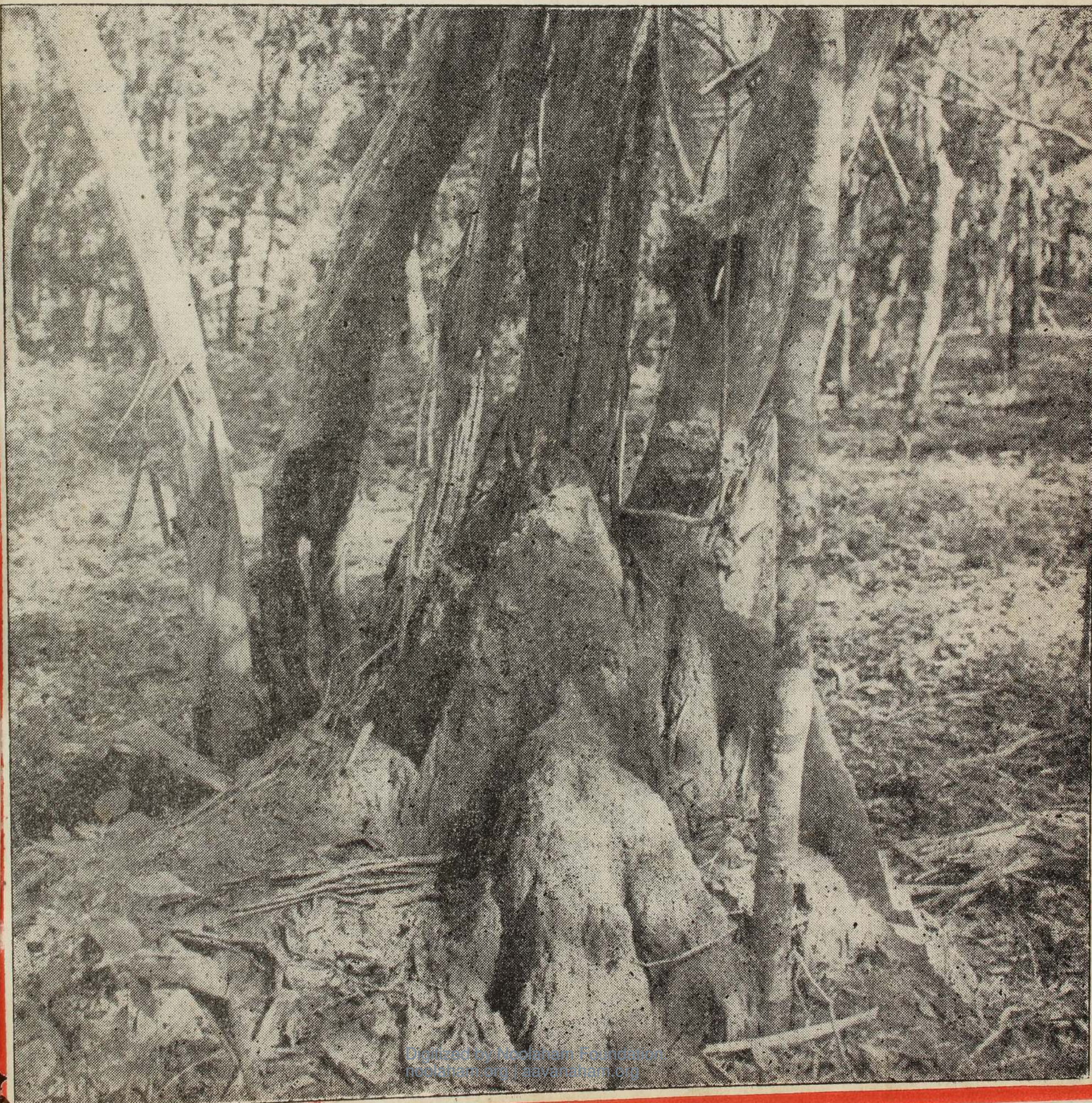


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# TRIBUNE



**26TH YEAR OF PUBLICATION**



## TRIBUNE REGRETS

For reasons beyond our control, this issue of *Tribune* too has been inordinately delayed. To catch up with schedules, to update printing and complete re-organisation, further delay has become unavoidable. The three days of public holidays in the week May 18-23 is another reason for fixing the next date of issue on May 30, 1981.

We apologise to our readers for this break in the publication of *Tribune*. As subscriptions are entered for the number of issues (52 for a year), no loss will be incurred by paid up subscribers. For the present *Tribune* will carry 24 pages on a new type face and there will be no loss in the quantum of reading matter.

We must thank our readers for bearing up with us in this period of strain and stress. In addition to the disruption caused by the power cuts, our telephone—33172— was “dead” for three weeks. This added to the difficulties of getting anything done.

The next issue of *Tribune* will be on May 30, 1981 and we will endeavour to make it brighter and better.

**TRIBUNE,**  
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Colombo 2.  
Telephone: 33172

# Letter from the Editor

SURPRISES seem to be the order of the day. On the *Cover*, we have a picture of a small "hill" of termites eating away into a clump of trees. Termites are regarded as a pest which many say should be eliminated at all costs. But there are environmentalists who claim that termites in their setting perform a very useful role in re-cycling natural resources. They eat (and destroy) a few trees but they also create the most fertile and fertilised top soil in mounds. This may come as a surprise to many, but we live in a world of surprises. Take the SLFP's surprise decision to keep out of the DDC (also called NDC) elections after making a firm decision to participate in them. The excuse that the new sittings of the Presidential Commission to investigate former Minister Kobbekaduwa and parliamentarian Jayaratne militated against free and fair elections is not tenable. In fact, the elections provided a wonderful opportunity not only to campaign against the reactivation of the Commission at this time but also to win the sympathy of the people by exposing such alleged discriminatory actions. By thus by taking cover in the wilderness of boycott negativism in the company of the LSSP and CPSL, the SLFP has denied people at the grassroots the opportunity to register a protest. Whilst there is no doubt that the government has done much it can be proud of, there is still a lot to protest about. A political party does not exist only to form a government. It must have the capacity and competence to organise an opposition with its back to the wall. The government too must be disappointed that the main national Opposition Parties have kept out of the elections thus making it difficult for the UNP to evaluate public opinion except in the Tamil districts. According to knowledgeable observers, the real reason why the SLFP adopted this boycott strategy at the last minute was because of inner-party factionalism that made it impossible to agree on district lists of candidates. Unless the SLFP can rid itself of this internal squabbling, it will be in no position to fight the 1984 general election. **An even greater surprise has come from Prime Minister Premadasa. In Manila he is reported to have said that Sri Lanka was anxious to apply for membership in ASEAN. Should this declaration not have been first made in Sri Lanka in the Parliament, to see how people will react to a proposal which many will regard as retrograde and dangerous and as one that will isolate Sri Lanka in the Non-aligned Movement? Under the dubious umbrella of ASEAN which does not rate very high in the eyes of the free and independent countries of the Third World Sri Lanka will become a backnumber in a group of countries where civil liberties and human rights are notorious by their absence. We will examine this Premadasa surprise together with what has been described by a Lake House columnist as "the eloquent silence" of our Foreign Office.**

But more than foreign affairs what is of vital importance is the state of the economy. If one is to judge only by the amount of foreign investments or the number of foreign banks that have come into the island in the last two years, it will be thought that Sri Lanka is bouncing on a wave of unprecedented prosperity. There is no doubt that a few are raking in millions and that the rich are becoming richer. But the fact is that over half our population is still below the poverty line and their number is daily increasing with the fall in value of the rupee. One US dollar cost Rs. 15 odd after the 1977 devaluation now costs nearly Rs. 19. With the dollar at Rs. 19, the inflationary spiral has touched breaking point for many households. The influx of Rs. 2.7 billion last year from the export of our manpower has cushioned the impact of soaring prices for some families, but has added to the inflationary trends in the absence of adequate domestic production. The salvation of Sri Lanka is in agriculture—in more production of tea, rubber, coconuts, spice and other export crops to increase foreign exchange earnings: and, of paddy, sugarcane, subsidiary foodcrops, meat, fish, milk and eggs to stop the drain foreign exchange. This has been stated by many important people many times but priorities have been mixed and progress in the agricultural sector has been slow.

## TRIBUNE

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## Whither South Asia

*Colombo, April 27:* The meeting of seven South Asian countries at the Secretary's level was held in Colombo starting from April 21. Though it was scheduled to last four days it ended in less than three. Though some countries like Bangladesh, which had first mooted it, had obviously expected more, the concept as such did not even take off the ground. It is still very much where it was to see whether another Secretary-level meeting at Kathmandu in six months would fare any better.

The only advance made—if it can be called an advance—is that the seven countries, viz., Bangladesh, Bhutan, India, Maldives, Nepal, Pakistan and Sri Lanka agreed to meet and did meet to examine whether the eleven innocuous non-controversial, non-political items for regional co-operation set out in a circular by Bangladesh could provide an agenda for a Foreign Minister's Conference or even a Summit. For a serious conference on regional co-operation the eleven items would appear to be a joke to any discerning observer; telecommunication, meteorology, transport, shipping, tourism, agriculture and rural development, science and technology, joint venture, trade (market promotion) education and culture.

As a prelude, there was a great deal of tom-tom beating that politics and even quasi-political issues, especially of a controversial nature, would be taboo. But Bangladesh also circulated a note about the scope, purpose and framework for the new regional forum which betrayed the basic political motivation behind the whole project. Apart from this, the names for the organisation contemplated savoured of basic political associations like ASEAN and OAU: viz. "South Asian Association for Co-operation" (SAAC), "Association of South Asia" (ASA); "Association of South Asia for Co-operation" (ASAC) "Organisation of South Asian States" (OSAS).

Bangladesh also included a draft declaration which it thought the first Summit might issue. It read: "The Governments of Bangladesh, Bhutan, India, Maldives, Nepal, Pakistan and Sri Lanka: Convinced of the benefits that will accrue from greater regional co-operation among the countries of South Asia: Seeking to promote peace and stability in the region through adherence to the principles of the United Nations Charter and of Non-alignment: Determined to uphold respect for the principles of sovereignty, national independence, territorial integrity, non-interference in one another's internal affairs, non-use of force and peaceful settlement of disputes: Recognizing the need to accelerate the process of economic, technical, scientific, social and cultural development in South

Asia through co-operative endeavours undertaken by the countries in the region in a spirit of goodwill and mutual trust and on the basis of equality and common interest: Desirous of promoting active cooperation among countries of the region on matters of common interest in the economic, social, cultural, technical and scientific as well as in such other fields as may be agreed upon: Seeking to explore all avenues for closer co-operation between the countries of South Asia, and the other regional and international organisations with similar aims and objectives: have decided to establish an organisation to be known as the (Selected nomenclature to be inserted)".

Then after setting out various institutional and structural organisations, eg. (a) a Summit of Heads of Government; (b) a Council of Foreign Ministers; (c) Co-ordinating Committees and (d) a Secretariat etc. etc., the Bangladesh Working Paper outlined the way the organisation should operate: "The association is open to all states in the South Asian region subscribing to the aims and objectives embodied in the Declaration. The Heads of Government of member states shall meet once annually and may meet as often as necessary to give directions, provide guidelines, and review the activities of the (name of the organisation). Chairmanship of the organisation shall rotate among the member countries in an alphabetic order for a term of one year commencing from the date of the formation of the organisation. The Summit Meeting will be the highest authority of the Organisation. The venue of the Meetings both Summit and Ministerial shall be the country acting as the current Chairman."

The organisational programme for the Summit was also outlined: "President Ziaur Rahman has proposed that the leaders of the South Asian countries should meet at the summit level to explore the possibilities of establishing a framework for regional cooperation. Bearing in mind the legacies of the past, it would indeed be a historic event. Barriers both historical and emotional, will have to be scaled and lingering suspicion and distrust will have to yield place to a renewed spirit of understanding and goodwill. A meeting at the summit level would be the most appropriate forum for such a major initiative in embarking on a new and challenging venture envisaged in the proposal. . .

"The first preparatory meeting may be held at the level of Foreign Secretaries assisted by such technical officials as may be needed. The recommendations of the Secretaries level meeting would be considered by a meeting of the Foreign Ministers of the region. This meeting may also suggest the date and place of the Ministerial Meeting. The Foreign Ministers' meeting would be the final preparatory stage for the Summit Meeting. The recommendations of the Foreign Ministers should include the following: Feasibility or regional cooperation and policy recommendations on

the general approach to such cooperation: possible areas of cooperation: The framework for regional cooperation/Draft Declaration: Agenda for the Summit Meeting: Finalisation of the date and venue of the Summit Meeting."

All this was on a high optimistic note that the Colombo meeting would agree to go forward to a Summit. But nothing of this kind happened, in spite of the pep the Sri Lanka Foreign Minister tried to give the meeting. In his speech inaugurating the meeting, Minister Hameed listed several fields in which there could be regional cooperation in South Asia. They were: (1) Closer co-operation in international fora in relation to all matters directly concerning the peace, security and economic development of the Region; (2) The development of a mechanism for unified negotiations in dealing with already established regional organisations; (3) The possibility of settlement of disharmonies or disputes within the region without external interference or manipulation; (4) The growth of collective self-reliance through regional economic and technical co-operation, including expanded intra-regional trade and industrial complementarity and agricultural co-operation; (5) The use of collective self-reliance as a factor in negotiations leading to the establishment of a new inter-national economic order; (6) The encouragement of human interaction within the region through systematic cultural exchanges, tourism and institutional cooperation and (7) In the overall support of above, a sustained programme of public information through which knowledge of each other can be shared at all levels.

**These items jointly and severally exude political over-tones. They cover bilateral issues in dispute as well as hot controversial regional problems—all of which the meeting was supposed to avoid.**

But even Minister Hameed's (indirect) support for an ASEAN type organisation proved futile. India, and more so Pakistan, adopted a very cautious approach. India set the ball rolling. The furthest it went was to suggest four items which sub-committees could study and report to another meeting at the Secretaries level. India did not want any time-schedules, and made it clear that the more time spent on preliminary studies, the better. "Rome was not built in a day", Indian Foreign Secretary Sathe had said. Pakistan however wanted to proceed even more slowly: 'Mr. Riaz Piracha Foreign Secretary of the Government of Pakistan summarising Pakistan's stand, stated: (1) that regional co-operation should be promoted on the basis of mutual benefit to the extent possible. Establishment of an institutional framework was not feasible in the present circumstances. Such a framework should await development of greater regional understanding and complementarity in the economies of the

regional countries. (2) Inter progression of consultations to higher political planes (Ministerial or Summit level) was premature. Identification of possible areas of cooperation and undertaking detailed technical studies to determine the nature, extent and modalities of co-operation was necessary; (3) That the Foreign Secretaries' Meeting was of necessity of an exploratory nature. We had to "move forward in a measured manner, one step at a time without forcing the pace of progress". He cautioned against the temptation of taking precipitate steps for which the time and conditions were not opportune. He said, "We must make sure that there is not too much sail on too small a hull. . ."

**With India and Pakistan taking this cautious stand Sri Lanka Minister's high optimism and Bangladesh's strong support were of little avail. Every country paid lip-service to the urgent need to get together for regional co-operation and that was all.**

The meeting ended on a humdrum note one day ahead of schedule agreeing to meet once again in six months at Kathmandu at Foreign Secretary level to see whether the time was opportune for a conference of foreign ministers. It was also decided to appoint a committee of the Whole with Sri Lanka as co-ordinator to explore other possible areas of co-operation which would be considered at the Kathmandu meeting. The Committee of the Whole which will consist of senior officials of all seven countries meet in Colombo not later than August, this year, to examine progress with regard to the five areas of study which are to be undertaken, viz., telecommunications, meteorology, agriculture, rural development and health and population activities.

Even the selection of the five areas of common interest is regarded as a major achievement of the conference. India had from the beginning insisted that bilateral and contentious issues should not be discussed. The final communique was full of the usual platitudes, and the only matter concretised was the Terms of Reference for the Study Groups (Bhutan and Maldives had declined to be co-ordinators because they did not have the expertise) which were: (1) Review existing co-operative arrangements pertaining to the region; (2) Determine the potential and the scope of regional co-operation and the overall benefits and costs of such co-operation to the countries of the region; (3) Draw up a work programme incorporating (a) Ways and means of establishing and strengthening regional cooperation (b) Specific Projects/Programmes in each area; (c) Arrangement for implementing and monitoring the work programme and (4) Make such other recommendations as may be appropriate.

It will be wrong to call the meeting a damp squib because a lighted torch is being carried to Kathmandu where it is hoped that a fire would be lit in the

showy foothills of the Himalayas for the glory of South Asia.

But the tiny flame that was lit in Colombo may get snuffed out even before crossing the Palk Straits northwards by the hurricane-like storms that will arise as a result of Prime Minister Premadasa's pronouncement in Manila, no doubt in a moment of euphoria, that Sri Lanka was anxious to apply for ASEAN membership. Apart from the humiliation of cadging an invitation for third class ASEAN membership (first class for *bumi putras*), this Prime Ministerial declaration of intent will naturally upset the seven South Asian countries which Sri Lanka had only a week before undertaken to forge into a regional forum. Even before the ink was dry on the final communique, the Prime Minister had signalled that Sri Lanka intends to go it alone with a begging bowl to ASEAN.

President Marcos and his wife Imelda may be great people in their own right, but let us not forget what the Pope had to tell them only a few months ago. There are many more important things to do in Sri Lanka than selling a *dharmista* Constitution to Marcos or solving the housing problems of the planet. Charity begins at home, and our foreign policies, should be first thrashed out at home.



FILM FOCUS

## Kandy Stink

By James N. Benedict

IT MIGHT COME AS A SHOCKING REVELATION for *Tribune* readers to know that some of the Tamil films like "Deepam", "Niram Maratha Pookal" and "Neeya" have yet to be screened in the Kandy town, although these films were block-busters at the Box Office in Colombo. The Tamil speaking people in Kandy include a fairly large Muslim population whose lament is that for some reason or other, they have been deliberately deprived of seeing these popular films. This column made a closer study of this glaring omission recently, and stumbled on a general comment that such quality Tamil films are diverted very often to the Sampan Cinema—a converted rice mill I was told—which lies on a rather non-residential stretch 6 to 7 miles away from Kandy town, where there are very few Tamil speaking people around.

Well, of course the well-to-do picturegoers from Kandy motor to this cinema, but what of the middle and lower income groups, who have to commute by public transport at considerable expense a family of five may have to spend at least Rs. 30/- to do a trip to the Sampan and back on bus fare alone, not to

speaking of the cinema ticket rates which added on would unbalance any family budget, these days. The situation becomes curiouser and curiouser when one wonders why this special preference is extended to the Sampan, while there are no less than five cinemas within the Kandy limits—New Sigiri, Odeon, Regal, Wales and Wembley in alphabetical order. And what is more I am told reliably that the well rated Tamil films shown at Sampan are seldom released for a second run within Kandy even after a considerable period of time. The answer for this does not seem hard to seek for if this were so, the Kandy picturegoers would rather save the commuting expenses and view it closer, even after some time. This column therefore has no alternative but to conclude—if not corrected of course—that the Sampan is being well looked after for some strange reason or other to the larger detriment of picturegoers in Kandy.

The National Film Corporation cannot deny that Tamil films alone lay the golden eggs that line its coffers, and it is over these South Indian productions, that the Corporation has an absolute monopoly, even from a distribution point of view. Fairplay is all that this column requests, and is confident that Chairman Anton Wickremasinghe will take a closer look at this irritant that is irking the Tamil picturegoers of Kandy. A strict rotation of these films, even singly, without interfering with the Sinhala circuits seems the only remedy and the Sampan should also take its turn in the queue. I dropped in at the Sampan through sheer curiosity a few weeks ago and was left unenlightened why this cinema is receiving preferential treatment, while so many better cinemas lay within the heart of the town.

*This discontent must be smoked out without delay, for there appears to be a stink somewhere. It must be said to the credit of the NFC however, that the Sinhala and English picturegoers in Kandy are now satisfied at the film fare that they are being served, with at regular intervals.*

**PATTAKATHI BHAIRAVAN** (*Tamil*): If actor Shivaji Ganeshan is at one end of a fiery and powerful cinematic dialogue and actress Sowcar Janaki at the other, then the verbal sparks that fly are only too well known to Tamil picturegoers. These cascading deliveries haunt and linger for a long long time, as they strengthen the impact of the story in hand. Well, this film directed by Rajendra Prasad thrives on the power packed dialect so rich in idiom, as it cruises from one of action in the first half to absorbing drama in the second. Taken in colour Shivaji portrays one with illegitimate origins, and scooped off a dust bin at infancy, turns into a hardened and notorious bandit, whose constant brushes with the law only draws him closer to his maternal roots.

The plot is too thick for the limited space in this column, but as the wheels within wheels story unrolls on, the star-studded cast with Sundararajan and Jai

Ganesh as police officers (father and son) together with attractive Jayasudha and Sri Devi as light fingered nymphs, giving praiseworthy performances. Yet towering above all is Sowcar Janaki who carries away every sequence when pitted against the maestro Shivaji. I do not wish to divulge their relationship in the story and spoil the film for you. but be prepared for the surprises that come a plenty, with many coincidences to boot that test the credibility of the story a little. Yet there is a blending of the old and the new in the powerful parry and thrust that needles the film. This may not be one of Shivaji's best films, but it rocks like the curate's egg to entertain sufficiently. Incidentally I viewed this film at the Navah Cinema which came in for criticism in this column recently, and I am happy to record that there is a new look about it now. There is a new screen mounted to wooden framework, and additional fans and tube lights are evident. The seating in the balcony is comfortable but some seats in the ODC and 1st class need replacement and if this too is attended to patrons will have very little to complain about. This column is indeed satisfied that its criticism is bearing fruit.

**SOLDADU UNNAHE** (The old Soldier)—*Sinhalese*: Sitting this film out, I could not help escaping the feeling, that Director Dharmasena Pathiraja is one of those few directors, who is more dedicated to what he can contribute to the cinematic art than what he can get out of it in hard cash. How else could he have launched out on this story that is so steeped to the hilt in realism to the total exclusion of everything else. He has strung together four splendid characterisations which most of us witness in daily life, but pass by with a shrug, in preference for the escapism that cinema provides. In the title role is Joe Abeyawickrema as the ex-soldier who in peace time finds it difficult to shed the tensions of war that he has emerged from to fade away, with a heart of gold steeped in a shell shocked simplicity and Malini Fonseka as a woman of easy virtue walking the streets to keep the home fires burning.

While these two fine stars vie with each other for acting honours, on a lesser plane there was Henry Jayasena as Willie, the lonesome ex-clerk who has pawned his wife to his Boss and taken to the Pubs for many quick ones with his old pals, and Neil Alles as the pimp who makes pennies for Pemikka the prostitute, with a side commission for himself and a sense of loyalty to his clients. These four derelicts which society surfaces, hold counsel under the shade of a Mara tree which shelters them as they clock in and out of their daily meanderings and professions, as a matter of course. While excelling in their individual characterisations, they however fail to add up a worthwhile story, and here lies its failure to make an impact on an average audience, except the artistically inclined who unfortunately are a microscopic minority. There were yawns and walkouts at the cinema and I did feel sorry for Dharmasena Pathiraja whose uninhibited

affection for the cinematic media is beyond question. After all it is the picturegoer who makes breaks or a film, and to that extent, it is a pity that this production has just not made the grade.

**THE WORLD'S GREATEST ATHLETE** (*English*): This Walt Disney Production is like a welcome dew-drop, as it is aimed to entertain our children. There was the delirious laughter of the tiny tots in waves, infecting the adults as the story sped on. The story was all about the discovery of a speedy find from the jungles of Zambia, Nanu (Michael Vincent) who shatters all the athletic clocks in America later, with his witchdoctor Godfather, equally hot on his trail, to wear him down with magic. Tim Conway was the coach Archer who could never get in a word while his assistant (John Amoss) adds the Disney touch animatedly, to be dwarfed and dropped into a ladies handbag and then wheel around a telephone dial to free himself of the spell. This film was preceded by a short Donald Duck cartoon, which reminded one of old times, when every feature film commenced with one such to amuse kids. But those were the days when Adults Only tagged films were few and far between. This film unfortunately is in for a short run which clearly indicates that there are many selfish parents around who have denied their children this Walt Disney treat. What a pity!

James N. Benedict



SRI LANKA CHRONICLE

April 17-21

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

CDN—Ceylon Daily News; CDM—Ceylon Daily Mirror; CO—Ceylon Observer; ST—Sunday Time; SO—Sunday Observer; DM—Dinamina; LD—Lankadipa; VK—Virakesari; ATH—Aththa; SM—Silumina; SLDP—Sri Lankadipa; KD—Janadina; SU—Sun; DV—Davasa; DP—D napath; CM—Chinthamani; WK—Weekend; RR—Riviresa; DK—Dinakra; EN—Eelanadu; IDPR—Information Dept. Press Release.

**FRIDAY, APRIL 17:** Lieutenant-Colonel Vladimir Lyakhov, the Soviet spaceman who arrived in Sri Lanka yesterday, predicted in the course of a brief interview at the Colombo Airport, Katunayake, that Solar Power stations and space cities were likely to be assembled in space in the future. The Government earned an income of Rs. 184,492,741 on Export Duty on tea last year the largest slice of this was earned from the Export; Duty on bulk tea which was Rs. 153,079,250; from the Export Duty on packeted tea,

the State earned an income of Rs. 31,132,460 while the lowest income in Export Duty was derived from tea bags which income was only Rs. 281,021. Last night's SLFP Politburo meeting held at Party Headquarters appointed a six-member Organising Committee (Elections) and a two-member Propaganda Committee; Mrs. Sirima Bandaranaike was not present at the meeting—*CDN*. Private sector consortiums may be permitted to venture into projects to generate electricity and market them at tariffs laid down by the Ceylon Electricity Board; for this purpose the CEB may either purchase outright the power generated or rent out the transmission lines in certain areas for a stipulated fee to these consortiums; a proposal to this effect is among several measures now being examined to avert any future power cuts; Power and Energy Ministry Secretary James Lanerolle said yesterday. Policemen in several key positions in the Jaffna district have been transferred out and others sent in their places in an apparent strengthening of the command structure in the area. Sri Lanka's former High Commissioner in London, Noel Wimalasena has been appointed a director of the Greater Colombo Economic Commission by President J. R. Jayewardene. Rainfall in the catchment areas coupled with a considerable conservation of power over the weekend has enabled the Ceylon Electricity Board to stretch out its resources to the middle of May—*SU*. The Attorney-General has ruled that motorcades come within the definition of a procession and should be banned during the period of the Development Council elections from April 20 to June 11. The SLFP has decided to contest the DDC elections in all Districts including the Northern and Eastern provinces; some government employees who lost their jobs during the abortive strike last year will be among the candidates the SLFP will put forward at the elections; Mr. Maithripala Senanayake Deputy Leader of the Party heads the selection and finance committees of the party. If anybody could fight world inflation that was responsible for the present high cost of living, the government was prepared to resign and permit him to run the country; this was said by President J. R. Jayewardene when he addressed a mass rally at the Nuwara Eliya town yesterday. The Foreign Minister of Saudi Arabia, Prince Saud Al-Faisal flew into a right royal welcome when he arrived at Colombo Airport, Katunayake yesterday heading a high level delegation—*CDM*.

**SATURDAY, APRIL 18:** Foreign Secretaries of South Asian countries will start arriving in Colombo today for a seven-nation conference starting on Tuesday, in a move to promote regional cooperation in various fields—*CDN*. The Foreign Minister of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, Prince Saud Al-Faisal conveyed a special message from King Khalid of Saudi Arabia to President J. R. Jayewardene when he called on the President at Nuwara-Eliya yesterday. Has Mrs. Sirimavo Bandaranaike stepped down from the leadership of the SLFP and handed over the

reins to the Deputy, Mr. Maithripala Senanayake? This is the question now being debated in political circles following the appointment of Mr. Senanayake to lead all committees responsible for contesting the forthcoming DDC elections—*CM*. Police security systems in the North are to be immediately upgraded to effectively combat the outbreak of violent crime. Many of the Asian countries agreed that there should be a total withdrawal of foreign forces from Afghanistan, Saudi Foreign Minister Prince Saud Al-Faisal said yesterday; he told a press conference prior to his departure for Katmandu from the Colombo Airport, that Sri Lanka shared the same views and had expressed the hope that the withdrawal could be effected as early as possible. A Sri Lankan delegation comprising state officials and industrialists from the country's Investment Promotion Zone will visit Saudi Arabia—*SU*. Pensions to widows and orphans will be increased by 25%; the necessary amendments to the existing Act will be submitted in Parliament shortly—*DP*. A portion of the profits made in the plantations will be divided among the workers in the respective states; a proposal to this effect is being studied; this information was revealed by the Minister of Land, Land Development and Mahaveli Development, Mr. Gamini Dissanayake yesterday at the Sessions of the National Estate Workers Union—*VK*.

**SUNDAY, APRIL 19:** Sri Lanka is pushing hard to persuade the International Monetary Fund to resume disbursements under its Extended Fund Facility suspended in the middle of last year due to this country's failure to keep its budget on track; the EFF payments are urgently needed to enable the country to sustain its import program and meet current balance of payment difficulties arising from an ever-widening trade gap caused by the import bill keeping way ahead of export earnings. The Ministry of Private Omnibus Transport is busy framing regulations to control fares that private bus operators now doing roaring business may charge their passengers; the decision to control these fares was a response for the big rip off last week end when many of the private buses arbitrarily raised fares and cashed in on the desire of many thousand people to get to their homes for the New Year—*SO*. From tomorrow the first day for nominations for elections to District Development Councils no candidate or his political party will be permitted to display any material or photographs canvassing his or her election; Section 74 of the District Development Council Act which comes into force from today, prohibits the display of any political placard, photograph, handbill, poster or similar matter on any public or private place or any vehicle—*ST*. The Special Presidential Commission of Inquiry which is resuming sittings on Thursday is to commence inquiry into matters relating to the first three years of the ruling United National Party government; beginning Thursday, Deputy Solicitor General Sunil de Silva, is to lead evidence of 15 witnesses; it is reliably learnt that this evidence is in respect of a group of govern-



ment MPs. The erosion of the CID's identity as the country's premier intelligence gathering and investigative arm of the Police force is now causing grave concern to the Ministry of Defence.—WK.

**MONDAY, APRIL 20:** Government Agents will from today accept nomination lists of candidates from recognised political parties and independent groups contesting the Development Council elections to be held on June 4; they will be accepted from today till 12 noon on April 27. Foreign Minister A. C. S. Hameed said on Saturday that the government and the people of Sri Lanka, while consistently supporting the South West African People's Organisation in every manner possible have also endorsed attempts by the international community to bring about a negotiated settlement under the auspices of the United Nations—CDN. Informal discussions among the foreign secretaries of seven countries in the region are expected to take place today as a curtain raiser to Tuesday's conference at the BMICH aimed at deciding on a framework of economic and technical cooperation embracing South Asia; the Foreign Secretaries are expected to steer clear of political and defence issues in order to avoid discussion on controversial issues; existing bilateral arrangements in regard to cooperation in various fields such as economic and cultural affairs will come up for review in the context of broadening them to fit into the new concept aimed by conferences—CDM. Smoking will be taboo in state functions, government and corporation offices, banks, post offices and other such public institutions soon under a series of anti-smoking measures now being contemplated by the Ministry of Health. The creation of a regional forum for South Asian countries has become increasingly important in view of developments in the area and the world wide trend towards achieving collective or regional approaches in international issues, Mr. Maumoon Abdul Gayoom, President of the Republic of Maldives told *Sun* in an interview. A well established narcotics pipeline, in which Sri Lanka had figured as the major transshipment point for the channelling of Bolivian cocaine, has been uncovered following an operation conducted by drug enforcement officers from Australia, New Zealand, India and Sri Lanka—SU. It has been decided to bring to the notice of the President, Mr. J. R. Jayewardene the acute shortage of Tamil teachers in the entire island—DP.

**TUESDAY, APRIL 21:** Several areas in the Island have received rain the last few days but Calstelreagh and Mousakelle reservoirs which generate the major share of our hydro power have benefited very little; the levels at both these reservoirs are still much below spill. Prime Minister R. Premadasa will present a baby elephant to the children of the Philippines on behalf of the children of Sri Lanka before he leaves the Philippines—CDN. This year's anticipated target of paddy production in the country, according to reports from the 24 districts, is 114,000,200 bushels. The

LSSP has decided not to contest the forthcoming District Development Council elections following the refusal of the LSSP's request that they be allowed to contest some districts under the party's name and symbol the key. During the 12-hour period after the Neerveli Rs. 8.1 million bank holdup, over 20 persons who are believed to have been involved in the robbery are reported to have shared the money—CDM. It is reliably understood from sources close to Government that members of the District Development Councils will be paid a monthly allowance of Rs. 1,500 and would also be issued a Jeep for their use—DP. Colombo has been informed by the districts that even though the 24 Government Agents were present in their offices the whole of yesterday to receive nomination papers not even a single nomination paper was received by any of them—VK. It is understood from the Ministry of Defence that finger prints, photographs and very important documents relating to Kuttimani and ninety others have been spirited away—EN.



REFORM

## Our Foreign Service

By Serendib

IT WAS on the first of March, 1980, that your Correspondent 'Taprobanian' wrote a thought provoking article on the critically important subject of Sri Lanka's representation abroad. We awaited a follow-up to it, which has not come despite the fact that much water has flowed under the bridge since 'Tap' last wrote. In the circumstances his Mantle is being donned by another, to comment on recent developments in the area of our foreign representation. Trust the foregoing comments would prove useful to the establishment and to other policy makers in our country.

On the previous occasion 'my predecessor' was by implication at least somewhat critical of the Honourable Minister. On this occasion it is nothing but bouquets all the way for this cordial and astute gentleman. *The first bouquet* goes to him for the appointments made from the foreign service to the posts of Ambassadors. Astute is the word used, because the selections could never have been better and could never be bettered. Those who have been overlooked know only too well why they were not selected. The selection required courage, for, by by-passing senior men, the Hon. Minister laid himself open to charges of favouritism, though nothing could be ever further from the Truth. The ability to recognise ability is a rare virtue. We commend the Minister and plead that in the interest of the country, only ability and performance be made the criteria for promotion not mere seniority. Take even an Attache and promote him if he has the ability.

The services of Good Men should not be lost to the country merely because mediocrities who had joined the service before have to be accommodated.

*The second bouquet* to the Minister for his untiring efforts to have a special commission to study the foreign service. For thirty years after independence no Minister or for that matter, no Prime Minister, realised the importance of studying the question of how best to implement foreign policy. A small island nation, which has to live dependently—in this interdependent world community, which has to ensure its security through diplomacy, and whose economic sustenance is umbilically tied to Trade with the rest of the world must surely have a most effective foreign service. This was not something even the great Pundits of our foreign service requested for.

*The third bouquet* goes to the Minister for having finally recruited new Officers into the Service. Whilst this in itself merits our appreciation we must not close our minds to the fact that quality wise too this selection appears to be way ahead when compared with the mass recruitments of 1970 and 1975. Some of the gentlemen recruited on the Tissa Wijeyratne philosophy were absolutely pathetic characters and unfortunately remain so. **The Minister has made a contribution without parallel but we are certain that the Minister himself knows only too well that much remains to be done. If only he had a say in ALL the appointments, we would not unnecessarily have to suffer the humiliation we now do in certain countries, where appointments made for political reasons, and because of considerations of kinship have only served to ruin the name of Lanka.**

In the interest of the country, in the interest of the Government, in the interest of the party and last but not least in the interest of Sanity, it is time to recall all those who have been sent for pure political considerations and for reasons of friendship and kinship and those who are paid from the STATE Coffers—to enable them to educate their children abroad, whatever rank they hold, be they Ambassadors, Attaches or Co-ordinating Secretaries. This is undoubtedly bad and must be discontinued in the national interest.

Surely this country is not bankrupt of good men—honourable and able men. But even good men Mr. Minister, you would agree, MUST be trained. They must also be completely, repeat completely, briefed. Some of our erstwhile representatives would do better at home helping to solve our Energy Crisis by hauling carts around, than trying to represent our interests abroad. In the meanwhile a detailed manual with even sections on personal conduct should be of immense value to these gentlemen.

THE FOREIGN POLICY of the Government (as those of us who watch from the side lines understand it) is

heavily biased towards the promotion of Trade and Investment. How many of our Ambassadors understand this—in the case of the career men they have to be re-educated. Most of them know nothing of marketing and still less on International Trade and Industry, leave alone Investment Promotion. These Officers have done their apprenticeship in the classical school and could write learned treatises on Anglo-French relations, US-German relations or Canadian-European relations or on the Polish situation. Most unfortunately these exercises are a waste of time, paper, energy and money for all concerned. **In this small nation the Polish situation will not have any bearing on the lives of our people—neither will the relationship between Japan and Australia or Japan and the USSR. I do not wish to labour the point.**

All our Ambassadors and other supporting staff *must* be taught how to sell and how to obtain investment. This must be the ONLY repeat Only Task. The political reporting, the cultural promotion could and will follow. We must have our perspectives right. Have a course in Trade Promotion and get every Ambassador and foreign service person to attend. If they say they cannot do trade then let us retire them. Our missions can and MUST be cost effective. Let us in this country keep track of the significant political developments in the world through the multitudes of political magazines and news papers. Let us face it that we could only supply compromise Chairmen to world bodies and that 'little we', cannot do anything to change the course of World Events—The sooner we realise this the sooner we stop wasting time on useless pursuits. *It is not here intended that Sri Lanka must not have her own position on world issues, certainly yes, but let us also have our perspectives, priorities and values correct.*

If this contention be contested, one has only to evaluate the contributions of Sri Lanka Embassies over the last 25 years to realise the horrible truth that impotent and sterile political reporting has brought this country no tangible results whatsoever—or is there anyone in the Sri Lanka Foreign Service prepared to mention *at least one (leave alone many)* specific instance where these learned reports have brought benefit to the country? No one blames the foreign service for following in the classical tradition but let us at least now correct the mistake.

THE MINISTRY is today 'ruled' by seniority and perhaps privilege. The service has had a very low Turn Over. It is dull lifeless and has a passivity associated with dependent people who are frightened of the Minister, who seek security rather than opportunity, whose principal trait is obeisance not only to orders but also to what they THINK the Superiors would want. This climate kills initiative and repels

Continued on page 18

TRIBUNE, May 2, 1981

# Was It Dutugemunu's Tomb?

By Dr. James T. Rutnam

President, Jaffna Archaeological Society

Text of a lecture delivered at the Seminar Room of the University of Jaffna on 24th March 1981, under the auspices of the South Asian Studies Seminar of the University of Jaffna and the Jaffna Archaeological Society.

THERE HAS ALWAYS BEEN A CONFUSION about the founding, building, rebuilding and repairing of *viharas* and *thupas*. In some cases the person who repairs a shrine comes to be known as the one who had built or founded it. In the present case it is generally accepted that Uttiya had "built" the *Dakkhina Vihara*. As thus noted above, this does not exclude rebuilding, expanding or repairing. Kanitha Tissa (167-186 A.D.) is reported in the *Dipavamsa* as having "built" a *vihara* and a *thupa* in the *Dakkhinarama*. The *Mahavamsa* clarifies this by saying that this king had (only) "added a mantling of the *thupa* of the *Dakkhina vihara* and a refactory besides doing away with the boundary of the Mahamegahavana. And moving the wall of the Mahavihara leading to a side, he also made a road leading to the *Dakkhinavihara*".<sup>51</sup> The *Tissa-maha-cetiya* described in the slab inscription is thus the *thupa* that was enlarged by Kanitha Tissa. This was another name current at that time for the *Dakkhina Thupa* otherwise known as *Elara Dagaba*<sup>51a</sup> or *Elala Sohona* in the south of the city. The *bodhghara* discovered by Bell at a site in the south of *Dakkhina Thupa* may well have been "part of the *Dakkhina Vihara*".<sup>52</sup> The *Elarapatimaghara* too was situated in the south of the city. The "spot where Elara had fallen" and where his body was cremated, where Dutugemunu had built a *dagaba* or *cetiya* over the ashes and had ordained worship, is described in the *Mahavamsa Tika* as being between a potters' village on one side and the Elara image house on the other. We have, therefore, a monastic complex in the south of the city of Anuradhapura and admittedly this was outside the precincts of the Mahavihara. It had evidently included a *dagaba* or *cetiya* built over the ashes of Elara, a *bodhigara* and an image house of Elara, all within the southern Monastery known as *Dakkhina Vihara*.

Evidently the *Elara Dagaba* built by Dutugemunu was the first structure at this place, and the *Vihara* built in the region of Dutugemunu's nephew Vattagamani Abhaya was the second. As in most other monastic complexes in Sri Lanka these were enlarged and added to in the course of time. According to Senake Bandaranayake, "apart from the *stupa* itself

everything else has (now) been obliterated".<sup>53</sup> The stub or stump of the *Elala Sohona*, however, has fortunately remained to tell the true story. During the excavation of the so-called *Dakkhina Thupa* (to use the suggestive epithet in the *Mahavamsa* of the sixth century) Paranavitana has reported the discovery of charcoal and ash. He had dug thirty-eight feet from the top of the mound when he found a stone pavement. After removing the stone slabs he dug deeper arriving at a depth of thirteen feet from the level of the pavement, and fifty one feet from the top of the mound. Here he found ample traces of a "compressed layer of charcoal". In the course of his digging he had discovered that *stupa* robbers had ransacked the place.<sup>54</sup>

ALMOST AS AN AFTER-THOUGHT he wrote in paragraph 67 of his extensive Report of 1948, "It may here be mentioned that fragments of charcoal and lumps of ash were met with sporadically at levels considerably above the bottom of the pit. It is evident that *stupa* robbers had thrown up much of the charcoal and the ash which they found, and in the filling of the pit later these became scattered all over the place."<sup>55</sup> It will be noted that the word "ash" is mentioned twice here, and there is no other mention of it anywhere else in his Reports. De Silva who had dealt with Paranavitana's views in 1957, had at the time, examined some fragments of charcoal and lumps of clay, but he does not seem to have seen any "ash". What happened to the ash?<sup>56</sup>

The debate between de Silva and Paranavitana was over, among other issues, over the nature of the fire and the inconceivability that "Dutugemunu's funeral pyre would have stood at the bottom of a pit the depth of which is equivalent to the depth of the foundation of the *Dakkhina thupa*".<sup>57</sup> As the place had been ransacked by vandals and robbers and as there was the likelihood of flaming torches being used by the despoilers to find their way in the darkness the examination had become more complicated. In any case, this issue itself is of no consequence for determining whether the *Dakkhina Thupa* was Elara's or Dutugemunu's tomb. We therefore leave it alone.

But de Silva's arguments centering on the literary and topographical evidence are formidable. It is very creditable that a young Assistant Archaeological Commissioner, with preferments in his career to look forward to, was daring enough to express his views publicly and unreservedly against his reputedly omniscient Chief, who had about that time relinquished his post and been appointed the first Professor of Archaeology at the University of Ceylon, but who nevertheless was a force in the Department. All that de Silva seemed to have got in reply to his serious attempt to differ from Paranavitana was contemptuous indifference from the latter.

An incidental reference to the *Dakkhina Thupa* in the *Saddharmalankaraya* of the 14th century had been

used by Paronavitana to build up, in his own characteristic and skilful way, an amazing thesis to prove that Dutugemunu's ashes were buried under this *thupa*, and in this process to disprove and demolish the age-old belief that the *Elala Sohona* was nothing but the tomb of Elara. In paragraph 49 of his Report of 1948, Paronavitana had announced the foundation of his thesis as follows: "The *Saddharmalankaraya* has recorded a tradition, that the *stupa* of the *Dakkhina Thupa* was built at a place known as *Maha-pulila-maluwa* (the great Terrace of the *pulila*).<sup>58</sup> For some reason or other he does not give the actual reference. Paronavitana has been found, for reasons of his own, to be very selective in citing chapter and verse when giving references. In some cases he is quite lavish with details, but in others he leaves it to the reader to look for them. The student is thus led to great inconvenience in trying to seek the sources of Paronavitana's assertions. Administration Reports of a Commissioner of Archaeology should specially not suffer from inadequate documentation.

However, we have now traced this reference and are able to give below a translation of the words in the *Saddharmalankaraya*. "Our Buddha, in the eight year after attaining Buddhahood on the invitation of the divine ruler named Nahasammana and having arrived at the city of Anuradhapura stayed at the *Mahapulila-maluwa* where the *Dakunu-Maha-saya* (later) stood."<sup>59</sup> Having referred to the above text Paronavitana rushes to co-relate it with a reference in Geiger's *Mahavamsa* to a "*picula*" tree mentioned in connection with the visit of the Saint Mahinda to Anuradhapura. The quotation in the *Mahavamsa* reads as follows: "and the thera (Saint Mahinda) went to the royal dwelling and scattered eight handfuls of blossoms about the *picula* tree standing on the south of it."

BEFORE WE GO ANY FURTHER we are obliged to correct the above translation of Geiger. This correction was brought to the notice of scholars by the learned A. P. Buddhadatta Mahathera. He had pointed out, with which Geiger had later agreed, that this passage, should read as follows: "And the thera (Saint Mahinda) went to the royal dwelling and *standing on the south of it* scattered eight handfuls of blossoms about the *picula* tree".<sup>60</sup> From this correction we find that the *picula* tree was not stated as being on the south of the royal dwelling. Having shown us that south of the city there was a *mahapulila-maluwa* over which the *Dakkhina thupa* (later) stood, and that at the time of the Saint Mahinda's visit to Anuradhapura there was a *picula* tree, which would have been later the site of a *kammamalaka*, Paronavitana has rushed to say that both the *mahapulila-maluwa* and the *kammamalaka* were one and the same, with a view to drawing some fanciful conclusion that Dutugemunu was cremated at this *malaka* and that his ashes lay at the bottom of the *thupa* built over it.

This is typical of Paronavitana's more recent methodology with which other scholars have now become familiar. His syllogism is as follows:

$$\begin{aligned} A &= B \\ b &= C \\ \therefore A &= C \quad \text{EUREKA!!} \end{aligned}$$

Indeed this *sounds* plausible, but it is *obviously* fallacious. For there is a vital difference between the capital "B" and the simple "b" although they sound alike. Whoever in the wide world had said that *mahapulila-maluwa* and the *kammamalaka* are one and the same? Where do we find in all literature that a *thupa* had been built over Dutugemunu's ashes? During the 2109 years since Elara's ashes were laid to rest no one, not a single old text, not a single commentary, not a single inscription, not a single *ola* leaf, not a single archaeologist, not a single historian, has said that a *thupa* was built over Dutugemunu's ashes. But Paronavitana says so. Must we blindly follow his *ipse dixit*?

To the credit of Paronavitana it must be said that he did not for long continue to press his opinion, tenacious though he generally was, on scholars and the public. For, after 1948 and the subsequent display of a board marking the *Dakkhina Thupa* as Dutugemunu's tomb, Paronavitana contented himself with depositing the so-called "ashes" of Dutugemunu in the Archaeological Museum at Anuradhapura. Meanwhile R. H. de Silva had proclaimed with banner headline in the Sunday press—*Dakkhina Thupa—Not Dutugemunu's Tomb*,<sup>61</sup> and had eventually taken steps to remove the misleading board at the *Dakkhina thupa*. This drew no protest from Paronavitana, a power to be reckoned with even then.

*To be concluded*



ISLAM

## And World Peace-2

By N. M. M. I. Hussain

This paper was read at the Asian Christian Peace Conference that met in Colombo in October 1980 on the theme "Theological Basis for Co-operation With the Living Faiths for Peace with Justice". This is the second part of a paper entitled "The Response of Islam to The World Struggle for Peace with Justice".

BEFORE THE PROPHET MOHAMMED, the Arabs were not a people, they were merely a conglomeration of tribes without the consciousness of being a people and they became a people only after accepting the revelation provided by the Koran. The death of the Prophet was followed by the establishment of the Umayyad Caliphate and Empire, which was basically Arab in character though with a strong sense of the unity of Arabs and non-Arabs through their sharing of a common faith. That was followed by the great and glittering civilisation of the Abbasid Caliphate, which had a cosmopolitan character and in which the non-Arab elements were predominant. Nevertheless, the people who participated in that civilisation had at its height a strong sense of unity. The period of the decline of the Caliphate led to the establishment of several kingdoms, but, as Professor Bernard Lewis has pointed out, when rival Sultans wrote to each other they did not describe themselves as leaders of nations or nation-states; they identified themselves by merely mentioning the territory they controlled, thereby acknowledging that they and their peoples and the peoples of rival Sultans were members of one Islamic community. It is significant that long after the Caliphate ceased to be a reality, it remained an ideal symbolizing the community of Islam and a legal function until all pretensions to a Caliphate were finally abandoned by Kemal Ataturk in 1924.

**Islam was therefore a force which made tribes into a people, and made several peoples consider themselves members of a single community despite all their ethnic, linguistic and other differences. The explanation for this is to be found in the Koran and in the "traditions" of the Prophet. There is a strong emphasis in Islam on brotherhood, and it is a fact that Islamic societies at their best have shown a sense of fraternity without parallel elsewhere.**

The Prophet remarked of the poor, "They are your brothers; Allah placed them under your care." The Koran says, "And remember Allah's favour unto you How ye were enemies and He made friends" is between your hearts so that ye became as brothers. But this sense of brotherhood is limited to one's fellow-Muslims. The Koran, however, insists on the unity of all mankind. In more than one place, it remarks on the mystery of God's purpose in creating different peoples and nations, but it also insists on their unity in the words: "Mankind were but one community" According to the "traditions", when the Prophet stood up for a funeral, one of his companions remarked, "It is the funeral of a Jew." The Prophet replied "Is it not that of a soul! If you behold a funeral, then stand."

This sense of the oneness of mankind means, of course, that there can be no place in Islam for racialism. Islam's answer to racialism does not take the form of exhortations by the Prophet. None were necessary as the answer was there, in practice, right

from the inception of Islam. The first muezzin who chanted the first call to prayer was Bilal, an emancipated negro slave.

IT IS TO BE EXPECTED that Islam with its strong sense of a charismatic community, its exaltation of the sense of fraternity, its notion of the oneness of man, of all mankind constituting "one community", even though there are peoples and nations, will be against aggression and in favour of every principle that can promote just and equitable relations between states. The Koran says, "We have created you male and female, and have made you nations and tribes that ye may know one another. Lo! the noblest of you, in the sight of Allah, is the best in conduct". The noblest nations according to this are not necessarily the most powerful and the most wealthy; the noblest are the "best in conduct". The rights of the small and the weak nations are affirmed here. The Koran is categorically against aggression: "Allah loveth not the aggressors", and elsewhere "So, if they hold aloof from you and wage not war against you and offer you peace, Allah alloweth you no way against them." While coming out firmly on the side of non-aggression, Islam is not pacifist and allows defensive wars, particularly against religious persecution, for, as the Koran says, "persecution is worse than killing". It also says: "And fight them until persecution is no more, and religion is for Allah. But if they desist, let there be no hostility except against wrong-doers (aggressors)".

The Koran is also quite explicit on the need for fair-dealing between nations: "Let not hatred of a people incite you not to act equitably; be just; that is nearer to piety and observance of duty." It says also, "And be not like to her who unravelleth the thread, after she hath made it strong, to thin filaments, making your oaths a deceit between you because of a nation being more numerous (stronger) than another nation." According to the Prophet, a nation-state cannot have absolute value and he would not have agreed with the notion of "my country, right or wrong". He said: "He is not of us who sides with his tribe in aggression, and he is not of us who calls others to help him in tyranny, and he is not of us who dies while assisting his tribe in injustice." A model of what relations between peoples should be was provided by the Pact of Yathrib, concluded by the Prophet with the Christian and polytheistic idolators while he was at Medina. This Pact amounted to a defensive alliance on the basis of peaceful co-existence, with provision for each group to practice and preach its religion.

**I have no wish to engage in apologetics and can readily acknowledge that the practise of Islamic states has not always been consistent with the precepts of the Koran and of the Prophet. My purpose has been only to see whether principles for state-relations can be drawn from the Islamic notion of the charism-**

**atic community, the notion of mankind constituting "one community" transcending the divisions between nation-states, and from what is declared in the Koran and the sayings of the Prophet. It can be said that Islam is against aggression, imperialism, colonialism, neo-colonialism, racism and that it is in favour of detente, peaceful co-existence and all the ideals behind the UN Charter and the Non-aligned Movement.**

I COME NOW to a crucially important issue of our time, disarmament, an issue to which the great religions have to give special importance as weapons are now so destructive that they can put an end to the existence of mankind altogether. Islam is not a pacifist religion, and the Prophet Mohammed belongs to the category of armed prophets, and it cannot be expected that the Koran will have anything to say explicitly on the subject of disarmament, which in any case became an international issue only in the nineteenth century. I have to proceed therefore to base the Islamic argument for disarmament, or at least some form of disarmament, on one of the principles on which the great legal system of the Sharia was formulated, the principle of "analogical reasoning."

According to the Koran, we have to take up arms if necessary against persecution as "persecution is worse than killing", and we can take up arms against aggression. It is doubtful that any Koranic sanction can be found for "general and complete disarmament" if by that is meant the elimination of all weapons. But it can be argued that weapons should be limited to what is necessary for defensive purposes. And it can be argued also, on the process of analogical reasoning, that weapons of indiscriminate mass slaughter should be totally eliminated.

The Koran is full of the sense of the wonder of creation and the Koran and the "traditions" of the Prophet are strongly in favour of "reverence for life". Mohammed Iqbal, pointing out that Socrates concentrated on the human world alone, wrote, "To him the proper study of man was man, and not the world of plants, insects and stars. How unlike the spirit of the Koran, which sees in the humble bee a recipient of divine inspiration, and constantly calls upon the reader to observe the perpetual change of the winds, the alternation of day and night, the clouds, the starry heavens, and the planets swimming through infinite space." The Koran and the "traditions" are explicit on reverence for all forms of life. The Koran says, "And there is not an animal on earth nor flying creature upon wings but is a people like unto yourselves. We have neglected nothing in the book of Our decrees. Then unto their Lord they will be gathered." It also says, "Hast thou not seen how all in the Heavens and in the earth, uttereth the praise of God?—the very birds as they spread their wings? Every creature knoweth its prayer and its praise; and God knoweth what they do." According to the Koran man has to

show awareness of the wonder of creation and show reverence for all forms of life, even animals and birds. It would be wrong to subject them to mass slaughter. How much less justifiable it would be to subject man, who is a vice-regent of God on earth, to mass slaughter. It seems clear that on the basis of analogical reasoning, Islam should be against weapons of mass slaughter.

What I have said about the wonder of creation and reverence for life is relevant to the question of ecology. Obviously the destructive depletion of the world's resources and the mass slaughter of animal, bird or fish, has to be regarded as profoundly antipathetic to the spirit of Islam. Man is the vice-regent of God on earth, not the Lord of all creation, and if he is to fulfill God's purposes he cannot do so through arrogant capacity.

*To be continued*



UK LETTER

## Thatcher's Visit

*London, April 22:* Press reports reaching London stress that the Thatcher-Indira Gandhi meetings had ended in serious disagreement. The biggest British setback in the Thatcher visit was the conspicuous absence of a joint communique. This is the first occasion in years when the head of a world power, and to boot the chief of the Commonwealth, has gone without a joint communique or even a statement. Knowing in advance the divergence in preceptions on all the major international issues, India had tentatively decided against a joint communique before Maggie arrived. The final decision, it would appear, was taken after the first round of the frustrating talks. As a recompense, the British High Commission, it is reported, had requested that Mrs. Gandhi have a meal with the guest and see her off at Bombay. This also she declined to do, though the Prime Minister was in Bombay on the day Mrs. Thatcher left.

Diplomatic circles in London, however are agog with another aspect of the Thatcher visit to India. It is said that Mrs. Thatcher had been also an emissary for President Reagan (who has still not established a rapport with the Indian Premier) to push the new American strategic line on South Asia. It is said that Mrs. Thatcher, on behalf of Mr. Reagan, had tried to persuade Mrs. Gandhi not to be anxious about bulk western military supplies to Pakistan because it was necessary to strengthen the defence potential of the country facing the Soviet military threat. Mrs. Thatcher, it is believed, had told Mrs. Gandhi that the West could give India its guarantee that in case India gave its consent to the proposal Pakistan would stop the work

in the sphere of the creation of nuclear weapons and would display the necessary understanding to the Indian stand in regard to border problems existing between the two countries. Mrs. Thatcher, it is also said, had emphasised that if Mr. Zia ul-Haq tried to break this guarantee he could be replaced by a new military leader now in opposition to the present regime. It is confidently asserted that the Americans and their allies have come to these conclusions on a study of a report Lord Carrington is said to have submitted after his visit to Islamabad.

Diplomatic circles further assert that Mrs. Gandhi had not given any final answer to this suggestion and that she had pointed out that any response would depend on the firmness of the guarantee. She is also said to feel that the question would be clear after the visit of the Indian foreign minister, Narasimha Rao, to the USA. In this connection, an Indian political commentator has stated: "Whatever the conceptual change since after Reagan entered the White House, Pakistan is an important link in the chain. And it was here Maggie expanded all her British charm and middle class cunning in a supreme effort to persuade Mrs. Gandhi to stop her public criticism of the contemplated US arms deal with Pakistan the main argument being Pakistan is a front-line State".

It is also considered significant that after India, Mrs. Thatcher went to Saudi Arabia to discuss the Anglo-American plan of the army supplies to Pakistan using the help of Oman, Riyadh and United Arab Emirates. But reports indicate that the Saudi Government has told Alexander Haig that it would not favour a continuing physical presence of US troops in that country. Foreign Minister Faisal has conveyed more or less the same message to Narasimha Rao during his recent visit to Delhi. This is quite understandable. It is common knowledge that the Saudi dynasty, an anachronism of medieval ages, is kept going with the military muscle of the Zia regime. And it is mortally afraid of Arab and Islamic reaction of the GIs. muzzle into the Holy Kingdom to counter a Soviet threat, which is yet to materialise, while conniving at US backing to the continuing Israeli occupation of Palestine and the impending US occupation of the Sinai.

THE BRITISH CAPITAL is also buzzing with the news that Egypt would soon seek NATO membership. Sadat has probably thrown out this bait to persuade European members of NATO, who are seeking to solve the Middle East problem outside the Camp David framework, to line up behind Reagan, Haig and the USA. To win further Western support for his Camp David formula, Sadat has been riding the Afghan lobby (war) horse. But Middle Eastern circles here are full stories about the dissatisfaction against the Islamabad authorities expressed by representatives of some Afghan opposition groups during a recent visit to Cairo on the invitation of Egyptian government. They have alleged, it is reported, that Pakistan has

sought to utilise the financial and military aid from Egypt and other countries channelled through Islamabad to strengthen Pak control of Afghan refugees and the forces fighting the Babrak Karmal government. What has come as an even greater surprise is that these Afghan Opposition groups want to establish a base on the borders of Pakistan to fight for an independent Pakhtoonistan.

It is believed that Cairo had counselled these Afghan rebels that they should as soon as possible form a provisional government-in-exile. Such a government could have "legal" international relations of its own with foreign countries without any control on the part of Pakistan. In such an eventuality, Egypt, USA, China and other countries could supply the Afghan rebels with money and arms directly and thus avoid allegations that the aid was being misappropriated by Pak organisations now entrusted with the task of seeing that the aid reached the right addresses and groups. No doubt to set up such a government-in-exile some Afghan groups have recently quit the umbrella of the Islamic Congress.

*Tribune Correspondent*



IN A HELICOPTER—2

## Thoughts over Habarana

By S. P. Amarasingam

As we flew over the tourist complex at Habarana, my thoughts nostalgically went back to the year 1934 when a group of four under-graduates, including myself, from the Union Hostel (then under the benign care and guidance of Prof. Suntharalingam) in what was then the University College had travelled to these parts on push bicycles during the long vacation (three months in those days). I was then the proud owner of a new three-speed Raleigh Special which had cost the princely sum of Rs. 125/- including a carrier, stand, bell and lamp. A dynamo lamp cost an extra Rs. 17.50.

We had gone up to Kandy, then down to Nalanda and Dambulla, thence to Sirigiya, Polonnaruwa, Trinco and back to Colombo through Anuradhapura and Puttalam. This little odyssey had taken over three weeks or nearly a month, if my memory serves me right. I had always wanted to write about this memorable trip, but was never able to get round to it. The story of our journey, forty seven years ago, and the present recollections of what these parts were like at that time may be of interest today.

We did the mileage in easy stages. Hospitality (food and lodging) helped us along at every stage of the journey. In the more inhabited parts of the country, we were guests at the homes of fellow students—the total strength at the University at that time was around 250 and everyone knew everybody else. But there were many parts of the country from which there were no students at the only seat of higher learning, and in these places we had to find other accommodation. The Dambulla-Sigiriya-Habarana-Polonaruwa-Kantalai stretch was one of them.

This whole area was one expanse of jungle spotted with little hamlets and governmental outposts. Leopards and panthers wandered about unconcerned looking for prey (mostly monkeys, wild boar and deer—human flesh was reputedly way down on the list of delicacies in the leopard's menu). Deer roamed in hundreds. Elephants sauntered along unmindful of humans. The bear was reputedly the most dangerous of them all. With all the show of bravado we could muster we had great respect (and fear) for these denizens of the jungle. We never ventured out too early in the morning, and long before dusk we found ourselves safe shelter.

As students, with limited budgets, we could not afford the resthouses (cheap by present day standards), and in the areas where we had no college friends, we found shelter in government buildings, temples, dispensaries and the like. Food was no problem because the peasant, the public servant, the school master or the apothecary, especially in the remote parts of the country, were ever willing to share pot luck.

We had left Dambulla in the early afternoon and wanted to make it to Sigiriya before dark. On the way we ran into a PWD Overseer (also on a push bicycle) and we asked him whether he knew of any place we could spend the night. He suggested the Rest House at Habarana which he said was good, or the one at Sigiriya which he said was not so good. We said we couldn't afford the resthouse charges. He agreed that it was only for the Sahibs—White or Brown—and he promptly invited us to stay at his quarters. This was exactly what we had hoped for—by this time we were adepts at cadging such invitations. There was also a glamour about University students in those days and we exploited this to the full during this journey.

We reached the Overseer's quarters, about two miles from Sigiriya, as darkness set in. He was a good host. He had poultry in his yard which an unshaven moustachioed hanger-on cooked with enough chillies to drown us in tears. It was all good fun. And the arrack be produced as a snorter smelled of kerosene—he apologised that the "fool" of a man who had fetched it had gone with a bottle that had contained kerosene earlier. There was no tavern in the neighbourhood, but a mudalali not far away, kept a stock in a barrel from which supplies were drawn.

We were guests of this kindly Overseer for two days. We climbed Sigiriya—to the frescoes and to the very top. As testimony of this climb at a time, when the hornets were active, I have a photograph of myself with a Sigiriya (fresco) lady behind (on the wall), that is long before the drawing was defaced by vandals. We had a great time at the overseer's. We had wild boar and venison. He sent his man Friday to the rest-house and got us Sapporo (Jap) Beer (then 35 cents a bottle even in a distant place). An egg was half to one cent each (there were half cent coins then) and a full "fowl"—with at least 2-3 lbs. of meat—was anything from fifty cents to a rupee. In Colombo they cost a little more, but not much more. Even in the dry zone Wannai, there were no starving peasants, but they would be considered poor and ill-clad by modern standards. Nobody had nylons, polyesters, transistors or tape recorders (and they didn't have to peddle ganja or human flesh to keep up with the Joneses).

Flying over Habarana, my thoughts went back to the days when tourism had not yet become a menace to our traditional way of life. Our ethos was then intact. If we had adequately developed our agriculture and other non-parasitic activities, we need not have rushed headlong into tourism. A sadistic thought flittered through my mind. When tourism goes the way of all parasitic commercialism, when the tourist complex in Habarana had become a Woolfian Village in the Jungle, an archaeologist (a few decades hence) may spot ruins from the air amidst luxuriant foliage. He might then come back with funds from some learned society or university to examine these ruins in the jungle. With tourism forgotten, the archaeologist may be at his wits end to know what these ruins were. May be a temple, may be a meditation centre, the archaeologist may speculate. It may not strike him that it might have been a glorified brothel.

The Minister in Charge of tourism wants to enact laws to stop child prostitution (cheap as so many other things in Sri Lanka). Can laws stop prostitution—adult or child? In a free market and open economy, every person, even a child, is entitled to sell his or her body.

It is not possible even if one is air-borne, to write an epic with much mundane or angry thoughts. But before I was lost completely in this kind of day-dreaming, Kantalai tank was before us. Paddy fields stretched to the right. Once again the diverted waters of Mahaweli had saved the crop. If the money invested in tourism and tourist hotels (which will be archaeological ruins in the foreseeable future) had been put into agriculture, the country and the people at large would have benefited more. The tourist bubble will burst sooner than many expect. The hotels will be ruins. The anicuts will remain.

Minister Gamini Dissanayake pointed out the Mahaweli in the distance slowly winding its way to the sea.



We flew over the Sugar Cane Plantations and Factory Complex, but my gaze was on the Mahaweli. Then suddenly, the helicopter began to climb down, gradually in narrowing circles. Below there were a few buildings and a paddy field or a volley ball court on which a helipad circle was marked in white paint or lime. It was by the main road to Allai and there were cars, jeeps and humans—no doubt the reception committee to greet the Minister.

Effortlessly the helicopter came down to rest gently in a paddy field full of weeds and grass—except for the small cleared patch within the circle of white.

*To be continued...*



CZECHOSLOVAKIA

## Party Congress

*Prague, April 10:* Continuity, stability and confidence in the future were the keynotes of the 16th congress of Communist Party of Czechoslovakia which has just ended. All leading organs of the party were elected unanimously. The report presented by General Secretary of the Central Committee, Gustav Husak was adopted by the Congress as the document defining the further course of the party in the period of the construction of developed socialist society. The Congress also adopted the economic plan for the next five years. This seventh plan was debated and discussed in great detail not only at the Congress but all over the country before the congress assembled.

The atmosphere at the congress was easy and relaxed, there were no false fanfares or boasting. The tone was businesslike and critical of weaknesses. In speeches sincere and real opinions were expressed and difficulties were not glossed over. The new period of construction is being entered soberly and calmly. In the field of ideological struggle the propaganda is not of dogmas and slogans. The emphasis is on the education and development of the new man and citizen of socialist society whose world outlook is based on modern science, real life experience and humane values of socialism.

Certain economic difficulties have arisen due to the economic crisis in the West and the capitalist world in general because the socialist countries are not insulated economically. Prices of what they import have gone up due to inflation in the capitalist countries and exports to them have gone down because of the crisis, stagnation and unemployment there. But basing itself on cooperation and economic integration of the socialist countries, the party looks to the future with

confidence and without fear. The party is sure that the new program is realistic and is prepared to fulfil it as it has the active support and confidence of the people.

The Western propaganda has made much of a certain slowing down of economic growth rate and that some of the tasks were not fulfilled to the full extent, or that the required level of efficiency of production and quality of work and not been fully attained. This was openly admitted and the causes of the deficiency were openly debated. But the point is that in all branches production has not been stagnating as in the capitalist world but rising and the country is planning steady annual growth in production of 3.4 to 3.7 per cent and of the national income by 14-16 per cent in five years.

The Western media were creating tensions and sensations around Poland by spreading various canards. First, that a summit of socialist countries was to take place on Poland in Prague. Then that any time Poland was to be "invaded" etc. These propaganda balloons were pricked by the speeches of Brezhnev and Husak who both said that the PUWP will be able to cope with its internal problems.

THE PROMOTION of cooperation with fraternal socialist countries led by the Soviet Union, is the prime and constant task of the Czechoslovak foreign policy, Foreign Minister Bohuslav Chnoupek told journalists reporting the 16th Congress of the Czechoslovak Communist Party. He emphasized that Czechoslovakia has been playing an active role in the struggle for the consolidation of peace and the policy of international detente. "Czechoslovakia," he said, "is not a nuclear power and as we have confirmed many times its territory houses no missiles with nuclear warheads, and yet the questions of reducing the military potential with preservation of balance are of vital interest to us, among other reasons because our country is situated in the heart of Europe and on the borders of two systems". Czechoslovakia asserts the view that contentious issues can be solved to the benefit of all sides by way of a dialogue, talks and conferences. This method is also characteristic of the policy of detente.

The Czechoslovak Foreign Minister answered questions on the developments in Poland and Czechoslovakia's attitude to it. "The Czechoslovak evaluation of the situation in Poland is identical with the views of the other socialist countries", he stated, "we wish that Polish Communists overcome the crisis phenomena with their own might. We believe that this is possible. At the same time we point to those forces in Poland which are not interested in overcoming the past, which immediately threaten socialism in Poland and are trying to organize counter-revolutionary actions". Minister Chnoupek stressed that in Czechoslovakia too, the first attack of the anti-socialist forces

in 1968 was made against the leading role of the Communist Party and against the alliance and co-operation with the Soviet Union. However, it does not follow from this that the further development of the situation in Poland will be similar to that in Czechoslovakia in the crisis-ridden period. "We have never stated that we doubt the capability of the Polish United Workers Party (if it shows sufficient will and resolve) to cope with the complex internal problems, strengthen the socialist foundations of the Polish people's republic as a firm link in the socialist community".—CETEKA



TOWARDS

## Real Development

By Ranil Senanayake

THE MYTH of 'development' as it has been presented to us, is exploding. This is not due to the action of any critic but due to the impact that such a development process has on the citizenry of the country. The rising tide of malnutrition, poor public health and unreasonable inflation are ample indications of the failure of the monetarist perspective of development. The reason for the failure of the monetarist philosophy lies in the fact that it is founded on false premises. For instance, the philosophy accepts the concept of open ended growth as a reality. In fact its very operation depends on constant economic growth.

But we know that all resources are finite, whether it be air or gold. To us in Sri Lanka, the present power crisis that we are experiencing becomes a fine, practical example of the finite nature of this particular resource. The major power source of Sri Lanka is the hydro electric potential of the central hills. This source has provided power adequately for the island until the enormous growth in demand placed by the new economic activity'. The Minister of Shipping and Trade is quoted as stating that "since the present Government had come into power a great deal of economic activity had taken place resulting in a direct increase in the consumption of power in the country". It seems as if the architects of the economic activity accepted without question the possibility of power supply to meet with the demand placed by their activity.

**We all know what the reality of the present power crisis is. Power or energy like all other resources are finite. It is tragic for the nation that the planners and architects of the 'Economic Development' of this nation are blind to reality.**

What about our other resources? It seems that even here monetarist madness is hard to work. 'If you can export it, you contribute to development' seems to be the attitude. Let us examine this stance closely. The logic behind this argument would seem to be that we need money to become 'developed'. Therefore, we must sell all we can to obtain the money. Resources are finite and if we export our resources, especially such material as mineral ore or soil productivity there will come a time when we would have depleted our stocks. The funny thing is that we ourselves will need those resources if we become 'developed' but would have sold our stocks in order to attain the prescribed state of 'development.' Then we will have to buy those same resources back from the world marketplace, paying **their** prices.

To the short term economist, these considerations are not important. They will argue that by the time such problems occur they will become someone else's problem. This attitude becomes particularly poignant when propounded by non-citizens of the country for they do not live here for any length of time nor do their children. We must be aware of foreign companies, banks or individuals who exhort the exploitation and export of any unprocessed or unfinished natural resources. As far as our own advocates of the present development theories are concerned, the motivation must be different. They stick to their theories on the face of massive contrary evidence. This probably stems from a faith or belief in the 'technological fix' where it is accepted that technology will provide solutions to all arising problems through the invention of new processes.

Such faith is reflected in the old Greek plays where a 'Deus ex Machina' or intervention of the Gods were invoked to solve a great crisis. The present energy crisis undermines this faith; it gives ample evidence that a crisis has occurred. With no answers or technological solutions, will the monetarist madmen be sensitive to these realities? These then, must be the philosophies of those who would make the nation walk the present path. The alternative is frightening to behold, that those who make us walk the present path are fully aware of the problems and pitfalls of this path, but are willing to risk the nation in the fulfilment of some egotistic or financial goal.

AN IMPORTANT PROBLEM of the day is to determine which processes contribute to real development or, in the alternative contribute to mal-development. Once this is achieved we could examine the processes that are being touted as development but actually contribute to mal-development. If development is seen as a vectoral change in state towards a prescribed ideal state, we must begin to define the basic criteria for development in terms of that ideal state. For example, let us take the human being.

The human being should be an item of concern in any development programme. It is for the benefit of humanity that all development programmes are mooted. The human being is a biological entity comprised of myriads of cells. The ideal state of this biological entity is when it is healthy and free from all harmful or injurious inputs. Science has identified many inputs that are harmful or injurious to the biological being. Since the ideal state for the biological being is being free from these negative inputs and since development must be a movement towards the ideal state; we can summarise that "Any process or activity that leads to the reduction of the biological quality of life cannot contribute to real development" or "any process or activity that produces physical or chemical inputs demonstrable to be injurious to the biological being leads to mal-development". This will enable people, rather than abstract concepts, to attain a greater importance in the assessment of development. **Then, no amount of economic gain can justify an erosion of the well being of the people.**

**Another useful yardstick to measure real development by, would be a nation's state of independence.** To couch this in modern terminology one might call this the state of interdependence. When two nations are interdependent equally, then all is well. When one nation increases its ratio of dependence to the other, the nation becoming more dependent loses more and more of the options available to it and thus loses its state of independence, as the stability of any system is enhanced by the options it has to project itself into the future. **The maximum availability of options or the maximum state of independence would seem to be an ideal development goal.**

A VALID MEASURE of independence in the modern world is **energy**. It requires energy to perform any work, be it biological as the movement of a muscle or social as the institution of a development programme. If the energy required to run a nation comes from within its geopolitical boundaries, that nation would attain the greatest state of independence. Conversely, if the energy required to run a nation came from beyond its geopolitical boundaries, that nation would attain the greatest state of dependence upon the nation or nations that supplied such energy. In such a dependency situation the nation that requires the energy has no option but to agree to any demands by the energy suppliers. For, if the flow of energy stopped anarchy would prevail within its boundaries.

Using the criteria outlined above, another proposition could be made; that 'Any process or activity which decreases a nation's state of independence cannot contribute to real development'. Thus systems that require a constant or increasing input of energy from external sources cannot be foisted upon a nation using short term economic arguments.

TRIBUNE, May 2, 1981

The two propositions, on the biological quality of life and on national independence are an attempt to contribute to the thorny problem of identifying development goals. The need to understand the inter-relatedness of national processes and to identify development goals with the broadest possible perspective is becoming clear. The danger of identifying such goals within the framework of narrow perspectives has become evident. One has only to look at the action that 'monetarist development' has had on human health and society.

It does seem to be a time when broader perspectives, longer in temporal scope and answering to meaningful, objective criteria were generated. A discussion on the propositions stated or on any new propositions will, I am sure, give us food for thought.




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IN LIGHTER VEIN

**THE PUBLIC ARE CURIOUS**

Ooh! Aah! Is that so?  
Where has that Minister been?  
(A Cat can look at a Queen)  
More important: Whom has he seen  
And Why?

Shoo! Psst! Someone is listening.  
Knowledge is power: and how!  
Come now! Don't be mean  
(If the Cap fits, put it on)  
Bah! Damn the shape: its Green  
Clean!

Feeling Blue? Recessive colour! Fading!  
No luck: Don't try again.  
(Never mind whom we are aping)  
Note our PQLI grading!

But what's the frazzle? Singapore? Brazil?  
Philippines? Dear Marcos—Imelda's love.  
Dear, dear Marcos! God bless him,  
Pope and all. Lest the Red, red Robin of Marx  
Parks on this Hindu/Buddhist *milieu*.  
No! The Theros won't be Pharaohs  
and build pyramids.  
Will you?

'GIOM'

## OUR FOREIGN SERVICE

Continued from page 8

men of ideas—Where is the initiative? It is certainly conspicuous by its absence. It is generally a humourless place where officials take themselves seriously more than their work.

The role of a foreign ministry in a developing country needs to be defined not only in fairness to those charged with its implementation but also in the national interest to prevent the dissipation of energies in useless undertakings. Perhaps this should be a matter for the D. A. De Silva Committee on the foreign service.

This one man Commission would no doubt have given consideration to the role of the Ministry in the conduct of foreign relations. This is certainly not only a critical matter but also a very sensitive matter. Perhaps the most important consideration in deciding on any structure or form, should be our effectiveness in relating to the other side. How best could we, with the very scarce resources at our command, obtain maximum advantage for the country?

**Representation at Conferences, and at negotiations on behalf of the country MUST without doubt be left to trained men. How often are persons nominated to attend Conferences only because the Conferences affords some powerful person an opportunity to travel abroad and he/she has used pressure to get on the band waggon. Conferences and Negotiations are complex and complicated matters in this sophisticated world of today.**

Negotiations and Conference men of most countries are well trained and experienced men. We would do well ourselves not only to enunciate our policy in regard to these two important areas of work, but we should also address our minds seriously to the task of training our men in Conference diplomacy and negotiations. If only reports on our performance and participation at Conferences were made public, there would be an uproar over the terrible waste of valuable foreign exchange. People have a right to demand that their money is well spent. That money is well spent could be ensured not only through better representation but also through better co-ordination and even a casual observer of how our system works would notice that co-ordination is conspicuous by its absence.

The Cabinet is a policy making body—Do we have a policy co-ordinating body or any other organisation which co-ordinates the administration and implementation of policy. The Committee of Development Secretaries is perhaps the only body closest to it—but this is inadequate, we MUST institutionalise co-ordination in Government. This is a subject—whcih requires study

in depth, it is mentioned here only to draw attention to the need for co-ordination in the area of International Economic Affairs.

I have made reference to the need to give emphasis in a very specific manner to the promotion of Trade and Investment. The need for Training, the need for co-ordination and above all the need to choose our representatives carefully and usefully. Our final matter which needs to be mentioned is the need to teach our Officers the literal art of House Keeping. But for a handful of our missions the rest are like pig styes. We are not a home-conscious nation but let us not parade this weakness around the world.



MEXICO'S OIL

## Strengthens State Economic Power

By  
Alberto Hernandez

**Mexico City, April 27:** The State Oil Company, Pemex has played a big part in the public sector's economic predominance over the private sector in the past two years, according to sources here. Private analysts and Leftist economists here say the relationship between the country's private and public sectors has changed dramatically since Mexico became a self-sufficient oil producer. The private sector controlled 60 per cent of the nation's economy in 1978 with the public sector controlling the remaining 40 per cent. But this year, 50 per cent of the investment in Mexico will come from the public sector 47 per cent from Mexico private investors and three per cent from foreign investors. Private analysts point out that further Pemex growth could swing the pendulum even more in the direction of the State. Just last year, Pemex accounted for 68 per cent of Mexico's total exports, with estimates that the figure may reach 80 per cent this year.

Pemex's income last year was 40 per cent greater than that of the combined income of the country's 50 biggest companies. Pemex accounted for 24.1 per cent of Mexico's federal tax income in 1980. Pemex was not the only state-owned firm which grew in 1980. Twenty six other companies, all at least partially state-owned, in mining, trade, iron and steel, automobiles and other key sectors, are helping to build the state's economic power. Their combined 1980 income was considerably greater than that of the entire federal government in 1979.

The state budget will grow 31.3 per cent in 1981, while private investment will grow between 11.5 and 13 per cent. Some 16.3 per cent of the 100 billion dollars which will be taken in by the federal government and its companies will be invested, with the rest going into public spending. Government expenditures will be divided into 54.6 per cent for the state itself and 45.4 per cent for state companies. Mexican officials say this growth in the budget will provide 750,000 new jobs a year, channelling investment in such a way as to avoid creating a welfare state. Private investors, however, see this as simply "a disproportionate and sudden surge in the government's financial power".—*IPS—Lankapuwath*



OIL AND ECOLOGY

## In Mexico

by  
**Miguel Juarez Del Rio**

*Mexico City, April 27:* With ecology on the verge of becoming a constitutional issue, the Mexican State Oil Company, PEMEX, has invested some 500 million dollars in environmental protection. Mexico's geographic and geological peculiarities have combined with the country's rapid industrial and demographic growth to push ecological problems to the forefront of political discussion here to enable the government to spend whatever is necessary to solve the problem. The issue has also aroused considerable public debate, with outlooks on the ecology problem ranging from doom laden warnings of imminent disaster to reassurances from technocrats who tend to underestimate the problem. Pemex took on the role of villain with the June 1979 oil spill in the Gulf of Mexico, the worst accident of its kind in the nation's history. That spill played a large part in calling public attention to the importance of the environment, and inspiring the government to double its efforts to look after it. Pemex has been highly visible in ecology efforts since the spill.

Pemex General Director, Jorge Diaz Serrano told the press last week that the 500 million dollar contribution has been spent on the construction of a better gas processing plant, a sulphur removal and recovery plant, and a water treatment plant as well as on the creation of exhaust elimination systems and equipment for coping with oil spills. He said the money also be spent on soil restoration machinery, and added that other projects of this type are already under construction at a further cost of 130 million dollars. Pemex's goal, said Diaz Serrano, is to prevent problems before they happen. Mexico's most radical

environmentalists insist that the solution to ecological problems does not depend solely on how much money is spent, but fundamentally, on the criteria for development. Pemex officials admit there is some truth to this analysis, but add that it cannot be used to deny the government's efforts in environmental preservation. In fact, Pemex officials say, their experience gained in the IXTOC I well spill helped to put the catastrophic predictions in a more realistic light. Pemex sources say that once the spill was cleaned up, the efficacy of measures designed to protect ocean life became clear. They point out that, thanks to these measures, the catch and quality of several commercially important species, especially shrimp, were unharmed.—*IPS—Lankapuwath*.



BRUSSELS

## China Week

*London, April 24:* A "China week" has come to an end in Brussels. It was arranged by the European Economic Community and the Chinese government. Nearly 100 high-ranking Peking officials, led by Vice-Premier Gu Mu, have left for home. As some observers predicted, the results of the conference have proved far from the great expectations of some West Europeans connected with the "China week". Thus, EEC officials and West-European industrialists expected to see the door of the Chinese market wide open to them and to receive profitable contracts. However, the Chinese did not go beyond politely listening to Western businessmen and financiers and assuring them of their sympathies.

The Peking visitors were also extremely polite at the talks on another problem of great interest to Western Europe—compensation for the losses, running into millions of marks, francs, etc. sustained by West-European companies as a result of China having unilaterally annulled many major contracts. It was in vain, that E. Davignon, Vice Chairman of the EC commission in charge of industrial affairs, appealed to the Chinese to preserve the "capital of trust China has won in the European industrial quarters" and to assure European businessmen that "an acceptable settlement on the ruptured contracts will be reached." Peking's visitors smiled as if they wanted to say that such a settlement "would be reached". However, they have not promised anything specific in this field, either.

As for the possibilities of increasing Chinese exports to the Ten, the entire hundred of Chinese visitors showed great business efficiency. They literally showered West Europeans with proposals. Although, according to the local press, millions of Chinese are

nearly starving, Peking is ready to dump Chinese foodstuffs to the Common Market. As a result of the "China week", Peking has succeeded in lowering the tariffs and increasing the quotas of deliveries of Chinese textiles, furs, pharmaceuticals and ores to Europe. This shows that the offensive of Chinese commodities on the Common Market, started a few years ago, continues. During the "China Week", R. Denman, Director General of the EEC commission's external relations directorate, said that last year, for the first time since 1976, the community registered a deficit from trade with China. Whereas the EEC exports to China dropped by 24 per cent in 1980, compared with the previous year, R. Denman said, the Chinese exports to the Common Market increased by 52 per cent.

A fall in West-European exports to China alarms the EEC bosses. However, the Common Market, for which foreign trade expansionism is a synonym of viability, does not want to lose a billion of prospective buyers. That is why, in particular, the EEC puts up with Peking's unsupported promises and with the recent rupture of contracts running into millions of marks, francs, etc. During the "China week", Brussels newspapers sometimes wrote, expressing their doubts, that Western Europe might lose its stake on the China "trump card". China, the newspaper *La Cite* wrote, is experiencing tremendous domestic difficulties. The country numbers nearly 26 million unemployed, and another 50 million people are working part time. Many West-European newspapers write about the signs of instability in China, the aggravation of contradictions in the country, and about the Chinese economy having become 'overheated'. This it should be believed, is clear both to Common Market officials and the leaders of the Ten. However, during the "China week" these apprehensions, were overwhelmed by the mirage of "unprecedented prospects", as a result of which the heads of the EEC Commission assured Peking of their readiness to develop economic and commercial ties with China.



**LETTERS TO THE EDITOR** must include the writer's full name and address and be signed to be considered for publication. You may add a pseudonym if you wish. If possible, give your telephone number and type the letter, double-spaced, on one side of the paper. Brevity is an advantage. We reserve the right to edit any letter selected. We do not accept for publication letters copied to us. You may either send us the original with the copy to the relevant authority or correspondent, or send separate letters under their respective cover.

## JAMAICA

# Crime and Violence

by **Sonia Hills**

*Kingston, April 28*: Six months after a violent electoral contest in which hundreds of people were killed, the problem of crime is causing renewed concern on this Caribbean island following an unusual number of deaths over Easter week-end and the murder of two political figures. Fourteen killings were reported over the Easter period, a time most Jamaicans traditionally devote to religious activities.

For Jamaicans who had begun to sleep more soundly following the post-October election lull in violence, the crime problem has returned like the stroke of a lash. For those trapped in depressed communities where the sound and sight of powerful guns are as common place as the barking of dogs, the problem has never gone away. "You learn to live with it, and just count yourself lucky every time you get spared", a resident of one of Kingston's most embattled neighbourhoods comments.

Violent crime has returned to public focus in recent days and it is difficult to determine whether there is a "resurgence" of the problem, or if it is a question of "renewed visibility". Within the last week, leaders of both major political parties and the general public have expressed "shock and horror" at murders of three persons closely connected to the opposition People's National Party (PNP). Last Wednesday, the mutilated body of Trevor Marston, a former city councillor and member of the party's National Executive Council, was found in the back seat of his motor car on a farm a few miles from Kingston. It is reported that his body bore the tag "PNP Activist". The People's National Party said the murder had "serious implications for the nation".

Even more shocking was the burning to death early Saturday morning of an 80 year old PNP politician and his wife. Claude Stuart and his wife Doris perished in their home in the rural parish of St. Mary when the building was set afire by thieves. A loudspeaker system in the Stuarts' home broadcast the threats of the robbers and the screams for help of the victims throughout the quiet rural countryside. . .but no help came. Firemen found the charred remains of the aged couple a few hours later when the fire was eventually extinguished. Stuart, a long-standing member of the PNP and a member of its National Executive was a Minister of Health in the 1950s. He has been decorated for public service.

The murders of these three prominent Jamaicans have not altogether overshadowed the daily reports of violent crime. Detailed crime stories in Jamaica's news media have raised the concern of the community about a problem which just will not go away.—

*IPS—Lankapuwath.*

## Grain Embargo

*Washington, 28/4/81:* Secretary of Commerce, Malcolm Baldrige, defended the timing of the lifting of the US grain embargo against the Soviet Union, saying that the Reagan administration has already amply signalled its intentions regarding the Soviet Union during its first three months in office.

Interviewed by Correspondents Charles Gibson and James Wooten on the ABC News Program "Issues and Answers" April 26, Baldrige was also questioned on Japanese auto imports and prospects for President Reagan's economic proposals. Following is the transcript of the interview on the Grain Embargo.

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**Question:** Mr. Secretary, to put it in the simplest terms, what possible purpose was served by lifting the Russian grain embargo now? The Russians are still in Afghanistan, the threat is still there to Poland, and yet we put them on the back and say we'll sell you grain again. What purpose was served? Why now?

**Answer:** Well, Charlie, let us review the bidding on that. You know when the President and the other candidates were at the time (the embargo was imposed) running for the (Presidential) nomination. Of six or seven Republican candidates, John Anderson, is the only one I can think of who was for grain embargo. The President (Reagan) certainly wasn't for it. He mentioned that several times in his campaign. It is not his embargo. He didn't think it was serving a useful purpose any more. I think he would like to have raised it when he first took office, but he was afraid that he would be sending the wrong signal to the Russians. So after—what? A hundred days?—between the number of times the President has sent across pretty hard signals, tough signals, to the Soviets and the number of times the Secretary (of State) Haig has done (so), I think there is no mistake in our intentions vis-a-vis the Soviets. So there is no purpose in keeping the embargo any more.

**Question:** But the time is so peculiar—the Farm Bill coming up on the hill (in the Congress) and this is the week that the Budget crunch begins for the President. Why shouldn't the Americans take a rather cynical view that this was really done to buy votes from farm state Congressmen?

**Answer:** Political reasons in this town have to be considered, along with everything else, but that was far away from the major reason. The fact is that if (the

administration) has been in for three months now with the new President. It was not his embargo in the first place. He didn't think it was the right thing to do, to have the farmers take the major share of that sacrifice. It was not all that effective in the light of adequate retribution against the Soviets for moving into Afghanistan; he just didn't like the program. So if he is going to lift it after having sent clear enough signals on his foreign policy to the Soviets, why not lift it now? I think it is an intelligent thing to do right now—now rather than six months from now.

**Question:** But as a matter of fact, there are rather cogent views to the effect that, when we supply grain to the Soviet Union—any grain at all—that we are allowing them to have both guns and butter. We are helping them and that we are participating to one degree or another in such events as Afghanistan and the threat to Poland. If you were in the Soviet Politburo, now, what signal would you be getting from Ronald Reagan?

**Answer:** Well, in the first place, the grain embargo probably costs the Soviets ten percent of their normal crop. It costs them a lot in terms of shipping problems transportation problems, extra expenses and so forth; but, if I were in the Politburo and I had heard President Reagan's speeches before he became President and heard his talks since he became President about how the United States felt about possible future Russian aggression and heard Secretary of State Haig talk on the same subject, I would have no doubt in my mind about the American policy. I would think it would make sense to lift the grain embargo, and I would not take that as a signal of weakness in any way, shape or form. I would take it as a sense of security that this President feels strong enough to be able to do that and withstand what I think would be a minor amount of criticism in the area that you are talking about.

**Question:** Does the administration have what you once described as sufficient reason, private assurance from the Soviets that...?

**Answer:** No, I don't think there have been any private assurances, but there clearly has been a lessening of tension in Central Europe, centered around Poland. There is no question about that. Things look a lot better there than they did. Poland is having a lot of trouble financially. As you know, they have had a lot of trouble with their own food crops in the last year. There has been a definite lessening of tension with the Russians having moved away in some part from that area now.

**Question:** But they still stand at what Secretary Weinberger calls combat-ready status. They have their wartime communications network still in place. It just occurs to me that, you know, has there been any real change? Is there a real lessening of tensions in Eastern Europe?

**Answer:** Well, there is still a great amount of tension. The tension is less, but there is still a great amount, obviously, but there was no *quid pro quo* on this grain embargo. It was just that the President thought it was time to lift it.

**Question:** But I thought that was what the President had decided would be the premise for lifting the embargo—a *quid pro quo*?

**Answer:** No, that was one of many things that could have happened that, perhaps, would have enabled him to lift it sooner, but he has never stated that it would take *quid pro quo*. The fact is he didn't think it was an affective enough tool—a kind of retribution against a move in Afghanistan—when it was first imposed. So he has always been against it. The question is to send the right kind of signal to the Russians so that there is no mistake about our policy and our intentions so they understand that, and once that has been done, and it has been done in the past three months there is no real reason to keep that embargo on.

**Question:** But I am reminded of the fact that, when Jimmy Carter recognized Red China, the Conservatives, the Republicans screamed loud and hard in this country—what are we getting in return? You can ask the same question—what are we getting in return in this instance? We haven't gotten any concessions out of the Soviets and, yet, we make this. It seems to me that you can only read this as a domestic political move.

**Answer:** No. I think you can read it as a mark of a President who is very secure in what he knows what the situation is and what he can do and what his

future program will be. The President is secure enough to take whatever minor flak there is over this because he never liked the program in the first place. If this had been his embargo, then you could talk about, well we ought to have a *quid pro quo* or something like that, in order to remove it, but it was not his embargo. It was (former President) Jimmy Carter's embargo. It was not a satisfactory answer to the Soviet move into Afghanistan. So why not take it off? It is just making a great segment of our economy—the farming segment—sacrifice for not so great results. I think it is common sense. It shows some courage in lifting it. I don't think the kinds of questions you are asking will last too long. I really don't. It is a wise move. . .



A TRIBUTE TO

## Raju Coomaraswamy

From Daughter Radhika

IN LIFE one is called upon to play many roles. Each of these roles is associated with an ideal. What characterized my father Raju Coomaraswamy was that he fulfilled all his roles to near perfection. As a son; husband, father, father-in-law, brother, brother-in-law, uncle, friend or public servant, few would question that he was an embodiment of the ideal.

In many ways, he was a man of contradictions. Born during the height of the British Empire, his outward appearance manifested westernized manners and habits. His clothes, his tastes and irresistible charm were the refined products of a modern, dynamic age. However, he never forgot—and never let his children forget—what is believed was the source of his strength and his identity. Nurtured between and closely associated with two of the most prestigious temples in the Jaffna peninsula, the Nallur Kandasamy Kovil and the Kailasanatha Pillayar Kovil, he was steadfast in his religious beliefs. It is appropriate that one of his last acts before his death was to make his annual contribution to the temple festivities which are presently taking place in Jaffna.

What characterized my father's success in international diplomacy and in walking the political tight-rope was that he was a good listener. He freely accepted advice and delegated responsibility to those whom he felt were capable. In the forty years of his professional life he was never known to have lost his temper. In addition, he believed in the free market place of ideas. It was not unusual for people of every political persuasion to visit and consult with him. They realized that they would be given a fair and patient hearing and that my father would play the part of honest broker, if he

LETTER

Sir,

### RESTATEMENT

As a substitute for the subject matter in the last paragraph of my letter under the heading DISENFRANCHISEMENT which appeared on page 31 of the March 14 issue of *Tribune* I make the following re-statement which I trust you will accept and publish.

"Disenfranchise and disenfranchisement are words that have come to stay despite their 'inferiority'. They have gained currency by analogy with words such as disengage and disengagement and disentangle and disentanglement etc."

**Dr. H. D. Wallbeoff Jansz**

15th March 1981.



elt that their cause was justified. This capacity to listen and accept a wide variety of view points gave him a gentleness of manner and a soft humour which was the clue to his success at the negotiating table.

The prime motive which guided his professional life, whether internationally or locally, was a firm belief in "the public interest". Whichever government he served, he never failed to privately express his dissent when he felt that public decisions were being made for private benefit or for political one-upmanship. Whenever his children or relatives were to act in a manner which may have jeopardised his public position or standing, he would urge them to go ahead and forget, about him. In this commitment to the public good he was like his friends, the dying race of civil service giants such as K. Kanagasunderam, Shirely Amerasinghe and Herbert Tennekoon, whose deaths he so deeply mourned. Their interpretation of "public interest" may have been coloured by their class and public standing, but there was the ability to transcend pettiness and political manipulation, to look beyond their own interests, to identify and give expression to what they believed was the common good. Their independence and incorruptibility will be sorely missed in the public service of this country.

What endeared my father to people of all ages and all beliefs was his complete and unabashed love of life and the variety that life had to offer. His love of food, drink and his persuasive power over members of the opposite sex have been all recorded being the subject of many of his own humorous anecdotes. He loved the beauty of nature, spending the little leisure time he had planning trips to different parts of the country. He pursued a plurality of interests, often diverse and conflicting. Sports and cricket

were a main area of his interests. When he stopped athletics, playing cricket and tennis, he spent much of his time analysing, criticizing and evaluating cricket matches, urging his son and nephews to greater successes on the playing fields. Throughout his life, he exercised strenuously and even on the day of his death, he had completed his daily dose of calisthenics and exercises without any difficulty. Much has been said about the fact that he produced plays and took an active interest in the theatre world. But, his first love was music especially the lyrical quality of Chopin's Waltzes. He had mastered most of them by ear and practised his favourite pieces for two hours each day.

He had very little to regret in life for life treated him well. His only disappointment in recent years was that the slow processes of the law had deprived him of his home, books and possessions for over three years, thus preventing him from settling down to write his memoirs, a task which he felt would be a major contribution to an understanding of the public processes in the country. Except for this, he knew no resentment or bitterness. He knew no illness except the common cold, and he knew no sorrow except that of others. He was blessed by the Gods, but gave joy to those nearest to him. Despite my closeness to his life, which may have distorted some of my perceptions, I can only conclude as with Mark Anthony:

*"He only, in general honest thought  
And common good to all, made one of them,  
His life was gentle, and the elements  
so mix'd in him that Nature might stand up  
And say, to all the world, "This was a Man!"*

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## Interdiction Gimmick?

IS IT NOT TRUE that the *Weekend* of April 12 published a front-page item which read: "Nineteen managers of milk collecting centres of the National Milk Board have been interdicted by the Rural Industrial Development Ministry for alleged attempts to adulterate milk, the SLBC announced last night"? That in this matter, *Tribune* has the right to say: "We told you so..."? That there are a few questions in this connection, *Tribune* would like to ask? Will all of the nineteen or at least some of them be reinstated (with back wages) after a few sermons on Ahimsa and on good behaviour as it had happened to National Milk Board (NMB) employees who had been caught adulterating milk with bowser loads of water sometime ago: will these interdictions be the end of any serious attempt to end adulteration of milk: has any attempt been made to get the top men in the Mafia who had made adulteration possible and who had permitted it to go on all these years: are these belated interdictions an attempt to prove managerial vigilance or is it a smokescreen to divert attention: is all this a publicity stunt to pave the way for a further sellout to 60/40 Nestles?

THAT a *Tribune* reader has written to say that he has collected nearly all the articles and comments in the last five years when this paper spotlighted malpractices in the NMB? That he has offered to write full length articles out of them? That the point is that neither the old SLFP government nor the present UNP government has been able to eliminate corruption, thievery and inefficiency in the NMB? That there is no doubt that this could have been done with the assistance of local technocrats and managerial expertise? That it can be done has been shown by the Fisheries Corporation? That the Ministry of Fisheries did not call upon a Fishing Multinational from the USA, or Norway, or Taiwan, or Japan to take over fishing operations in the island and all the plants of the Fisheries Corporation? That it is not understandable why the Ministry in charge of Sri Lanka's dairy business should invite Nestles, the world's biggest and most dangerous multi-national (to Third World countries) to take over the Government's many billion-rupee investment in the dairy business on a sell out of 60-40 basis? That there would not have been slightest difficulty to sack or "retire" all the bad eggs in the NMB (as in the case of the Fisheries) and invite honest Sri Lankan managerial executives to run the dairy business as a going government concern?

That strange things seem to happen in the NMB—under the SLFP as well as the UNP? That those who care for this country should find out why these inter-

dictions had come so late: whether any of those (19) interdicted have been reinstated: whether any attempt was made to investigate the organised adulteration racket to unravel the whole rotten system: whether there has been a follow up to these nineteen interdictions: or, whether it is thought that a SLBC announcement about interdictions was sufficient to bamboozle the public that NMB's Augean stables was cleansed? That there was a news item in the *Sun* (20.4.81) that, the Ministry had decided to hand over three districts, in the NWP (coconut triangle) and in the NCP to Nestles to collect all the milk to make milk powder? That all this milk will go out of the decreasing liquid milk supplies in this country? That this is being done when there is a world-wide campaign against powdered milk and infants milk powder? That one aspect of this campaign is the WHO-led campaign against infant milk powder and feeding bottles? That whilst India has successfully achieved a White (Milk) Revolution as an adjunct of the Green Revolution and has now taken steps to prohibit the manufacturers of infant food and feeding bottles from advertising their products? That this can best be supported by increasing liquid milk supplies (especially for mothers who breast-feed their children)? That instead of providing liquid milk, the NMB is proposing to hand over some of our best dairy areas to Nestles to make milk powder? That after sometime we will be told that as there was a surplus, the milk powder would be exported—unmindful of the fact that cheap liquid milk will be denied to the people? That there could be a limit to this kind of "export-oriented" highway robbery that threatens the health of the nation?

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The Land Acquisition Act (Cap. 460) as amended by the Land Acquisition (Amendment) Act No. 28 of 1964  
NOTICE UNDER SECTION 7

3/64/376

Ref No: \_\_\_\_\_

03J.77L.50(VE)

It is intended to acquire the Land/Lands described in the Schedule below. For further particulars please see the Gazette of the Democratic Socialist Republic of Sri Lanka, No: 140 C Part II of 08-05-1981.

### SCHEDULE

*Name of Village etc.*- Ihala Nrangamuwa village in Medapattu East Korale, Pannala D.R.O.'s Division, Kurunegala District.

*Name of Land*:- 1. Thotillagahamulla-Etikehelhena  
2. Thalagahamula Watta  
3. Thotillagahamulahena

*Plan and Lot No*:- Lot Nos. 61, 62, 63 in Supplement No. 3 in F.V.P. 380.

**A. George**  
District Land Officer,  
Kurunegala District.

The Kachcheri,  
Kurunegala,  
10th April, 1981.

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