every declaration of rights is historical in character. Difference in time and historical context make difference in the list and emphasis of rights. New rights evolve because new grievances give rise, to the perception of their necessity. Their emergence depends upon the felt need of some facility or service. As conditions change the meaning of right is extended or reinterpreted to cover new situations.

Economic and social rights, though they flow from the fundamental right to live and were recognised as such long ago, assumed a new character and emphasis with the development of industry and its impact upon human life. Only in the 20th century has the full significance of these rights become manifest. That their importance

was perceived at a later stage in history does not derogate from their imperative character. As I said they flow directly from the fundamental right to live: right to work and to rest, the right to old age pension and guaranteed means of subsistence in case of involuntary unemployment, are the necessary corollaries of the right to live under the industrial condition of modern times.

The right to live is not a right to base living. Every individual has a right to meaningful life. The right to education follows from the right to a meaningful life. A meaningful life in a democratic society implies a right to information of all that government does except perhaps secrets connected with war. It also implies a right to participate in the cultural life of the country.

These new rights do not protect the individuals against the government or other power wielders but call upon the public powers to see to it that such liberty as men possesses by himself is implemented by another set of freedoms. They are the rights to provide man freedom from want and freedom from fear. Although radically different from the other freedoms they are nonetheless rightfully claimed for all men qua men. These rights represent a response to a new and different situation frustrated by technological innovation and the like. The fact that each of these rights may be expressed as a capacity, as a power to achieve self-realisation is the hard core of it as a right. Hence we may say that right to self realisation is the most comprehensive of all rights.

The political and civil rights make it possible to discover other rights. These rights have therefore strategic importance as compared with economic and social rights. For without these rights the very right to eat will become a

weapon of tyranny. They are essential for running a democratic government. It is the marxist tradition to treat these rights with contempt. Civil and political rights according to them are insufficient to guarantee human rights of social and economic nature.

Although human rights depend upon ideas and a philosophy, this does not mean that unless there is doctrinal consensus, there can be no declaration of human rights. As Jacques Maritain said, recognition of common grounds of human rights, enumeration of particular rights, and agreement on the action required to protect and achieve them do not require any common basic philosophy. The juristic philosophy underlying the Declaration of Human Rights is at bottom the philosophy of pragmatism

—Courtesy: Hindu

#### WESTERN MEDICARE

### What The Saudis Will Get For £ 250 Million?

by Nell Merlino

**MEDICAL** care in the western world is increasingly hospital-based and technologically oriented, taking almost an "engineering" approach to the understanding and treatment of disease. So it is also very expensive, which means that big business in the medical field is making vast profits.

Today more and more people are questioning this approach to medical care—not only its cost but also its often unsatisfactory results and its dismissal of the social and economic factors that underlie so much illness. This last point is all the more important now that those big medical businesses are exporting western ways of medicine to the developing world.

Allied Investments, the hospital service group, has just won a £250



million contract to equip, staff and manage two hospitals in Saudi Arabia. The firm's chairman, Sir Richard Marsh (late of Harold Wilson's Cabinet and of British Rail), termed the contract a "major triumph." So it may be for Allied. Certainly it will please the consortium (backed by the National Enterprise Board) that has offered £8 million to take over Allied's private medical enterprises in Britain—a result of the NEB's policy of not becoming involved in such private activities here.

The triumph, for Allied investments, is in selling the Saudi Government a highly expensive package that will reap profits for years to come. Allied subsidiaries will organise the entire operation, manage it and train the Saudis to take over the two facilities. Other subsidiaries will supply the up-to-date equipment. And of course replacements and repairs will eventually be needed for this equipment—and by the time the hospitals are ready to open, even newer gadgets and processes will be available.

But all this inpouring of sophisticated western medicine is not really likely to be good news for the Saudis—even though they can afford to budget more than 5,000 million dollars for health care over the next year.

**What they are also buying is the western way of medicine—which, as has been said, could probably not be more inappropriate.**

**Saudi Arabia's position regarding health and health care resembles the picture of most western nations 100 years ago or more. Under-nourishment is the "central problem" — spawning widespread scurvy, rickets, anaemia and a low resistance to tuberculosis among other diseases. And all this illness is undeniably rooted in the appalling living standards**

**found among the nation's poor.**

Raising health standards in Saudi Arabia will require action taken directly against the social and economic conditions of poverty. All the glittering, ultra-modern hospitals and technology that Allied Investments may sell will not do this job. They are rather more likely merely to benefit the wealthy minority.

Obviously Allied would not accept this view—because it is in hospitals and technology where it can make "the maximum profit out of the available resources" (Richard Marsh, again). And wealthy Arab nations thus become prime targets for crack salesmanship in the medical and pharmaceutical fields—whether or not their products are what these nations need as urgent priorities.

Of course the developed countries have much valid know-how that the developing ones need to acquire. But, also of course, not everything from the advanced countries is equally suitable for acquisition by the less advanced. Certainly not when some of the achievements of the western world—including medical care—may not even be suitable within the west.

Remember how the rocketing cost of health care is more and more crippling to the National Health Service here—leading to hospital closures, queuing for beds and a general inadequacy of facilities—while in the private sector simply lying in a bed for a week in a London teaching hospital can cost £420.

Remember, too, that America spent 136,000 million dollars on health care in 1974, yet that nation, ranks 17th in the world in infant mortality and 16th in male life expectancy.

Statistics like these ought to make the Saudis wonder how much value they will get for their money in years to come.

MAHAWELI

## AREA—H

by R. Kahawita

"Area H" means very little to many who live in Area H and to those around the area and in Sri Lanka generally. It is an identification brand name given to a region by the alien experts whom we have obtained through international agencies to chalk out our culture, economic future, social order and may be our spiritual life at the end of 2,500 years of Buddha Jayanthi era. What is wrong with that 2,500 years old culture I do not know, but legislators who now guide and shape our destinies think otherwise and therefore the brand mark "H" has been accepted by them.

If the region were to be described by what we knew for 1,500 years, then the people that matter today, would sit up and think and raise the question, what is wrong with Muwarakalaviya, Negampalata, Nochiyagama Korale and Nuwara-gam dissawa? The people that matter in these areas are the simple and unsophisticated peasants who carried the torch of our culture and religion for centuries and in some regions still unadulterated by outside influences. They are the "jungle wallahs" for our air-conditioned thinkers in the metropolis and the alien experts to whom they have passed on their thinking caps. Why has anyone not raised the question? In the mass media and on the floor of the House it has been always experts and specialists from China, USSR, Socialist Republic of Germany, Japan, USA, England, Canada, UNDP, ADB and the list keeps on growing as we become poorer and it becomes harder to live in our own country. So what does it matter whether it is area H or area Zero point of no return. Yes, we will soon reach that point if we do not look out.



However, fortunately for the people that matter, there are the Dr. N. M. Perera, Dr. Colvin R. de Silva and their voice boxes, to shout and sometimes hoot at what is happening to these people that matter and their "Purana Villages" once identified by sweet and melodious names. In their time also they did some damage to the lives of these people by sub-planting their traditional institutions with alien ideas and concepts as to how the "purana village societies" should be restructured. Their last attempt was to destroy the focal point of our culture—the temple and the lands that support it. That was saved by an act of Providence. All that is by the way now. Their present attempt to save the Purana village is praiseworthy. It is reported that the Hon. President responded, (and hey presto) to the LSSP representation concerning the obliteration of the village tanks—the nucleus of their social cohesion. I am more than glad that at last the Chief Executive of the government has taken note of what is happening.

I am glad, because, I warned the powers-that-be what would happen when the 30 year programme of Mahaweli development was to be telescoped into five years, then six years, and now "accelerated programme." The warning was set out in a series of articles published in the *Tribune* from the day the government's plans for the Mahaweli development were given publicity and continued till the other day, till I moved myself 12,000 miles away from Sri Lanka. What the *Ceylon Daily News* has given publicity in its front page has been covered by me in greater detail and the reasons why we should act and should do a thing in a particular way.

I too sought an interview with the President, then PM, to explain to him the implications of the

proposed five year programme for Mahaweli development and work out a compromise to save the biggest development project any Government can even undertake, short of blowing up Sri Lanka. Not satisfied, I met the Hon. Minister, officials of the Mahaweli Board, exchanged notes with the Chief Co-ordinator and so on. I had no finger in the pie nor have any desire to put a finger into it. I was motivated by one urge and that urge is Sri Lanka is also my country and my children must live in it—and I know no other country better than Sri Lanka and in Sri Lanka I wished that every one should have a place as pledged by our President in his ten point political convictions.

The plan was to prevent the participants of the Government that vacated the administration after the July elections to get hold of the mistakes and errors of the thrust to complete Mahaweli in five years. We have experienced this kind of political opportunism before. Gal Oya Valley never with the Party that developed it except the present Government which was able to run a candidate to victory. In spite of the many experiences—particularly in the Raja Rata (Area HUK etc)—we had since Independence initiated development programmes by the UNP. That is since 1923. We are a bunch of fools not to learn by our experiences. So we have, by our misdeeds, given the thin edge of the wedge to an opponent. The slogan would be: "If not for us where would you have been today."

In a note to the Hon. Minister on Purana Villages, I said so. My refrain was and is, to not disturb the Purana villages, instead, study them, investigate their short-comings and build them up to the standard the Government has set up for the new villages. Do not number them but give them names. Expand their holdings for the village cen-

tre and individual holdings so that they also can enjoy the good things of life and be on a par or better than these new neighbours who are being showered by gifts by a benevolent Government as an inducement to take root in the new villages. The Purana Village folk have endured the vigorous of neglected social securities for generations yet they have contributed their mite to feed the people. They deserve more and better.

I have been saying, the problem is not technological progress, but human contentment. The success of the project is not in the construction of dams, channels, roads, buildings and huts for the settlers but in settling human beings to make use of the facilities and live a richer and contented lives. It is basically a human problem whether new or "Purana", and this problem can be solved only by direct contact with them and living with them—the men who are called upon and selected to handle the human problems of a multitude of individuals and no two individuals are with the same problem should be trained to understand them. This is what should be understood by settlement. In this we have a long way to go.

My attempts to meet the President and my interview with the Minister etc., were not to show the way but to explain the difficulties that one would experience and the political hazards that will confront us if we do not handle them properly and to the satisfaction of each individual settler. There is satisfaction that the Government has been woken up to what it should do, even though the alarm has been set off from the wrong quarter politically. I am not a politician so mine is a cry in the wilderness, with so sonic waves to the heights that matter. But at last action is being taken.

Montreal,  
Canada. June 12, 1978.



# Confidentially

## Dirty Business?

IS IT NOT UNFORTUNATE that the Government has decided to allow private television stations in Sri Lanka? That the public has been lulled into the belief that these "private stations" will be only adjuncts of the state-owned VHF National TV to be set up as a Japanese gift? That a news report in the *Ceylon Daily News* of July 7, stated: "Private television stations are to be allowed in Sri Lanka, in addition to the State-owned VHF National TV to be set up on a Japanese gift. Mr. Eamon Kariyakarawana, Chairman of the Sri Lanka Broadcasting Corporation told the *Daily News* that private TV stations would be allowed....He has already invited applications from persons intending to obtain a licence for the establishment and maintenance of private TV broadcasting stations in any area of Sri Lanka...The prospective applicants are expected to include in their applications the following information: (1) A complete proposal for the establishment of a private television broadcasting station, specifying the location and the area to be covered; (2) the system of transmission envisaged; (3) "on the air" time schedule and program plan; and (4) the manner in which the station will earn the income. Applications should reach the Chairman, SLBC or before July 16, 1978".

IS IT NOT STRANGE that private TV entrepreneurs were given less than ten days to make the applications with all the information asked for? That the advertisement, though dated July 5, appeared in a newspaper only on July 7? That only the entrepreneurs who already had everything taped and ready

could have made a valid application? That this means that the private TV station business has been earmarked for some particular individuals or groups and that the advertisement was only a camouflage, blind or smokescreen for a pre-arranged deal? That the advertisement was also "tailored" to shut out every body except the favoured? That if longer time is not given to other entrepreneurs to send in competitive offers it will be one of the dirtiest deals Sri Lanka has known? That already there are ugly rumours about this TV racket and the names of particular tycoons and political VIPs have been connected with it? That the kind of stories one hears is good material for a Presidential Commission in the future? That the SLFP weekly paper *The Nation* went to town on some aspects of this in its issue of June 30? That *The Nation* was mainly concerned with the ethics and economics of the Jap TV gift? That what it says is worthy of record? "In a country where even the simple telephone does not work, the government has decided to introduce, of all things, television. There are a myriad of other essentials which the people need which must be satisfied before the government can think of introducing luxury liabilities of this nature into our socio-economic milieu. Whilst there are over a million unemployed youth who are getting impatient at the government's failure to provide the jobs they were promised and whilst millions of people in this country have found that even right to survive has been severely assaulted by the policies of this government. Mr. J. R. Jayewardene goes full steam ahead to provide television for less than even half of one percent of the population! The number of persons who will be able to afford a television set in their homes will probably be restricted to the com-

mission kakkas of the UNP and a few other stragglers from outside. But that is not all there is to the television racket. Big money will be made by big mudalalis from both here and abroad and the damage that the images of television, especially in the form of dramatised violence and advertising gimmicks being, will inflict far worse harm on our cultural values. According to reports now coming in, the offer of assistance from the Japanese government to set up the TV network has got the inevitable tie up to Japanese big business. The Marubeni Corporation, one of the biggest business concerns (Zaibatsu) in Japan has presented plans for a studio and other technical complexes tied to this offer. It is a well-known fact that the so-called free aid given by capitalist countries is nothing more than a helping hand to business concerns from those countries. The big rake-off will come after the setting up of the transmission stations, when television sets, spare parts, communications line-ups and servicing operations will be needed. The profits that will be made from these second stage developments will be more than enough to cover up the costs of the initial expenditure involved in the so-called aid programme." That the biggest danger in private TV stations is that, instead of programmes informing and educating and providing good entertainment to enrich human life, they will go in for sex, crime, cheesecake and violence to attract viewers for their advertisements? That the government would do well to reconsider this decision about private TV stations? That a state-owned station will be bad enough—opening all the evils of the Pandora's Box of modern society—but a couple of private stations will turn this island into a regular Coney Island of sin and fun?



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