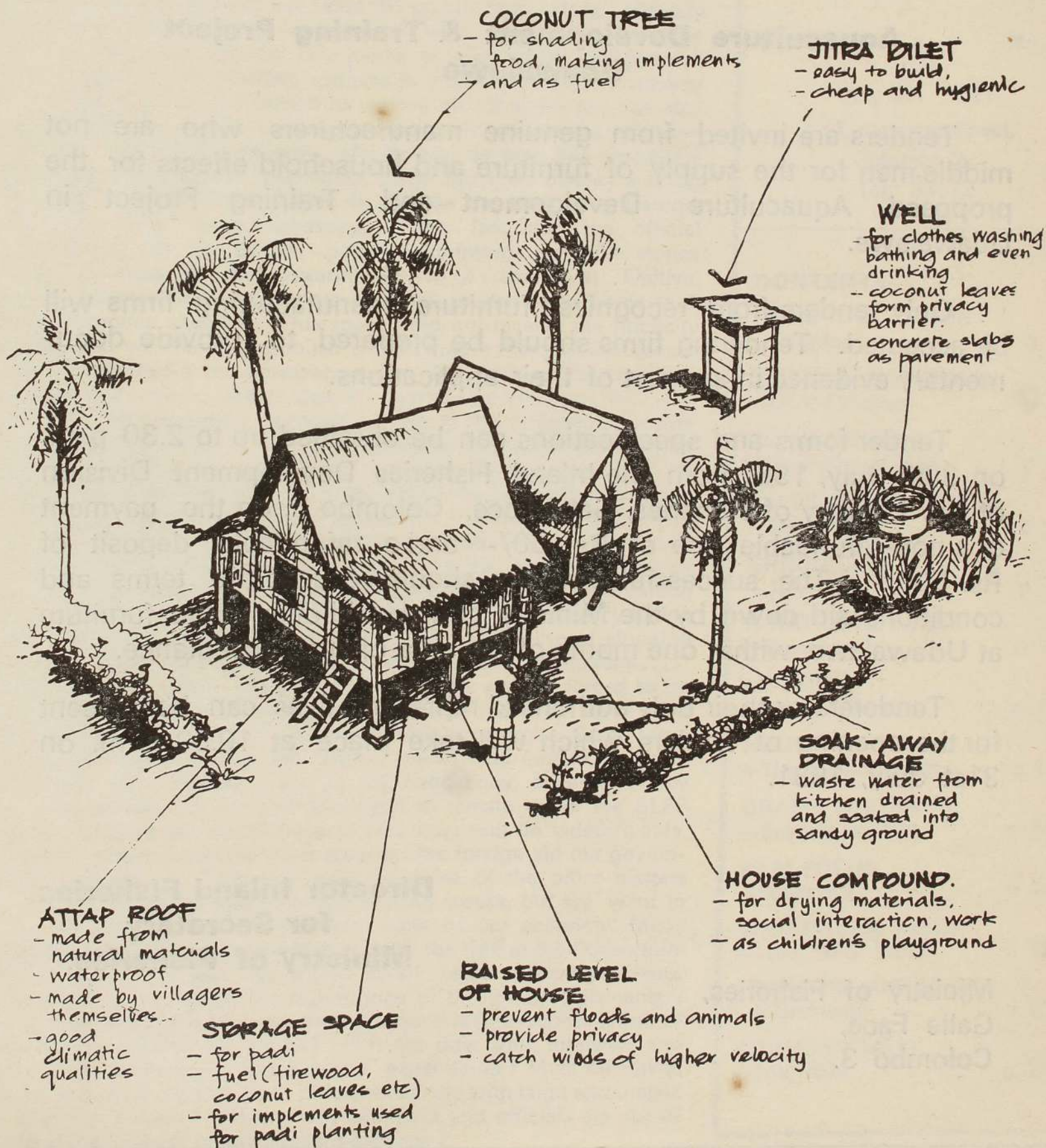


TRIBUNE



26TH YEAR OF PUBLICATION



TENDER NOTICE

MINISTRY OF FISHERIES

**Supply of Furniture for Administration Block,
Lecture Room, Hostel and Quarters for
Foreign Advisers**

**Aquaculture Development & Training Project
Udawalawe**

Tenders are invited from genuine manufacturers who are not middle-men for the supply of furniture and household effects for the proposed Aquaculture Development and Training Project in Udawalawe.

Only tenders from recognized furniture manufacturing firms will be accepted. Tendering firms should be prepared to provide documentary evidence in support of their applications.

Tender forms and specifications can be obtained up to 2.30 p. m. on 30th July, 1981 from the Inland Fisheries Development Division of the Ministry of Fisheries, Galle Face, Colombo 3, on the payment of a non-refundable fee of Rs. 50/- and a refundable deposit of Rs. 500/-. The successful tenderer should accept the terms and conditions laid down by the Ministry, and should deliver the furniture at Udawalawe within one month of the date of such acceptance.

Tenderers or their duly authorised representatives can be present for the opening of tenders which will take place at 10.30 a. m. on 31st July, 1981.

**Director Inland Fisheries
for Secretary
Ministry of Fisheries.**

Ministry of Fisheries,
Galle Face,
Colombo 3.

LETTER FROM THE EDITOR

ON THE COVER we have a picture of a typical traditional Malay house built with locally available material and found suitable for the country through the centuries. Elsewhere in this issue appears the first of five articles which show that such a traditional house is preferable, especially in a Third World country, to the housing estate typeplan tenement. Malaysia, in the first flush of mass house-building activity, had fallen victim to the spurious virtues of brick, mortar and tiled structures suggested by Western-trained architects and builders. Now it is having second thoughts on the matter. Sri Lanka too has made this mistake for many years, but in the last three years the government has run amok spending billions to erect little concrete monstrosities totally unsuited for our climate and for the needs of ordinary people, **Tribune** has had occasion in the past to point out that "houses" in our model villages are not what the people need and are certainly not what the country can afford. Nobody can justify the expense, especially when the bulk goes into the invisible pockets of contractors and the oily palms of graft-ridden hangers-on. The money spent on our housing exercise is not only a massive subsidy by a government which is pledged to remove all subsidies but has also in no small measure contributed to the grave financial crisis that has overtaken this country. The Finance Minister, Mr. Ronnie de Mel, has repeatedly drawn attention to it, but unfortunately, many Ministers display a smug complacency that has already begun to deprive the UNP of grassroots support. But even more distressing is the fact that the official media, especially the big dailies, persist in printing sunshine stories about the finances of the government. In a speech at Elpitiya, on July 11, Finance Minister, Ronnie de Mel, uttered some home-truths about the economic situation. This speech did not receive the publicity it deserves, and we therefore publish a translated extract which speaks for itself. "Mass media, the newspapers and the radio, in this country", he said, "are daily telling people that Sri Lanka is flowing with milk and honey. This is a completely distorted picture of the economic impasse that the country is facing Sri Lanka is among the 18 poorest countries in the world. Our annual expenditure is double the income. We can continue with our development projects only because of the generous foreign aid grants and gifts we have received. But for them, we would have to call off the accelerated development programmes. The more development projects we have, greater will be the amount of money that goes into circulation. Therefore, it is impossible to step the inflation which has become rampant. When public expenditure increases inflation follows. That is a simple monetary theory. Often this kind of situation can lead to internal strife, unrest and even riots and revolutions" Then he struck a personal note and said: "Though we are forced to go with the begging bowl all over the world, I do so not to enjoy or cry. I don't go abroad on picnics. I don't go with a large entourage. Some leave the country and come back to the country amidst loud fanfare. Some of my opponents have described me as the beggar boy, because of my frequent trips abroad. If we had continued to remain under the SLFP the economic chaos we would have to face now will be indescribable. No other Sri Lankan government has received the foreign aid our government has received" We will revert to some of the other matters he has touched on in his speech in the coming weeks, but we want to underline his warning about the present state of our economy. Many think that \$950 million credit permitted to us by the IMF at the Consortium meeting in Tokyo this year has solved all Sri Lanka's fiscal problems. They do not seem to realise the significance of the latest Parliamentary sanction for printing an additional three thousand million rupees worth of currency notes. Whither Sri Lanka? Is it not time what ministers and ministries prune unnecessary and wasteful expenditure? Must Ministers, Secretaries and other officials fly to different capitals with large entourages on the slightest excuse? How many Ministers and officials are out of the island at the moment on government expense?

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DDC Elections-3

UNP View

It is necessary to examine how different parties have reacted to the results of the DDC elections. Let us first take the UNP. It has so far not issued an analysis of the statistics of the full voting results for the 17 DDCs. But UNP Ministers and **The UNP Journal** have made comments on different aspects of the results. But most of these statements were made before the results of the Jaffna elections were known on June 16.

The **Ceylon Daily News**, a government-owned paper, on June 6, published two reports which put forward the UNP view. The first under the headline UNP STRENGTH SAME IN NORTH AND EAST read as follows: "The United National Party has gained control of 20 of the 24 development councils for which elections were held on Thursday. The results of the elections for all Development Councils except Jaffna were announced on Thursday night. The results of the Jaffna Development Council was not announced as the votes was not counted on Thursday due to the non-conformity of some election officials to the counting procedure. The UNP was returned uncontested for seven districts.—Nuwara Eliya, Matara, Moneragala, Kegalle, Kandy, Kurunegala and Ratnapura. It won all the seats in two districts—Polonnaruwa and Matale. Of the balance 11 councils in Batticaloa and Trincomalee the Tamil United Liberation Front (TULF) won the chairmanship of the Development Councils on the basis of the TULF winning the highest number of votes. But the UNP had the control of those Development Councils because it had more MPs. In Trincomalee, the TULF obtained 44,692 votes as against the 42,388 by the UNP. TULF's Mr. A. Thangathurai was declared elected as chairman. But the UNP had two MPs as against one by the TULF. Hence the Trincomalee Development Council will have 3 UNP members as against 2 TULF.

"The same situation prevails in Batticaloa too. The TULF won two seats and Mr. S. Sambanthamoorthy was declared chairman. The UNP won one seat. But of the four MPs the UNP has three and the TULF one. So the final strength of the Batticaloa Development Council will be UNP 4 and TULF 3. The TULF captured three Development Councils—Vavuniya, Mullaitivu and Mannar. But in all these councils the UNP had won two seats. The TULF too won two seats. But because the MP belongs to the TULF it has got the majority. One important factor of this election is that the UNP has received almost the same number of votes as the TULF in the Northern and Eastern provinces of the six districts for which the

results have been declared. The UNP obtained 202,457 votes as against the 205,301 votes obtained by the TULF. The All Ceylon Tamil Congress which is the third approved political party to contest the election was virtually eliminated. Its candidates lost their deposits in Colombo, Vavuniya, Mullaitivu and Mannar.

"This election has seen the emergence of the Jathika Vimukthi Peramuna as the main opposition party. It captured seats in Anuradhapura (1), Galle (2), Hambantota (1), Gampaha (3) Badulla (2) and Colombo (4). Five leading members of the Ceylon Workers' Congress whose President Mr. S. Thondaman holds a Cabinet portfolio were elected to the Development Councils on the UNP list; They are: Mr. M. S. Sellasamy, General Secretary of the CWC (Colombo) Mr. M. Subbiah (Badulla); Mr. Jaya Peri Sanderam (Nuwara Eliya) Mr. V. Annamalai (Kandy) and Mr. A. M. D. Rajan (Ratnapura). The break-away group of the SLFP that contested Matale obtained only 9,951 votes. The SLFP, LSSP and CP boycotted the elections.

"One of the eight women who contested the election was elected the Chairman of the Gampaha Development Council. She is Mrs. Kulaseeli Perera. Four others were also elected. They are Samanthadevi Mahamaya Kularatne (Kegalle), H. A. Jayawardene Hamine (Kurunegala), Rani Adikari (Anuradhapura) and Suranimala Rajapakse (Gampaha). All contested on the UNP. Two women fielded by the JVP were defeated. The result of Jayasili Amma Abaraham who contested an Independent in Jaffna is not known. One of the candidates elected uncontested for Nuwara Eliya development Council, Mr. Sumit Jayasekera, died in a car accident a few days after the nomination. In accordance the election law, the sixth candidate in the UNP list, Mr. Abdul Muthalib, took his place. Only one candidate who filed the nomination died before the election. That was Mr. A. Thiagarajah, who headed the UNP list for the Jaffna Development Council election. He was shot dead while returning from a public meeting. His place was taken by Mr. S. V. Chanthirasegaram, who earlier occupied the second place in the list. Polling for the 17 Development Councils started at 7 a.m. on Thursday at 4,291 polling stations in bright weather. The polls closed at 4 p.m. For the first time the counting was done at the polling stations and the ballot boxes were taken to the kachcheries where the final computation of the results were made...."

No comment is called for on this incomplete analysis. On the same day, the **Ceylon Daily News** had another report, with the headline ATTANAGALA NO LONGER MRS. B'S POCKET BOROUGH, read: 'Mr. K. P. Paul Perera, Deputy Chairman of the Greater Colombo Economic Commission and his wife, Mrs. Kulaseeli Perera, Chief Organiser for Attanagala and the newly elected

Chairman of the Gampaha Development Council said yesterday that in the Attanagala electorate the United National Party had gained an increase of 6,000 votes over the General Election figure. Mr. and Mrs. Perera analysing the results of the elections to the Gampaha Development Council said they showed that as far as Attanagalla was concerned it was no longer a pocket borough of Mrs. Bandaranaike or anyone in her family. At the 1977 General Election the UNP candidate for Attanagalla polled 19,553 votes but at the Gampaha DC elections on Thursday the UNP mustered 25,552 which was an increase of 6,000 over the votes cast for the UNP in 1977. What was significant in the polling at Attanagalla is that while nearly 70 per cent had polled, the UNP had increased its votes whereas in other electorates there has been a drop in the UNP votes when compared to the votes received by the UNP candidates in those electorates in the General Election of 1977.

"Mrs. Perera was highly encouraged by the pattern of voting for the UNP in Attanagalla which she and her husband had organised for only one year now. Mr. and Mrs. Perera described the victory at Attanagalla as a common man's victory. 'It is really a peoples' victory and proved that there is no magic in the Bandaranaike name. We did not trouble any MPs who were busy themselves to visit over electorate. It were the ordinary people in Attanagalla, who went from house to house and obtained support for the UNP. They were disillusioned that nothing had been done for 40 year's.

"The figures in Attanagalla also showed that 70 percent had cast their votes. There had been 13,000 votes polled against the UNP—7,000 spoilt probably on the instructions of the SLFP and 6,000 votes for the JVP. The polling in other electorates appear to be much less and the figures show a decline in the number of votes cast for the UNP on Thursday when compared to the votes received in 1977. The breakdown in the 13 electoral districts in the Gampaha District is as follows :

	1977 (GE)	1981 (DC)
Attanagalla	19,553	25,552
Wattala	26,355	20,613
Negombo	28,470	20,733
Katana	23,950	19,313
Divulapitiya	24,554	19,227
Mirigama	30,877	17,046
Je-ela	31,054	21,409
Minuwangoda	29,315	21,023
Matara	20,016	15,991
Biyagama	22,045	18,129
Kelaniya	23,477	16,719
Gampaha	25,816	16,252
Dompe	26,050	17,749

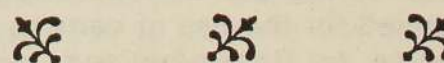
This report too betrayed a sectarian bias by paying special attention to problems centred around the Attanagalla area.

On the next day, June 7th, the **Weekend** highlighted a statement by Minister Lalith Athulathmudali in which he found satisfaction (from the UNP point of view) in the results for the North and East without paying any consideration for the still uncounted votes for Jaffna. Under the heading : DC POLLS RESULTS: REJECTION OF EELAM SAYS LALITH it read : "An analysis of the election results to the Amparai, Batticaloa and Trincomalee districts clearly indicates that majority of the Tamil-speaking population in the area have rejected the Eelam cry, Minister of Trade, Lalith Athulathmudali told **Weekend**. 'In the Eastern Province the UNP polled 168,299 votes as against the 156,869 votes obtained by the TULF. The Muslim candidates have obtained 16,698 votes. Since the Muslims are also anti-Eelam these votes may be added to the votes of the anti-Eelam UNP. This we can see that not only the Muslims but also the Tamil comrades are against Eelam, Mr. Athulathmudali, said. When we analyse the results in Mannar, Vavuniya and the Vanni areas in the North we can see that there too the majority is against Eelam. The UNP polled 34,140 from these areas as against 48,322 polled by the TULF. The Tamil Congress polled 2,429 votes. Here too 40 percent of the voters are against Eelam. When you added the votes received in the Eastern Province and the electorates in the North for the UNP and the TULF it again proves that the majority is against Eelam. There is no Tamil or Muslim or Sinhala problem in Sri Lanka today. It has been regarded as a problem only by certain sections in the Jaffna District. The majority of the Tamils are anti-Eelam and do not support the cry to create a separate state. This has been proved at the last DC election held in the East and the North'"

Both reports, one on Attanagalla and the other on the North and East are partisan intended to get the maximum mileage for the UNP out of the elections—by stretching (and twisting) the statistics to fulfil a propaganda objective.

The **UNP Journal** of June 12, apart from publishing the results of 14 seats of the 17 districts where polling had taken place had three comments on matters arising from the elections, viz: PERSPECTIVES FOR NDCs, SPECIALIST IN THE FUDGING GAME and LEADERSHIP DELUSIONS OF SLFP.

To be continued.



Where Time Stands Still

By W. Lionel Fernando

MAWADICHENAI in Ichalampattu in the Seruwila electorate is a little Tamil village of two hundred families where the cock's crow and the wending of cattle homeward remind them of the dawn and dusk of another day. Otherwise time has no meaning for these backward, innocent people who still cherish their ancient customs and habits and live as a separate entity from the rest of the population. For all intents and purposes time stands still in Mawadichenai.

Mawadichenai still nourishes its primitive habits and customs and men with matted hair with a loin-cloth tied round their waists could yet be seen squatting by the road-side. Though not sannyasis in essence and not practising any cult, they strike a note of antiquity and bring back to your mind the days of old when perhaps Brahmins lived in most parts of this region. History records that during the eleventh and twelfth centuries Brahmins lived in Kantalai and was a centre of Hindu influence during the Chola occupation (993-1070). Even with the cessation of the Chola occupation of this region, Brahmins continued to live in these regions and the Sinhala kings who succeeded the Cholas extended their patronage to the Brahmins and their places of worship.

The SAIVA SHRINE at Kantalai also known as Vijayaraja Iswaram is supposed to have been established by Vijaya Bahu I while the Kantalai tank established during the region of Aggabodhi II (604-614) was known both as Gangatata and Gangatala. An inscription of Parakrama Bahu I (1156-1186) gives the length of its bund as 4,300 riyan. An inscription of the reign of Vijaya Bahu I (1055-1110) recording a gift by a Brahmin, the place is named Kantalay "alias Vijayaraja-chaturvedi-mangalam". Nissanka Malla got the Parvati Alms Hall put up at Gangatala, also called Chaturveda-Brahmapura and declared the tank a sanctuary for animals. In the 13th century, Tamils were in occupation of the Gantala district.

Mawadichenai lies on the ancient Trincomalee-Batticaloa road and is a few miles from the Kiliveddy ferry towards Batticaloa. A pre-Christian inscription found in Ichalampattu near the 50th mile on this road is proof that the road had existed in some form or other for a considerable length of time. The road today is in a most dilapidated condition and for decades it has not seen any major repairs. It remains today as it was during the British period—a narrow road then intended for the use of carts to carry goods from Trincomalee to Batticaloa and vice versa. It has then, as today, to cross a number of ferries and the journey from Trincomalee to Batticaloa would have

taken days. It passes through elephant infested jungle land and goes under water during the rainy season making it impassable for nearly four months from November to February and sometimes till the end of March. It is given a little patch-work repair during the Seruwila Pilgrim season and during the Verugal Hindu temple festival at the eastern end of the Trincomalee district bordering the Verugal ferry.

ICHCHALAMPATTU is a little island by itself surrounded by the sea and the Mahaveli river and its people live the life of islanders cut off from the rest of the civilisation. Before the abolition of the Village Committee system, Ichchalampattu formed one Village Committee with nine wards and a voting strength of 1,791 according to the 1979 voters' list. Almost its entire population is Tamil with a sprinkling of Sinhalese, who had come there as government minor employees and settled down. Mawadichenai has its own quota of Sinhalese numbering three among two hundred Tamil families. The three of them had married Tamil women and live in amity with the rest of the Tamils in spite of Eelam. Politically they are mostly Federalists with a few supporting the UNP and the SLFP.

Mawadichenai has three boutiques catering for the two hundred families and no complaints are made of profiteering or lack of essential goods. The prices are on a par with any boutique in an urban city. For instance when Colombo open market sold coconuts at Rs. 2/50 a nut, Mawadichenai also sold the same sized coconut with husks at the same price. The three boutiques stock all essential items, including tinned fish and milk food. Provisions have to be brought every fortnight from Trincomalee and a journey to Trincomalee and back by bus and lunch cost both money and time.

AS ISLANDERS the inhabitants of Mawadichenai and the rest of Ichchalampattu maintain their ancient habits, traditions and customs. Traditionally they are hospitable and go out of their way to make you feel one with them. I lived two days with them, without knowing a word of Tamil, slept on the mud floor of their houses, ate their food and mixed freely with them without any feeling of Sinhala and Tamil. The ancient marriage customs are still preserved by them and cattle, as in the days of old, form the main part of a women's dowry at marriage. Most of them marry into their own families and are proud to add to their stock and preserve ancestral wealth.

Ichchalampattu has one of the most ancient places of Hindu worship at Verugal where Murugan or Skanda is worshipped. Its annual festival is conducted under Government auspices. It is said that the temple was originally owned by the descendants of Indians who were invited by the Sinhala kings to cultivate paddy in the region. The poosaries practising in this temple are even today, it is said, are the descendants of the original owners of the temple.

Though conservative in outlook, a tippler once in a way lends a happy note to an otherwise dull life of the people. Government servants on transfer to this place always live with a grievance, a "Siberia" lurking in their mind, without quarters to live or bring their families. Living with outsiders cut off entirely from the rest of civilisation with hardly a new face to look at, except on his occasional official visits to the D.R.O's office of the Kachcheri, his only solace is the "bottle" which makes him forget his woes. I met one such at Mawadichenai who is happiest and most garrulous when under the influence of the "bottle", but otherwise as sober as a child. To a visitor he provides an occasion for relaxation.

Seasonal visitors to the shores of Ichalampattu are the migrant fishermen from Negombo. They fish in these shores and sell fish fairly cheap to the residents of Mawadichenai and the rest of the Pattu for their daily consumption and transport the rest either to Colombo or their home town converting any left-overs to dried-fish. Every morning the fish-vendor calls at the door step with his basketfull of fresh, uniced fish and sells it cheap to the Mawadichenites.

With sun-set Mawadichenai goes to bed and is up with the cock's crow. That is how they reckon their day.



PALESTINE STUDIES—2

Territorial Deprivation

By A Special Correspondent

PALESTINE means different things to different people. To the Western powers, led by Great Britain, it was conceived that a Jewish Home "should be founded in Palestine" and that this meant not the imposition of a Jewish nationality upon the inhabitants of Palestine as a whole, but the further development of the existing Jewish community with the assistance of Jews in other parts of the world in order to make it become a centre in which the Jewish people as a whole may take, on the grounds of religion and race, an interest and a pride.

It is interesting to note that Churchill spoke of a "Home for the Jews," not of a Zionist State. In the letter from the British Foreign Secretary to Lord Rothschild which has come to be known as the Balfour Declaration, it was "clearly understood that nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine..." In the Preamble to the Mandate awarded Great Britain, it was given the responsibility for "safeguarding the civil and religious rights of all the inhabitants of Palestine, irrespective of race and religion." Nearly sixty years later, these same

values, now additionally protected by the principles of the United Nations Charter, the Geneva Conventions of 1949, and the 1977 Protocols additional to the Geneva Conventions of 1949, have remained unrealized in Palestine. Additionally, by settling the occupied territories in the West Bank and Gaza areas with Jewish immigrants following the 1967 conflict, a policy of abuse has become the official policy of the Israeli government.

No one quarrels with the need or sincerity of Israel's security concerns. However, occupation of the West Bank and Gaza is now viewed by the Israeli government as a matter of right, not a matter of security. Dr. Yehuda Blum, professor of law at the Hebrew University, recently expressed his judgement that under international law, Israel "cannot be considered as an occupying power" in the West Bank and further, that "Israel's rights to Judea, Samaria, and the Gaza Strip are not subject to the limitations formerly imposed by international law on a belligerent occupant." Professor Blum further stated that "the moment Israel wishes to extend its law and jurisdiction and administration to Judea and Samaria, it is entitled to do so." This posture, as expressed by Dr. Blum, is also clearly that of the Israeli government. In an October 25, 1977 statement entitled "Jewish Settlement in the Areas Administered by Israel," the Israeli Embassy in Washington, D.C., asserted that "an overall reading of Article 49 of the Fourth Geneva Convention makes it evident that its purpose is solely to protect local populations from displacement and that since no Arab inhabitants have been displaced by Jewish settlement it is clear that the situation envisaged in Article 49 of the Geneva Convention does not apply to the Jewish settlement in question." (This claim has been asserted in conjunction with the) argument that Israel is not an occupying power in the context of Article 49 (6) of the Fourth Geneva Convention since Jordan, the prior sovereign, did not hold legitimate title.

Despite, these claims, the language of the sixth clause of Article 49 of the Fourth Geneva Convention is clear: "The occupying power shall not deport or transfer parts of its own civilian population into the territory it occupies," With respect to the legitimacy of claims as applied to Jordan, respected international scholars and the United Nations itself have pointed out that there are no qualifications of exceptions to this provision in Article 49 (6). Former Senator Aburezk, in his recent report to the Senate Judiciary Committee, observed: "By no stretch of the legal imagination can this or any other provision of the Fourth Geneva Convention be tortured into authorisation for a belligerent occupying power to exempt itself from its voluntarily contracted treaty obligation because it contests the legitimacy of the governing authority it displaced. The first rule of legal interpretation is that the law means what it says and not something different; the second is

that authoritative interpretation is to be provided by impartial authorities and not by partisan belligerents. To affirm otherwise is an assault upon the very spirit of the law and as insult to the intelligence"

ONE MIGHT ASK, is this settlement policy really an example of state terrorism or is it a questionable human rights practice more properly reserved to Israel's internal jurisdiction? When the goals of the policy are considered, the answer is obvious. Golda Meir stated the government of Israel's position in 1969 when she said: "There (is) no such thing as Palestinians. It (is) not as though there was a Palestinian people and we came and threw them out and took their country away from them. They did not exist." Eight years later, in November 1977, Mrs. Meir reiterated the Israeli view that Palestinians have no right to a national identity when she was asked whether Israel would ever accept a Palestinian homeland. She stated: "I think not. It is not necessary for the Palestinians. It is dangerous for Israel. It is a threat to Israel's existence and of no necessity for Palestinian refugees."

The more troublesome aspect of the problem of influencing states like Israel to realize that their own best interests are served by harmonizing policy considerations with international legal standards is the fact that such illegal practices are supported by the superpowers, tacitly if not openly. President Carter stated on October 10, 1977: "For the Arabs the legitimate rights of the Palestinians must be recognized. One of the things that binds the American people to Israel is our shared respect for human rights and the courage with which Israel has defended such rights. It is clear that a true and lasting peace in the Middle East must also respect the rights of all the peoples of the area."

The mixed signals such statements emit lead one to question whether the US has temporarily abandoned its own conscience and obligation to uphold the principles of international justice to which it has voluntarily subscribed and for the most part adhered throughout its history. On March 4, 1980, President Carter claimed that the United States had erred in supporting a Security Council condemnation of Israel for its settlement policy on the West Bank. He further indicated that it had been the United States intention to abstain. With such a clear violation documented before the Security Council and with the US obligation to insure the right of self-determination in such circumstances so obvious, even an abstention could only further isolate the US from these developing states so desperately seeking a power in which they can place their trust. Such statements of policy have led one Middle East observer to comment: "The thing to remember about the American policy is this: it is a pragmatic policy. It is an opportunistic policy. It is guided neither by professed moral values nor by any clear perception of the future.

It is a policy which deals with conflicts not in terms of justice and finality but in terms of management and manipulation."

IN ORDER TO UNDERSTAND fully the critical need to apply existing international law to Israeli practices, it is necessary to document the ongoing violations of human rights in occupied Palestine. Abuses by the State of Israel with respect to the inhabitants' territorial rights in the occupied areas include illegal Israeli settlement, the involuntary resettlement of the Gaza population, and the refusal to permit the return of Palestinians who were displaced during the 1967 war. Since the Israeli occupation began in 1967, approximately 60,000 Israeli citizens have settled in some 100 locations in the West Bank and Gaza areas. This is despite the provision of Article 49 (6) of the Fourth Geneva Convention of 1949. The government of Israel justifies its policy of annexation and settlement with arguments such as those earlier presented, and with claims of a basic right of Israeli citizens to settle anywhere in the occupied territories. It is also obvious that these settlements are not temporary features designed to serve a security function. Former Minister Rabin stated in April 1976 that no settlement had been set up in order to be taken down again, and Mr. Allon, former Foreign Minister, said in June 1976 that the settlements had not been established in order to be abandoned. Furthermore, there is nothing in the recently concluded Egypt-Israeli peace treaty which would indicate that Israel has any intent to give up territorial claims to the occupied territory.

What is most startling has been the application by the State of Israel of domestic legislation to facilitate the take-over of Palestinian-owned land by Israeli settlers. Dr. A. Barkejian, UN Area Officer for Jerusalem, estimated in late 1977 that these laws had already permitted Israelis to render twenty-five percent of the land of the West Bank inaccessible to Palestinians. Two of the more blatant of these laws are the following: (i) Article 125, Defence (Emergency) Regulations of 1945. (Article 125 reads as follows: "A Military Commander may by order declare any area or place to be a closed area for the purpose of the Regulations. Any person who, during any period in which any such order is in force in relation to any area or place, enters or leaves that area or place without a permit in writing issued by or on behalf of the Military Commander shall be guilty of an offence against these Regulations.) This provision allows the government of Israel to declare an area "closed" for security reasons. Inhabitants must leave such an area and may re-enter only by permit. Article 125 does not define "security," just as it is left undefined in analogous provisions of the 1979 Egypt-Israeli peace treaty. Implementation of Article 125 is left to the Israeli military governor in each region.

Article 90 of the Security Provision Order, put into effect then the Israeli army entered the West Bank on June 7, 1967, has a similar "closed areas" provision. (ii) Abandoned Property of Private Individuals Order. This Order was implemented to acquire for Israel the land of Palestinians displaced in 1967. defines as "abandoned property" any property "the legal owner or occupier of which left the Region (for any reason) on or before the appointed date (June 7, 1967) or subsequently thereto...." Few of these people have been permitted to return to their land or to the occupied territories generally. All property owned by "absentees" passes under this law to an "officer in charge".

THE INTERNATIONAL COMMISSION OF JURISTS agrees that these laws are being used to acquire land for Israeli settlement illegally. The Commission's findings stated: "...that much the greater part of the land for Israeli settlements has been acquired under legislation giving title to public authorities over waste lands or abandoned land or absentee property. In other words the settlements have to a substantial extent been established through the illegal expropriation or confiscation of private property."

Deportation and the involuntary resettlement of the population of the Gaza area have also become official Israeli policies despite international law to the contrary. Article 49 of the Fourth Geneva Convention prohibits "individual or mass forcible transfers... regardless of their motive." Following the Israeli occupation of the Gaza area during the war with Egypt in 1967, the Zionist government determined that a portion of the population had to be removed in order that opposition to Israeli annexation could be blunted. The United Nations Special Committee on Palestine reported in 1976 that in the Rafah areas of the southern Gaza Strip, 10,000 people had been "removed" and then relocated to make way for Jewish settlement in the area. In the 1979 treaty negotiated between Israel and Egypt, the return of resident of the occupied areas who had been resettled elsewhere was not agreed to by Israel but rather left as a matter for future negotiation. This presents a rather bleak prospect in the light of Israel's prior claims.

A third area of territorial deprivation practiced by the Israeli authorities has been their failure to permit the return of Palestinians displaced during the 1967 war from their homes in the occupied territories. The United Nations Relief and Works Agency (UNRWA), the body responsible for the care of Palestinian refugees, has estimated that at least 500,000 Palestinians were displaced from the occupied territories as a result of the 1967 war. As of 1977, Israel had permitted the return of only 48,000 of the 500,000. While the right of return is specifically recognized in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (Art. 13, para. 2), the International Covenant of Civil and

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Political Rights (Art. 12, para. 2 and 4), and the Racial Discrimination Convention (Art. 5 (d) (ii)), the Israeli Supreme Court rejected the right for the Palestinians in Abu El-Tin v. Minister of Defence, et.al.

Paralleling this unfortunate legal precedent, Israeli political policy was firmly set in 1972 when then Defence Minister Dayan said that Israel would not permit the return of the hundreds of thousands of West Bank residents who left the country before and during the Six Day War. There has been no change in this policy as a result of the Camp David talks in 1978 or the treaty of 1979, where the matter remained a subject for future negotiation.

To be Continued.



Govt.

Notice

Notice Under Section 7 of The Land Acquisition Act (Cap.460) as amended by the Land Acquisition (Amendment) Act, No. 28 of 1964.

Reference No. ATH 18/631

It is intended to acquire the land described in the Schedule below. For further particulars please see the Gazette of the Democratic Socialist Republic of Sri Lanka, No: 151 (Part 111) of 24. 07. 1981.

SCHEDULE

D.R.O.'S Division : Moratuwa
Situation : Ward 6, Moratumulla within the U.C. limits of Moratuwa.
Village : Moratumulla.
Name of Land : Salgahawatte, Assmt. No. 100/1, Salgaha Lane.
Lot No. : 01
Plan No. P.P.Co. : 5285

H.C. Gunawardane.

District Land Officer, and
 Acquiring Officer of Colombo
 District.

The Kachcheri,
 Colombo.

Date:- 07. 03. 1981.



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July 1 - 9

**DIARY OF EVENTS IN SRI LANKA AND THE
WORLD COMPILED FROM DAILY NEWS-
PAPERS PUBLISHED IN COLOMBO**

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

WEDNESDAY, JULY 1: The visiting Chinese Vice-Premier and Minister of Foreign Affairs, Huang Hua and Sri Lanka's Foreign Minister, Shahul Hameed discussed developments on the international scene—both global and regional; they also decided to resume talks this morning; Mr. Hameed told newsmen after the talks that he and his Chinese counterpart had "friendly, free and frank discussions"; the situation in Kampuchea and Afghanistan figured prominently in the talks, and both parties had almost identical views, on the two subjects; they also discussed the forthcoming international conference on Kampuchea, Regional issues relating to the Middle East, West Asia, the Indian Ocean and South-East Asia were discussed. Over 100 Tibetan refugees demonstrated outside the Meenambakham Airport yesterday as the visiting Chinese Foreign Minister flew in to Madras on his way to Sri Lanka—**CDN**. In view of the boycott of Parliament by TULF MPs until their five demands are met Parliamentary circles are discussing whether the government will accept leave motions moved on their behalf by other members.—**CDM**. Ten top projects of the Posts and Telecommunications Ministry will be pruned down drastically; they include the Greater Colombo Area Development Scheme (CADS), Stage Two of the Rs. 120 million Outer Colombo Area Development Scheme (OCADS) for the provision of 10,000 telephone lines in six major provincial towns and the Indo-Sri Lanka micro-wave link; this move follows a severe cut back of Rs. 60 million on capital expenditure allocations of the ministry in addition to the recent budgetary cuts; the Treasury has also placed a ban on any new projects to be undertaken by the ministry unless it is able to raise finances on its own. Cannabis sativa (ganja) will be issued on licence for therapeutic or scientific purposes to registered medical practitioners in terms of a new drugs law formulated by the Narcotics Advisory Board. China's assessment and views of the international situation, with special emphasis on regional issues including those relating to West Asia, South

Asia the Indian Ocean and SouthEast Asia, were outlined yesterday by visiting Foreign Minister Huang Hua to Foreign Minister Shahul Hameed. Deputy Inspector General of Police A. Navaratnam is expected to take over the northern range from next month. All powers of Village Councils and Town Councils will be vested in the Development Councils from today—**SU**. Visiting Chinese Vice-Premier Huang Hua said that China is ready to give aid to development projects in Sri Lanka; China is prepared to give financial and technical aid—**DP**. "We are certain of coming to power in the next General Elections; on behalf of our party, our leader Mrs. Bandaranaike will contest the Presidential Election and we hope that she will succeed in that election"; so said the Leader of the Youth League of the S.L.F.P. and second MP Nuwara-Eliya-Maskeliya, Mr. Anura Bandaranaike—**VK**.

TUESDAY, JULY 2: Sri Lanka yesterday officially expressed happiness at the improved relations between the two Asian giants, China and India, which went to war in 1962; Sri Lanka Foreign Minister Shahul Hameed told the visiting Chinese Vice-Premier and Minister of Foreign Affairs Huang Hua that Sri Lanka was happy about the "development of improved relations and greater understanding" between China and India; this greater understanding between them was vital for peace and stability in the region, he added. Sri Lanka has had friendly relations with both China and India for many years. The first ever Cashew Auction took place yesterday morning at the Ceylon Chamber of Commerce; the Sri Lanka Cashew Corporation which entered the auction with 2160 kilograms of cashew nuts in three lots fetched Rs. 119/- per kilo for the full nuts; cashew splits fetched Rs. 80 per kilo, while large white pieces and small white pieces fetched Rs. 56 and Rs. 66 per kilo respectively. A vote of no confidence against the Leader of the Opposition and Member for Kankasanturai, Mr. Amirthalingam, sponsored by 37 government MPs has been published as an addendum to the order book of Parliament—**CDN**. The 17th Conference of the Sri Lanka Consortium held in Tokyo on June 20 and July 1, was chaired by the World Bank and hosted by Japan; at this conference the government of Japan in spite of its financial difficulties pledged to extend Yen credit to Sri Lanka.—**CDN**. A retired Attorney-General A. C. M. Ameer is to head the three-member Presidential Commission which will probe the recent outbreak of violence in the Jaffna district; the other members of the commission will be representatives of the Sinhala and Tamil communities; the commission is expected to begin sittings later this month; **Sun** reliably understands that the government has written to the Opposition leader and TULF Secretary-General, A. Amirthalingam and the SLFP parliamentary leader Maitripala Senanayake on the decision to appoint such a commission; both leaders have been requested to send in their views on the composition of this commission; the probe on the Jaffna incidents will cover the period, April

20 to 27, 1981 and up to June 2, excluding the period when a state of emergency was declared; the amount and basis of compensation to affected persons and inquiry into those responsible for these incidents, will be among the terms of reference of the commission; political circles said yesterday that the SLFP was examining the possibility of requesting the government to extend the period under investigation; the government authoritative sources said, had categorically ruled out a TULF demand, that an appropriate international organisation like Amnesty International or the International Commission of Jurists be permitted to investigate these incidents. A World Bank sponsored conference has pledged economic aid totalling about 830 million dollars to Sri Lanka for the current year, conference sources said in Tokyo today; delegates from 17 countries and five international organisations comprising the Sri Lanka Aid Group attended the two day meeting where the South Asian country sought backing for its five billion dollar public investment programme, for 1981-82. The Central Bank will issue a special five rupee coin to commemorate the 50th anniversary of universal adult franchise in Sri Lanka this month, the bank announced yesterday. The Government will soon decide on what measures should be taken to deal with groups or persons advocating separatism in Sri Lanka; this matter figured at yesterday's weekly meeting of the Cabinet; according to authoritative sources, several ministers expressed their views on the matter; while some favoured amendments to the constitution to enshrine provisions to make it illegal to indulge in any acts calling for secessions, others are learnt to have expressed the view that any recognized bodies resorting to such act should be banned; a final decision on the matter, these sources said, would be made soon. A ban on buildings and a crackdown on encroachers are among the measures to be implemented by the new Tourist Authority for Hikkaduwa to be appointed this month. The Chinese Vice-Premier and Foreign Minister, Huang Hua yesterday held an unscheduled two hour round of talks with Foreign Minister Shahul Hameed—

SU. A printing press will be established at Valaichenai to undertake the printing work of the Tamil areas; this is being done to decentralize the work of the Government Press—**DP.**

FRIDAY, JULY 3 : Sri Lanka's aid donors are pushing for a widening of the domestic tax base and the increasing of government revenues raised locally, authoritative official sources said yesterday; this point of view emerged at the Tokyo meeting of the Sri Lanka Aid Consortium which concluded on Tuesday with pledges totalling US dollars 834 million (about Rs. 15,640 million); the Finance Ministry said yesterday that the donor countries had expressed satisfaction about steps taken to prune public expenditure and keep the country's investment programme within the limits of available resources; two major points that had emerged at the aid meeting were (1) Concern

among many donors about the budgetary deficit and the balance of payments current account deficit; and (2) Poor performance in the plantation sector. China's Vice Premier and Foreign Minister Huang Hua yesterday said that a strong effort would be made to strengthen trade ties between China and Sri Lanka. Customs at Trincomalee raided an American yacht "Black Wing" on Tuesday and detected a large quantity of arms and ammunition being transported without a permit—**CDN.** All officers attached to the Police Special Operation Unit combating terrorism in Jaffna will be paid a special allowance of Rs. 200 per month; this decision has been taken on a recommendation of the President J. R. Jayawardene in view of the special nature of the work involved and the risks to their personal safety; the handpicked officers of this Unit comprise a Superintendent of Police, Assistant Superintendent of Police, Inspectors and Sub Inspectors, Police Constables, Police Drivers and Steno typists; according to authoritative sources this special unit will continue to function as long as the need exists and the staff will be rotated every six months—**CDM.** Two No-Confidence motions—one by the Opposition against the government and another by a group of government MPs on the Leader of the Opposition A. Amirthalingam will be debated in Parliament on July 28; the government, has decided on this date for the debate; party leaders will be informed of this when they meet on July 7; this meeting is expected to determine which motion should be taken up first and the time that should be allotted for each debate. Chinese Foreign Minister Huang Hua said yesterday that although Sri Lanka and China had diverse political ideals, the two countries through their close relationship had fruitful bilateral trade and cultural exchange.—**SU.**

SATURDAY, JULY 4 : The Ministry of Plan Implementation has tentatively estimated that over Rs. 1,200 million will be received this year by way of remittances from Sri Lankans working in West Asia and elsewhere. The Ceylon Electricity Board may impose unscheduled power cuts during the peak hours of 6 and 10 p.m., during the next two weeks, because its generator at the Polpitiya Power Station which produces 37.5 megawatts of power has broken down; the cuts initially will be in the provinces, and extended to Colombo, if the need arises; the generator at Polpitiya is connected to the Laxapana complex and its breakdown affects the island-wide supply; the daily loss of power is estimated to total 600,000 units. Sri Lankan Foreign Minister Sahul Hameed arrives in Kuala Lumpur next Wednesday to brief Malaysian leaders on next month's United Nations Conference on new and renewable Sources of Energy in Nairobi, a spokesman for the Sri Lankan High Commission said today. Sri Lanka has pushed for the early conclusion of an investment guarantee agreement with Japan in the course of bilateral talks Finance and Planning Minister, Ronnie de Mel had with senior members of the Japanese Cabinet

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in Tokyo on Thursday—**CDN**. Policemen on duty in Jaffna during the recent incidents, are to be questioned in connection with five cases of murder and 359 cases of arson and looting in the area. Chinese Foreign Minister Huang Hua and his wife left Sri Lanka yesterday morning for the Maldives after a four-day official visit to Sri Lanka—**SU**. The second stage of the high-level Police inquiry against 40 police officers suspected of having been involved in the recent incidents in the north, has started—**VK**.

SUNDAY, JULY 5 : The Secretary to the Ministry of Power and Energy and Chairman of the Ceylon Electricity Board, James Lanerolle yesterday dispelled fears that there would be wide spread power cuts as a result of the generator at the Polpitiya Power Station breaking down; Mr. Lanerolle said he had directed that power lopping should be kept to a minimum. "This will be mainly in the provinces," the CEB boss said. Sri Lanka can be self-sufficient in condensed milk by the end of this year. Officials told President J. R. Jayewardene when he visited the condensed milk factory at Polonnaruwa managed jointly by the National Milk Board and Nestles—**SO**. Males outnumber females in Sri Lanka by 228,225; the total male population stands at 7,539,128 while the female population amounts to 7,310,873 according to the preliminary report of the March census released yesterday. Sri Lanka's population stands at 14,850,001. A contingent of 300 men from the Machinery Pool of the Army will next week march to construction sites of the Mahaweli project to take the place of workmen who had left for the Middle East.—**ST**. A search is now on in the Mihintale area for the priceless treasure of one of Sri Lanka's ancient kings; this hidden legacy guarded over the centuries by impenetrable jungle and a guardian cobra may soon be utilised to enrich the country's coffers—**WK**. It has been reported that over a hundred Sri Lankans who went to East Germany recently have been arrested by the East Berlin police; a number of them have been sentenced to 40 days imprisonment.—**CM**.

MONDAY, JULY 6 : President J. R. Jayewardene said on Saturday that the present government within the last three and a half years had been able to contribute towards the promotion, protection and preservation of Buddhism what could not be done in the last fifty years; he was addressing a large gathering after unveiling the pinnacle of the restored 2,000 year old Somawati Chaitiya. The American Express Bank in Colombo has launched a certificate of deposits (CD) scheme which business and commercial banking circles here are watching with great interest. The Minister of State in the German Federal Foreign Office, Dr. (Mrs.) H. Hamm-Bruecher is to visit Sri Lanka from July 6th to 11th—**CDN**. Prominent Tamil personalities are now holding a series of discussions with Government officials and politicians to evolve a formula to iron out the major problems that have caused tension between the two major

communities in the recent past; this formula, which is expected to be submitted to the President, will include the working of the District Development Councils especially in the Northern and Eastern Provinces, and ways of developing the districts within this region, as a whole—**CDN**. Foreign personnel may be deployed on construction sites of the accelerated Mahaveli programme, to meet the shortages created by Sri Lankan operators of heavy machinery quitting their jobs to take up lucrative appointments abroad; this move follows the Army's inability to provide personnel to fill this vacuum and restrictions by the Treasury on a proposal to provide higher and more attractive wages to Sri Lankan operators. A comprehensive survey of the coastal zone and the preparation of a coastal management plan will soon be carried out under the Coast Conservation Bill to be introduced in Parliament shortly. An anti-terrorist Task Force Unit comprising police and armed services personnel is to be set up in the north shortly—**SU**. A 12-member committee which has put the stethoscope to the state of English teaching in Sri Lanka's schools today, has recommended that English should be made a compulsory subject at the GCE (OL) and AL examinations—**CO**. Co-operative farms in addition to handloom weaving centres will be established in the plantations with a view to improving the economic conditions of estate workers; the Ceylon Workers Congress is to take necessary action in this connection along with the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions—**VK**.

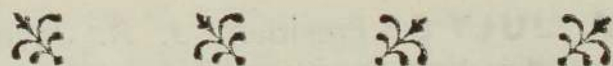
TUESDAY, JULY 7 : A model bakery, using modern baking techniques and capable of producing up to 4000 loaves of top-quality bread daily, is to be built by Prima Ltd., in Colombo shortly, official sources said yesterday. There has been poor response by ministries in charge of development projects to a UN-sponsored scheme to make use of the expertise of Sri Lankans living abroad, United Nations Development Program officials said yesterday; the scheme known as TOKTEN (Transfer of Know-how Through Expatriate Nationals) conceived and framed by the UNDP, aimed at tapping know-how from technologists and managers of Sri Lanka origin who have settled abroad by retransferring their expertise back here on short assignments. The power balance within the SLFP's Politburo has not been altered due to its expansion by the inclusion of five assistant secretaries, SLFP sources said yesterday; the new members of the Politburo are Messrs D. M. Jayaratne, Kingsley T. Wickremaratne, Basil Rajapakse, A. M. Karunaratne and Mrs. Tamara Kumari Illangaratne—**CDN**. A village irrigation rehabilitation project costing Rs. 784 million has been approved by the World Bank, according to a spokesman of the Ministry of Lands, Land Development and Mahaveli Development; the World Bank has informed the Ministry that the foreign funding of 30 million US dollars would come from the Bank's International Development

Agency; this project will rehabilitate 1,200 village tanks and help supplement the incomes of 25,000 families. Over 500 engineering students of the University of Peradeniya who were scheduled to sit the final examination yesterday 6th boycotted the exam—**CDM**. Over a thousand prisoners serving sentences under ten years in the country's prisons will be free today; this is the result of the unprecedented amnesty the government has decided to grant to mark fifty years of universal adult franchise—**SU**. Party leaders will meet today to decide as to when the no-confidence motion against the Government and the one against the Leader of the Opposition should be debated in Parliament; the meeting will be presided over by the Speaker Al-hajBakir Markar **VK**.

WEDNESDAY, JULY 8: Grim-faced rescue workers holding blazing "chulu" lights aloft worked in the pre-dawn darkness at Urugala on the Kandy-Mahiyangana road yesterday carrying the dead and broken bodies of young children killed and hurt when their excursion bus plunged down a 250-foot precipice; eight children and three teachers on a school trip in a private bus were killed in this tragedy that has left the neighbourhood for miles around numbed by shock. The World Bank will help to train 45,000 Sri Lankans in carpentry, masonry, plumbing and bar-tending to cater to the country's growing construction activity; a trained pool of skilled personnel is required to supplement the labour force which has recently been depleted by men leaving for lucrative employment abroad. The Government and Opposition agreed yesterday to debate the no confidence motion against the Leader of the Opposition, moved by Panadura's Dr. Neville Fernando and other Government MPs on July 23 and 24—**CDN**. Medical services throughout the island came to a standstill yesterday as almost 6,000 nurses—belonging to the Public Services United Nurses Union—submitted sick notes and stayed away from work. The Ceylon Shipping Corporation's gamble to carry containerised cargo on the Sri Lanka-Continental run has paid off handsomely and the corporation has plans to increase its present fleet by ten more vessels.—**CDM**. Government MPs were yesterday told by President Jayewardene that he would not interfere with inquiries or decisions of the Special Presidential Commission—**SU**.

THURSDAY, JULY 9: The Government yesterday officially announced the decision to appoint a commission of inquiry into the Jaffna incidents on May 31 and June 1; the Minister of State, Mr. Anandatissa de Alwis, told newsmen after the weekly meeting of the ministers yesterday that the President had written to the leaders of the SLFP and the TULF to nominate a member each to this Commission; the SLFP had declined, he said, while no reply had been received from the TULF. The Cabinet yesterday discussed the payment of cash in lieu of food stamps

to those now receiving income support from the Government; State Minister Anandatissa de Alwis told the press after the Cabinet meeting yesterday that several lakhs worth of food stamps issued to the needy had been stolen in transit. Forty cases of young men travelling on one way tickets westwards with tampered travel documents were detected at the Colombo International Airport, Katunayake, this week; some of those held at the airport and not permitted to leave the country had spurious endorsements validating their passports for travel to all countries; others had forged entries extending the period of validity of their travel documents, Immigration authorities said—**CDN**. The Cabinet has directed all Ministries to compile detailed information of projects completed and proposed to be undertaken in the Jaffna district; this directive follows a proposal by Mr. Anandatissa de Alwis, Minister of State, and it has been approved by the Cabinet. The Minister of Public Administration and Minister of Plantation Industries, Major Montague Jayewickreme has returned to the island after a very successful tea promotional tour of Japan and Australia—**CDM**. A special customs unit was yesterday detailed to quiz politicians, businessmen, state sector and corporation employees to unravel what they suspect to be a big time smuggling ring; this comes in the wake of Friday night's detection of over one million rupees worth of textiles by the Beruwela Police. Government yesterday accused the Tamil United Liberation Front of continuing to advocate the division of the country in spite of its and President Jayewardene's efforts to extend the hand of friendship; Anandatissa de Alwis, Minister of State and official Cabinet spokesman said there had been a campaign of abuse and opposition to the Government—**SU**. Compensation will be paid out of the President's Fund to those who were affected by the recent violence in Jaffna; for this purpose, statistics and data will be collected of those who were affected, the loss and damages incurred by them and injuries sustained; a special committee will be appointed by government for this purpose.—**VK**.



THE WORLD IN BRIEF

July 11-17

Ali Rajai, Iranian Prime Minister, emerged as a near-certain candidate to win the Presidential election scheduled for July 24. The Council of Guardians, a constitutional watchdog body, has disqualified 67 of the 71 candidates. **Tanzanians** staged a demonstration in support of the economic policies of their President Julius Nyerere. They denounced IMF interference. Tanzania is at loggerheads with the IMF which in return for a substantial loan is demanding, as in many other cases, a series

of economic reforms including fifty per cent devaluation of its currency. **A joint Egypt-Israeli plan** to invade Libya between July 23-31 was revealed by the official Jamahiriya News Agency. Israel agreed to use F-16 fighters provided they carry Egyptian marks and manned by pilots who spoke fluent Egyptian accents. As this planned invasion would risk Soviet intervention it was agreed to obtain Washington's prior approval. **EEC** would continue to exert diplomatic pressure to bring Kremlin to the negotiating table on the Afghan issue. Lord Carrington is of opinion that Mr. Karmal's presence at the first instance may persuade Kremlin. But he feels that Afghan resistance movements would have to be represented as well.

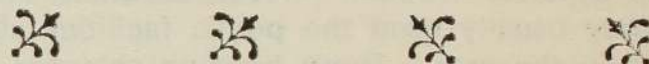
The Presidents or Prime Ministers of seven industrialised nations—US, Canada, Britain, France, West Germany, Japan and Italy—and President of EEC would meet in Ottawa next week. They will review the economic woes of the world. According to Edgard Pisani, Development Commissioner of the EEC (United States is more bent on playing power games,) with developing countries and ignores their economic needs. He accused US for not stating its aid policy clearly and is trying to get the best out of world economic and monetary disorder.

In the event of Soviet intervention in Poland West would not react with military force. It would consider a host of political, economic and diplomatic actions, the consequences of which may have its own repercussions for the Soviets in the opinion of Haig, US Secretary of State. **Israel** continued its attack on Palestinian strongholds south of Beirut. Syrian interceptions could not match Israeli's air power. **A multi-national force** of 3,000 soldiers half of whom will be from the US will be stationed in Sinai when Israel withdraws its forces in April. Israel and Egypt have agreed.

Violence in Britain continued unabated as Margaret Thatcher and her colleagues wondering as to the real nature of the riots. Enoch Powell attributes the violence to be the result of social tension caused by non-white immigrants. But left-wing politicians and community leaders argue that it was not racial but due to deprivation and unemployment. **UN-sponsored conference** on Kampuchea opened in New York. Number of participants varied from 77 to 80 out of 154 UN members. While Soviet Union condemned the conference as an interference in the affairs of a sovereign state US Secretary of State wished that USSR should extend its support to solve the problem. He warned Vietnam that it will stand isolated and requested UN not to extend aid facilities to Vietnam. At the final stages of the conference China demanded that the conference should condemn Vietnamese occupation of Kampuchea and only Heng Samrin's forces be disarmed. ASEAN and EEC members feel that such a step would be

virtually a condemnation of Vietnam and would not help to solve the Kampuchean problem. China's request is blocking a final accord on the issue.

Sri Lankan Tamils and Nava Samaja Party members shouted slogans when Queen Elizabeth II and Prince Philip visited a London exhibition featuring Sri Lanka. **The Indian External Affairs Minister** Narasimha Rao visited Moscow. It is believed that he reported to his counterpart Gromyko about the outcome of the talks with Chinese Foreign Minister, Huang Hua during his visit to New Delhi. **Iraq** renewed its pledge for a ceasefire with Iran provided that country ensures not to use force or threat to solve bilateral disputes, restoration of legitimate rights of Iraq and mutual respect for each other's sovereignty and freedom of navigation in the Persian Gulf and the Straits of Hormuz.



THE MALAY HOUSE-1

Traditional Technology

By Lim Jee Yuan

This working paper was prepared within the framework and as part of the Project on Sharing of Traditional Technology (STT) of the United Nations University's Human and Social Development Programme, and is intended to serve the internal needs of the University. The views expressed in the paper are those of the author and not necessarily those of the United Nations University.

THIS STUDY undertakes to compare qualitatively the traditional Malay house and the typical housing-estate house such as is sprouting up in urban and suburban areas throughout Malaysia. It considers their contexts, their advantages and disadvantages, and their applicability to improving housing quality, with a view towards re-educating the public, professionals, government officials, and academics on the values and qualities of the traditional Malay house and re-appraising the actual values and needs in housing.

The traditional Malay house is an indigenous solution to housing for the Malays evolved and built through the generations by the Malays themselves, adapting to their own needs and environment, using local materials which were once freely available in their natural surroundings. The traditional Malay house owes little or nothing to conscious design and shows good instinctive use of materials. Materials are used according to their nature, simply and effectively. It may not have the impressiveness, genius or inspiration of the conscious individual designer, but

it shows other qualities that express the culture and way of life of the people. In short, it is a house designed and built by the users themselves according to their own basic needs with a good understanding of nature and environment, incorporating and reflecting their way of life and culture.

The typical housing-estate house on the other hand is not indigenous but imported from the West. It is a house not built for living but built primarily for profit, speculation, and other political motives. The house as a home becomes a secondary or even tertiary motive. Housing-estate houses are built by local developers and sold to the public. These houses came into the scene in Malaysia about 25 years ago along with rapid urban development. The first housing estates were small housing schemes built on the fringes of town. They first took the form of a series of small separate wooden houses on small uniform lots. They usually used the public facilities already available in the area. These housing schemes grew in size and took on a more formal plan. They became larger housing estates, all of them basically taking the same form. Various designs of the basic types of terraced, semidetached and bungalow houses are built with minimal facilities provided following the strictest minimum required by the bylaws. The land is subdivided into rigid uniform housing lots, with road access to each of the houses.

The uniformity is so clear that the housing estate looks like sterile barracks of a more colourful and sophisticated nature. People move into them, and, with the passage of time, trees begin to sprout and the people staying in the housing estate begin to inject more life and character into the houses by making minor changes in the houses, painting them differently, and generally adding "disorder" to them. The houses are fenced up, and interaction between neighbours is minimal; neighbours hardly know one another after staying years together. The houses become inward-looking and self-contained units with minimum interaction with the rest of the housing estate "community". The housing estate is hardly a community in the sense of a place where people share, know their neighbours, and engage in social interaction. Anyway, it was never made for such interaction.

The smaller housing estates grew in size and soon joined together to become small townships. Today, housing estates are as big as townships. Some are as large as 700 to 1,440 acres (as in the case of Subang Jaya). These bigger housing estates are usually built in various phases. Subang Jaya is supposed to be completed over a ten-year span. Whole townships are developed by private developers whose main motive is money-making. The housing layout is designed to put in the maximum number of units. Houses are designed to impress buyers

so that they will sell. Roads and infrastructures are designed in rigid regimented patterns to reduce costs. Inferior materials are used, and workmanship is poor. Design is structured to reduce costs and maximize profits.

THE HOUSES IN A HOUSING ESTATE are basically all similar in design, made of bricks, tiles, and concrete, whitewashed and clean-cut. Variations of house design are usually only in the visual form-giving, to impress and appeal to the buyers. Often the house plans are moulded to fit into a certain visual form. Form-giving is not "free of charge" in these designs. The cost includes not only the monetary costs but also the intangible costs of discomfort, awkward functional relationships, and much wasted space and material.

The houses are designed according to average standards, and there is not much room in them for the user to make changes to suit his needs. Only minor changes can be made within the big structure. Major changes and extensions need to be approved by the local authorities. The user's needs are fitted into the house instead of the house being fitted to the user's needs. Different areas in the house may be useless to some families and are converted to other uses by the users. Carports, backyards, and air wells are sometimes closed in to become rooms and living areas, while other families spaces are under-utilized. Awnings and shading devices are frequent additions to the houses to enable better sunshading. The houses are often face-lifted by the addition of new facades or new colour schemes so as to differentiate them from the other monotonous sterile houses.

The architects who design such houses are usually trained in western concepts and have not much awareness of the local environment and local social reality indeed, their training often blinds them to local social reality. These architects usually design on the basis of the presumed needs of the house users and often use foreign and average standards. Even our local building by-laws are based on British and other western architectural standards. There is also a clash of interest between the designer and the user. Architects are by nature elitists, and designing is by nature an aggressive act. The architect by his training usually acquires certain values and priorities, and he imposes his values and priorities through his design on his client. The architect has his professional business interests; he needs clients and his clients must be able to pay. Those who can pay for his services are only the rich—the higher middle class, private corporations (including the housing developers), and the government.

In the case of housing-estate houses, it is not clearly defined who the architect's client is. The

paying client is the housing developer, but the "actual client" who uses the house will be the buyer/user. The paying client (the developer) and the actual client (the house buyer) have clashing interests. The developer, wanting to maximize profit minimizes costs and quality, whereas the user wants the best quality, as stated by the contract and specifications.

The architect here, who not only designs but also supervises the house construction, in many cases has to act in accordance with the paying client against the interests of the actual client and contrary to professional ethics because of the nature of the business. The architect who is too strict or does not want to give in to the unethical demands of the developer (like allowing the use of inferior materials and poor workmanship, and also producing bad designs for profit maximization) will lose the particular job. If the architect wants to observe professional ethics... there are always other architects who will be willing to give in to the demands of the paying client—the developer. The nature of the business in the architectural profession will always clash with the code of ethics of the architectural profession. "With all the modern materials, construction techniques and the available advice, the standard of construction is nowhere near to the pre-war and post-war buildings which are better, stronger, without floor and wall cracks, with perfectly level floors, truly plumb walls, better finishing though not as high class, but with leak-proof roofs and perfectly flowy drains".

The above quotation (from the Institute of Engineers-Malaysia bulletin, April 1979) shows that, despite the advance of technology and the increased availability of professionals, building construction quality has not improved and in fact has deteriorated. This can be attributed to the treatment of housing as a commodity subjected to the usual malpractices of business. The user here has no direct relationship with the design of the house. In fact, the user has no participation in the design process at all. The house has become a commodity for sale in the housing market. The user just buys the massproduced houses which are put up for sale, exercising little choice as to the type of house—first, because of the similarity of the houses; second, because speculation has pushed these houses to such high prices that buyers just buy them without much consideration before it is too late; and, third, because their choice is limited by their economic means. The user's only choice usually is of the location of the house, on the basis of its accessibility and the user's place of work.

To be continued. .



Squatters

By R. Kahawita

AFTER PROLONGED INVESTIGATIONS and surveys, it is reported that 300,649 squatter families have been allowed to occupy 395,557 acres of State owned land. The maximum extent allowed per family is 2 acres. This is probably the final phase of dealing with the encroachment problem by the Land Ministry. They occupied and cultivated state land, "because they were landless and unemployed", they did this because there was no other way they could survive or do anything to help themselves; they took this step because this was an area of activity they could make good on their own initiative. They did not wait for any kind of assistance.

This is a quality the State should exploit to the maximum and put the 395,557 acres into a high production level. So far the State has not spent a cent on them, but the squatters have cultivated, and invisibly have contributed to the economic growth of the country much more than Government-aided and financed settlers. They took to illicit cultivation of State land because of their conviction that they can make good and had confidence in themselves to be successful cultivators. These are qualities one has to look for in selecting settlers for new projects, not recommendations by others. Those 300,649 squatters have proved their worth—years back we had a similar experience under "Gal Amuna in Minneriya Scheme. They proved superior farmers. to the selected farmers. They are so even today

One person who understood the squatter problem and capitalised their enterprise and initiatives was the late C. P. de Silva. To him must go the credit of solving the problem at a human and a humane level, and for giving them the facilities to be "good farmers" at very little cost to Government. He did this in Giritale, P. S. S., Minneriya and Elahara. Once he became the Minister for Irrigation and Land, he pushed his "technique" to other parts of the country. He would have done it at Uda Walawe where the problem was acute and held up the development of Sugar cane, but before he could get into the stride the Government changed, as well as "his last call came" The Government should pick up the cue from here and continue the processing of "self-help rehabilitation" which the squatters started themselves with no State assistance. Though they did this with a fear that they might be thrown out of their possession, if found, such fear has been removed now and their claim to the land has been recognized. Given the encouragement, they will march ahead.

THE NUMBER OF ENCROACHMENTS that have been regularised is large—300,639 families—more than the number of families Mahaweli Authority is going to adopt and settle during the accelerated programme with several incentives and assistance. Regularising the encroachments in itself should not be the end. They form too large an Agricultural community; scattered they may be, to be left alone. They must be organized to form a viable production community. They will probably go into production faster than the Mahaweli settlers, where 59% of the allottees have already surrendered their allotment to others. Whereas these squatters stuck to their encroachments and defied authority to stay in. The question is how can the State help the 300,649 squatters to be better farmers? There are four areas they need help: (a) Guidance as to what they should grow; (b) water to grow the crops season to season; (c) Marketing of their produce; (d) and may be a "hut to live in". This last is not important to them. They may have already improvised a shelter to raise a family.

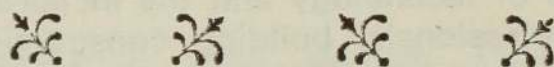
They may not have the organizing ability nor the inclination to work together for the common good. As squatters they would have lived in suspicion of each other and in isolation, a "trait hard to break through". This may have to be maintained till they themselves take to an intergrated community life. To assist them to be better farmers should not be difficult as they have the back ground experience. To be better farmers they need assistance and guidance like that of a foster parent. The Land Minister has settled them on the land and has washed their hands off. The agriculture Minister should now take up from here to give them the guidance through an extension and marketing wing solely to look after the squatter interests. Some of these units may be intergrated with existing Agricultural units, in which case they may be attached to them to see how a, b and c above can be given to them. Where this is not possible, aid units can be formed to extend Agricultural services in a limited way, but unobtrusively so that their self-help motivation can be maintained.

HAVING SURVIVED AS SQUATTERS for years, they entertain an inherent suspicion of all officials. They may have survived as squatters by bribing the minions in the lower ranks of the service. So their re-action is to suspect the officials who come to them even with good intentions. To win their confidence, the approach must be different to that of the normal settler who comes as a guest. This is where late C. P. de Silva scored. Having moved in the villages over the years, he had a canny insight as to how the village folk mind worked, and he played on it. A few of the "extension workers" should be selected from among the squatters themselves to work in the same location where they worked. They will be the link between their comrades and the official Agricultural and Extension service. This kind of induction to

understand the motives of the Government may take one to two years. Thereafter the link can be withdrawn and the full self-help scheme can be managed by the officials of the Agricultural Department.

The squatters will not take easily to crops which they do not understand, or have not cultivated. They will continue to grow crops for which they had established contacts, markets, or received help to grow crops according to market demand. While new crops are being introduced, and systematic rotation of crops are adopted, marketing of new crops, pricing them at the farm level etc., should be the responsibility of the Department. If the settlement of 300,649 families and the organizing of the cultivation of 395,557 acres could be worked to a two to three year programme, they will produce much more than what Mahaweli would do in 15 years. At the prevailing prices of agricultural produce the value of increased production may be in the region of 123.0 million rupees per annum.

Is it not worth organising the squatters whose encroachments have now been regularized? Allocate Rs. 100 per acre per season for extension work and we may achieve the target progressively and by 1983 we have a farmer population of 1.5 million who may give us a return ticket. It is worth the attempt. They constitute the National wealth in productive manpower. They need all the help and encouragement as they on their own choice took to a way of life to build our economy rather than wander from office to office in search of employment or wasted the morning hours waiting to be seen by a M.P. to get a chit for favours. One person who understood them and helped to be productive settlers was C. P. and he made men out of them.



LETTERS

FOREIGN SERVICE

Sir,

Apropos Serendib's piece on the Foreign Service, I would like to pose one or two questions—Why is that political Sri Lankan appointees as heads of Missions have failed whereas in other countries, such as India, Singapore they have made a success of their jobs. Are they not adequately briefed by the Foreign Ministry? It is interesting to recall what Frank Moraes wrote in his popular Ariel column in the **Indian Express** some years ago: "In 1952 the Govt. of India sent its first cultural delegation to Communist China headed by Nehru's sister, Mrs Vijayalakshmi Pandit. I was a member of the delegation and I attended the briefing by the P. M. before we left Delhi which took the best part of three hours. In the light of Nehru's public attitude of exuberant

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friendliness for communist China at that time, the private caveat he uttered for our benefit is revealing. Never forget, he said, that the basic challenge in South East Asia is between India and China. This challenge runs along the spine of Asia. Therefore, in your talks with the Chinese, keep it in mind, Never let the Chinese partronise you."

Another quotation from the memoirs of the distinguished Indian diplomat, K. P. S. Menon,—“Many Worlds” is also appropriate: “Asaf Ali who was appointed to Washington and I were the first Ambassadors of Free India. In January 1947 Nehru sent us a note for our guidance. It dealt with a variety of matters such as the use of a flag and a crest, the dress to be worn on ceremonial occasions, the propriety of attending Commonwealth meetings and the scale and manner of entertainment. We were asked to remember that we should function as Indians and not as imitation Englishmen. Our Ambassadors, said Nehru, will represent a great country and it is right that they should make others feel they do so. But they also represent a poor country where millions live on the verge of starvation. They cannot forget this nor indeed should they do anything which seems in violent conflict with it. Our general policy, Nehru said, is to avoid entanglement in power politics and not to join any group of powers as against any other group. Our foreign policy, Nehru continued, will ultimately be governed by our internal policy.”

Take the case of Singapore—Tommy T. B. Koh, UN delegate and current chairman of the Law of the Sea Conference who at the young age of 43 has established himself in the front rank of UN and its international policy negotiators. He is now making a bid to be President of the UN General Assembly. A law graduate from the University of Malaysia, Tommy Koh holds a Master of Laws degree from Harvard and a post graduate diploma in criminology from Cambridge. He is currently on loan to the foreign service under a series of two year contracts from his professorship in Law at the University of Singapore. Sri Lanka has its quota of academics as heads of missions—Dr. G. P. Malalasekara, Prof. E. R. Sarathchandra and Prof. W. S. Karunaratne. What is the degree of credibility of the story that is in circulation that the career men in the foreign ministry harass the “interlopers” by blowing up minor follies and discrediting them at every turn by tendentious leaks to the Press. It is a simple exercise as most of the desks of the Foreign Office are manned by career men at all levels. May be the political appointees are more sinned against than sinning. When are we going to achieve perfection? We have been in this business since 1948.

Christopher S. Jayetilleke.

Block C 12/1
Bambalapitiya Flats,
Colombo 4.
9 July, 1981.

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Taxi Driver

Sir,

I welcome reader R. H. Gunawardena's comment on my review of the above film (**Tribune** 20.6.81), but only with a reservations, as I am afraid he had not made a clear distinction between the FACT and the FICTIONAL aspect of the film concerned.

In preview, the FACT is that John Hinkley has reportedly viewed this film several times, and being motivated by it, resorted to an attempted assassination, which is recent history. In review, the FICTION of the film is that the “Taxi Driver” (Robert de Niro) was mentally corroded by the sin and slush of the area he operated in. He was sucked by the milieu and succumbed to it in a similar attempt at assassination which did not quite come off. He then vent his gun-totting fury on others.

Film Focus only made an attempt to place before readers, these two parallel sequences which ran all too closely, one in real life, and the other off the relevant novel. Hinkley and the Taxi Driver Travis were the victims of a sick society, which diagnosis clone, Reader Gunawardena has spotlighted. The relevant film review had a broader spectrum in mind, to drive the same message home.

James N. Benedict.

108 Manning Place,
Colombo 6.
5.7.81.

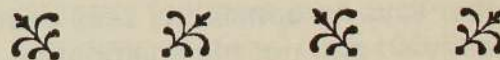
Not The Films....

Sir,

I do appreciate the review of Ruchi Gunewardene on “Taxi Driver” published in the **Tribune**, as I gained new insight, specially with reference to the attempted assassination of the Presidential candidate. I like to emphasise that it is not films that make people drug addicts etc., but the social and political environment, as explicitly portrayed in the film.

Anushka Navaratne-

Colombo.
13.7.81.



NGUVU

The Moving Finger....

By Bwana Rafiki

WHEN I WOKE UP I looked at my watch. It was 3 a.m. That was my first conscious act at the beginning of the week about which I write. In this

series I do not write about the Day of Rest except by way of an interjection. I did not get up until day-break and then I washed and shaved. Accompanied by the boy who was to join me in a day or two I went as far as the nearest bus stop. I had something to eat at a boutique, and we walked into the nearest town which was not far away so that I could catch a bus more easily. My destination was Colombo. On entering my father's house I got as far as the verandah and read all that our newspapers had to say on Ceylon's only win ever against an Australian cricketing side. On my return journey from Galle two days before I was given a lift on a bicycle by a boy who knew every detail of the score in a one-day match played by a local side against an English XI whom they beat.

That local side I gathered was from Ambalangoda. I was told by the person I had gone to meet that when I arrived they were all listening to the broadcast of the match that was in progress, as I came to learn later, at Moratuwa, the match where the Australians beat the Ceylon side by a one run. He took me to a house where I could see for myself they were all doing just that. Several young men and a Buddhist monk, all about the same age. The next day I spent mostly in, postponing a visit to an aunt who was to die in two days' time. On the following day about which I am writing I failed to go again, though I could plead lack of time. That night I set off estate-wards. I missed all the buses but the midnight one which was not going to take me quite where I wanted to go. Nonetheless I was able to get there about 3.30 a.m. after being taken all over the countryside by a newspaper delivery van which had stopped to give me a lift. On my arrival at my house hours later, I found there the boy who was to join me accompanied by his brother. This day unknown to me my aunt died.

NEXT TO MY PARENTS she had been closest to me when I was a small child and had formed in me a habit of prayer. Many, in those tender years of mine, were the rosaries and the litanies that we said together, I lying on the bed, she kneeling beside it. Once I even saw a ghost when we were doing this. She had seen ghosts too. I think ghost is the name we give to a spirit whose identity we do not know. My father says he constantly sees dead people, and if this is really so and not his imagination, as I have no reason to believe that it is, then it is of people he knew. The last time I saw a ghost was when I was in a South Indian train and I was seventeen years old at the time. I would like to tell a good ghost story here, ghost in inverted commas, but it can wait. To get back to my tale, the lad's brother duly went off, and he was going straight off on leave. I had met him only that morning when his brother had not arrived yet and now they had beaten me to my house. I let the lad settle down on his own.

That was three days ago and so I am well behind time with this **Nguvu**. The following day I paid what I would call an unscheduled visit to Colombo to return that same day. When I entered my father's house both he and my youngest sister were seated at the dining table and the first thing my sister said was to ask me if I had heard about my aunt. My answer was that the form the question took indicated, that she was dead although I had not yet been told. Both the sisters I have in Ceylon just now were with her at the end and they had been with her since early morning. My nephew was there too and it was he who fetched the Parish Priest. My youngest sister was lying with my aunt on her bed until the last few minutes, she said, her head where my aunt's feet were, her feet dangling over the side until my aunt asked her to shift them on to the bed, which she did so that her feet were near my aunt's head. As my sister said, what a nice way to die, my aunt would have liked it.

MANY, MANY YEARS AGO, when I was abroad she had written to me about the novenas that were taking place at All Saints, Borella. Six days before my aunt died she dropped me at Borella on her way home and insisted that she dropped me at the entrance to the Church grounds. At her age of eighty-seven it must have been many years she had last seen All Saints. I was very conscious of this at the time and very happy that she was seeing it again. This was the last time I saw her. I was on my way to the Novena. Yesterday was pay day and as I had deducted my men's last advance since I had given it on the last day of the month, paying it a day early, since the last was a Friday and a holiday, there was not much coming to them. I had also forgotten to include the day's pay for Sinhalese New Year, which I shall not include with another two statutory paid-holidays, May 1st and the day following Wesak, when I give them their pay for this month. There should be more money in my kitty then. Buyers of coconut are scarce because of the power-cut.

Yesterday, I really did something wrong. Instead of asking my father if he would mind if the television went on so that I could watch the commentary on the third day's play of the local test against the Australians, I had it switched on and watched it, this being his bedroom, contrary to his direct wishes that the television should not go on. I maybe watched a little cricket, but it has not helped much for there was so much rain early this morning there was no play till the afternoon, and when there was we could not conclude the match. I believe in God but Buddhists believe in Karma, an impersonal kind of justice, and if I had not flouted an old man's wishes, perhaps we should have won the Test. People might laugh, but what we do is really so important when it comes to charity and even justice. This is why I so often reiterate that family planning by unnatural means, sterilization, abortion or contraceptives, will not get this country anywhere and might even do much damage. Will our leaders not learn?

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WITH MY COUSIN leaving on Monday at midnight I made a point of staying both Sunday and Monday in Colombo so as to spend some time with him before he returned to England but it did not work out like that. It was not until the late afternoon of the day he left that I set out to meet him and I went first to visit another cousin of ours who is permanently on his back whom I had not seen for some time. When I eventually got to the house that was my destination I drove my cousin back to say goodbye to my mother and my father and then to his place again. He had not changed much in the twenty-seven years except perhaps the inevitably slight physical changes that accentuates a man's age.

Yesterday was the day I had planned to be back on the estate and I was open to doing so right up to the end. I belong to a small society, we call it a movement, where we undertake to meet in regular little groups or cells once a week for a few minutes. Because of the nature of my work, my life and my location I feel unable to reserve a definite day of the week for this but I know I can meet my solitary partner on working days in Colombo. I must admit that since we agreed on the arrangement about a month ago we have been unable to meet once. He was not there again yesterday, but I was not to know this. On my way to meet him I ran into an acquaintance who begged my time and help. He was sure he was in physical danger. With the greatest reluctance I went with him. We changed into another bus.

The hurry was to get word to his own people through a bus that was leaving Colombo. The help, my style, was utterly selfish, just a note on handy cigarette carton to a person who if he was willing to be met was certainly in a position to have a word with his subordinates over this matter. The trouble started because my friend had done the right thing at the right time for the country and for himself and had suffered persecution for it until the day came when he could stand the nonsense no longer. I am reminded by something I first said about Foster Dulles, who was a great man in his time, regretting that earlier in his career when he was in Switzerland he had refused to meet a man who became the great Lenin that we know. Lenin had asked for the interview. The first half of last night I did some mathematical work that normally takes a day just had to be done. I began to feel very ill while doing it. I have been feeling ill ever since.

Pope Pius XII is reported to have had hiccoughs. At ten-year intervals three times in my life on and off for a year and a half at a stretch I too have had hiccoughs and it was when I was feeling quite ill that they started again last night. When I went to bed I eventually got to sleep by applying pressure at two spots on either side of my neck and relaxing and it stopped the hiccoughs long enough for me to get to sleep. When I had them on the bus I tried

holding my breath several times to break the rhythm of the hiccoughs but it was of no use. As soon as I entered the house I had a drink from the back of a tumbler by bending forwards right over it and that stopped the hiccoughs for a time. A Roman Catholic goes to confession periodically. It is now called by some the Sacrament of Reconciliation, a long name. Mine yesterday took an hour, and it was done in the new posture, sitting. Most people still kneel. It depends on circumstances. I am feeling much better now. No hiccoughs.



GRAMA SASTRA—41

Scribblings On Uva

Beyond Welfare

By Gamiya

SOON the deafening rattle and roar of machines will be heard in some of the western coastal parts of this country. Engels spoke truly when in his comment on **Capital** (Marx), he averred that machine production carries the social division of labour much further than manufacture did (p. 435-444 : Engels 'On Marx's Capital, p. 99).

We can no longer hide the fact that the motivation of most of the amenities and welfare services are merely meant to prop up and bolster the worker so that he could be used as fodder for the machine. Yet why is it that while in Transport, Aviation, and in other spheres, England had for very long a certain kind of respect for man, we who have learnt a little from England, have not thought of some of these welfare measures? The Factories' Act, Ships and Railways Premises Act, or Health and Welfare in Factories' Act said something like this : "Cleanliness of workrooms, adequate ventilation, suitable temperature and lighting, avoidance of over-crowding, provision of sanitary accommodation, protection of workers against inhalation of harmful dust or fumes ; provisions of washing facilities, lockers or other accommodation for outdoor clothing, drinking water, first aid and seats. On entry into employment in factories and docks, or on building operations, all young persons under 18 must be medically examined by doctors appointed by the Chief Inspector of Factories, and known as Appointed Factory Doctor and re-examined annually till 18. Boys involved in" night work jobs to be examined more frequently. (1966 Year Book, England, p. 469 ff).

Often, in **Gramma Sastra**, we have focussed attention on pesticides and the poor people. Then listen again: "Basically, there are the Agriculture : Poisonous, Substances Act (1952) and The Agriculture (Safety Health and Welfare Provisions) Act (1956). The

Regulations made, deal with safe use of dangerous chemicals, provisions of first aid equipment, safety standards for workplaces and ladders, the safeguarding and safe operation of farm machinery the lifting of heavy weights and avoidance of accidents to children. arising out of the use of farm vehicles and machines, Regulations are enforced by Inspectors of Agricultural Departments" (ibid. p. 468).

Catapulted into a money economy and world commerce by the British, thrust into the neo-colonialist industrial world on a minor textile key, by certain industrialised countries, Sri Lanka could take a page from other countries, for she too has signed the Declaration of Human Rights on Vesak Day 1980. But the charge of "fodder for the machine" will be levelled against us if we do not purify our motivation as regards welfare for the worker and if we do not go beyond welfare to social action for justice for the worker, indeed for all workers. It is not a question of Britain having more: in fact it has over 200,000 industrial premises like factories, shipyards, docks, slaughter houses and over 25,000 building and civil engineering sites that come under the Factories' Act under the Labour Ministry and enforced by Her Majesty's Inspectors of Factories.

It is true that in 1964, it had under its purview, 475 medical and other specialists, but can we not truly be interested in each man and woman, all men and women in Sri Lanka?

FILM FOCUS

Sanasuma

SANASUMA (Sinhalese) : W. Wilfred Silva's direction combines very well with Gaffoor's camera work, in this Paradise Production. The story is hitched on to the crest of a sentimental love story that should be an appetiser to the masses, although devoid of any classic pretensions. There was a well measured and elevated acting all round, with Sriyani Amarasena, Asoka Ponnapperuma, Sumana Amarasinghe and Roy de Silva taking the rather trying roles convincingly. The audience too cooperated by maintaining a pin drop silence as the story unfolded (except at the passing antics of Freddie Silva) which was a clear pointer to the film's success on a modest scale. The story was spun around a triangular involvement of "hearts", two of which started their beats at the Peradeniya University and ran smoothly as the Mahaweli, till an unexpected tragedy married it all and veered it on to a rocky course. Roy and Sumana roled the lovers, while Sriyani was the weeping widow, who completed the tripod, as one who warmed the hearth and home of the former, looking after his ailing father—admirably roled by Ponnapperuma. This sober and triangular love nest was pitched into a hornets nest by a child's innocence. A flavour

of South Indian and Hindi film themes became plainly evident as the story picked up, with a couple of well timed accidents, hospital sequences and a well planted coincidence that hinged the story perfectly. A "Karmic" moral runs parallel to the of-repeated truism that Man's propositions have to stand the test of God's dispositions too. It would be unfair to give the story away further in this brief review, but suffice it to say, that this film is a family entertainer that gathers its strength from the story value alone. You will certainly find it absorbing as I did.

BREAKHEART PASS (English) : In this United Artist's release Charles Bronson who has quite a following in our country for his tough roles, takes on many aliases—a fugitive from justice, a lecturer in medicine etc., till he removes these masks to reveal his true identity as a US Secret Service Agent on the trail of a powerful combine, led by a Governor and a State Marshal doing a spot of gun-running on a steam propelled train for the Red Indians, in need of Winchesters and explosives, A ditherin epidemic at the end of the line gives official cover for the operation till Agent Bronson steals a ride on the train, pitching himself among the plotters in the garb of a much wanted man. Devoid of the customary brand of action, his fists are firmly tied down to sharp shooting instead, as the train speeds through eye pleasing territory of precipices and high wooden bridges, with bodies dropping off them at intervals and more towards journey's end, where the Indians had gathered for the takeover. The Alistair Maclean brand of cliff hanging tension, as in his novels, those of which like **Puppet on a Chain** that had been filmed, pervades this story as well, chilling it to a point and rapidly tapering it to an action packed climax. Actress Till Ireland, Bronson's lifepartner in real life, also takes on a key role as the only woman on the train, but innocent of the goings on around her. This husband and wife team act only in films that are kept clean—so take the hint and take the family along for an enjoyable evening's entertainment, for as you concentrate on the plot, the children would be delighted with the train journey, steam engine and all.

THE ENFORCER (English) : In this Warner Brothers production, that tall and cool actor Clint Eastwood is back in his element as Inspector Harry Callaghan who usually lays down the law with an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth manner that not only embarrasses the San Francisco Police, but breaches its departmental code of conduct. In this instance, he is on the trail of a young militant group, for whom cop-slaying had become a speciality, his companions being his Magnum 44 and an apprentice woman Inspector of Police, Kate Moore, who is faithfully but rather clumsy and amateurised in this her first "homicidal squad assignment. He accepts this in his long and easy stride with a smirky smile but is slowed down by his immediate superior, who

is often playing politics with his Worship the Mayor. Confined to barracks as if it were, on a sedentary assignment, he hands over his "Badge" and resumes the chase to literally splinter the group in a brutal show-down. His green and attractive partner toot urns trumps in time and becomes a martyr in the clean up episode. A very fast moving film, that should be sauce for both Clintwood and action hungry movergoers. Its in nice colour too.

James N. Benedict.



BRITAIN

Towards The Abyss

By Vladimir Shelkov

London, July 8 : A staggering sum of 12,274 million pounds is what the British government intends to earmark for military needs in the 1981-1982 financial year. This figure amounting to 5.2 per cent of the country's gross national product is quoted in a White Paper released in London by the British Defence Ministry. By proposing this record-high military spending, the Cabinet of Mrs. Thatcher reaffirms its allegiance to the dangerous line of the arms race. Following in the wake of Washington's policy and trying to satisfy the appetites of the British military-industrial complex, the Tories push the country towards the abyss of war preparations with astonishing senselessness.

It notably follows from the White Paper that Britain is prepared to start "modernizing and bolstering" the missile armament of its nuclear submarines. It is generally known that in the 90s the Polaris missiles are planned to be replaced on those submarines with US-made Trident missiles. What is more, whereas initially each submarine was to carry 16 of those missiles, it has now being disclosed by the defence committee of the House of Commons that they are to carry 24 Trident missiles each. The British press points out that this missile reshuffle will cost the British tax-payers another 6.5 to 7 billion pounds.

It is not only submarine fleet that the Tories intend to stuff with new missiles. The White Paper reiterates the Cabinet's readiness to deploy new American medium-range missiles on British soil. This statement has been made at a time when the new Soviet proposals meant to check the arms race on the planet and, notably, in Europe are broadly discussed throughout the world. It is obvious that those who decide today Britain's foreign policy do not want to heed the voice of realism and reason. To justify their peace-threatening plans they stubbornly deliberate about a mythical "Soviet threat". The latest White Paper is not exception in this respect—**Pravda.**

TRIBUNE, July 25, 1981

ENDING

Flags of Convenience

By Chakravarthi Raghavan

Geneva, June 30 : Over-riding objections of the OECD countries, UNCTAD's committee on shipping has recommended initiation of steps aimed at negotiating an end to flags of convenience and abuses in maritime shipping through the open registry system. At a final plenary, the Committee adopted by a vote of 40 in favour, 18 against and three absentions, a resolution sponsored by the Group of 77 and socialist countries. It will now go to the trade and development board of UNCTAD. The resolution adopted was basically compromise text that the chairman of the conference Mr. A. L. Wesphalen of Brazil had put forward in a contact group but which the hardliners in the OECD had rejected, even opposing the very concepts they themselves had proposed only in September 1980.

The negative votes were cast by the OECD, Liberia and Israel. Panama did not participate in vote but made clear its opposition to the Group 77 move as an "infringement of Panama's rights of self-determination". Liberia and Panama are the two major countries with open registeries that enable foreign-owned, mostly US, Japanese, West German and British, ships to fly Liberian or Panamanian flags and operate on high seas. Through these flags of convenience, these owners thus avoid their own national labour and social conditions of work, employ and exploit Third World seamen, enjoy lax if not non-enforced technical and safety standards in ships, and tax-free and unrestricted control over the cash flows generated by their shipping activities.

Though claiming that such operations help low freight rates, the benefits do not go either to Third World exporters or importers. This is basically because, the TNCs control 80 per cent of Third World commodity (exports; also over 50 per cent of the non-communist) worlds exports and imports are intra-TNC from transactions, and the benefits of the cheap freight rates merely help TNC market power against independent marketing, and helps siphoning of profits through transfer-pricing. The International Transport Workers Federation, representing unions of industrialised and Third World seamen, welcomed the UNCTAD move and promised to continue pressures on governments in industrialised countries to change their policies that were in disregard of their own national and maritime interests but in support of the beneficial ship-owning interests and the TNCs.

The resolution adopted by the committee recommends that: (a) the present regime of open registries should be gradually and progressively transformed into

normal registries by tightening conditions for registry or retention on registers so that owners and operators could be clearly identified and made accountable; (b) the UNCTAD should initiate steps leading to negotiations at a UN plenipotentiary conference for an international agreement on conditions under which vessels should be accepted on national shipping registers: (c) towards this end, UNCTAD should convene, in the first half of 1982, an IPG (inter-governmental preparatory group) to propose the basic principles concerning conditions for acceptance of vessels on national registers, and preparing documents for the conference.

The IGP's mandate would include recommending basic principles governing manning of vessels, role of flag countries in management of shipowning companies and vessels, equity participation in capital, identification and accountability of owners and operators, measures to protect interests of labour-supplying countries, measures to ensure full jurisdiction of the flag-state over vessels flying its flag, a time frame for registration of vessels in conformity with basic principles of the international agreement, and procedures for reporting and review of the agreement, and procedures for reporting and review of the agreement.

The General Secretary of the International Transport Workers' Federation an affiliate of the ICFTU, Mr. Harold Lewis, welcomed the adoption of the decision by UNCTAD by a majority when a consensus was not possible, and said a meaningless consensus would have been more dangerous than the majority decision. The seamen's unions had been agitating against the abuses of the flags of convenience, and hoped the UNCTAD decision would mark the beginning of an end of the system. The abuses would continue so long as there were flags of convenience. If flags and controls by states take on some meaning over their vessels, they will cease to be flags of convenience or open registry vessels. They are maintained in that status only because of the capacity of owners to abuse. The attitude of the OECD was regrettable, and very few of them had any clear economic interest in flags of convenience but were actually suffering from them.

If open registry system was so good, why didn't industrialised countries provide open registry in their own countries? Why did OECD countries' national legislations require an economic link between vessels and flag states, and lay down conditions for manning? Throughout the deliberations of the committee, a variety of western shipowning interests and transnationals, flying flags of convenience ships, had mounted in and from Geneva a well-orchestrated PR campaign against the Third World attempt to phase out the flags of convenience and a against UNCTAD and its secretariat. Some of them like the International Chamber of Commerce (which was represented here

by the major US beneficial owners and oil TNCs), and International Shipping Federation even purported to speak on behalf of their Third World constituents in opposing the end to open registry. FICCI is a constituent of ICC and it will be interesting to know if it accepts ICC views or will question them.—**IPS/Lankapuwath**



FROM NEW DELHI

Sino - Indian Talks

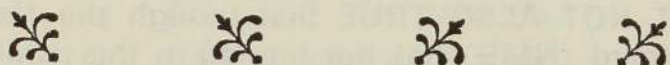
By Venugopala Rao

New Delhi, July 4 : Though important differences remain, this week's visit by Chinese Foreign Huang Hua is expected to lead to talks on the thorny border dispute that has kept relations between India and China cool for the last twenty years. The visiting Chinese delegation made no detailed reference to the border dispute but attempted to seek a series of bilateral agreements to carry forward "the process of normalisation". But the two countries did agree to open talks on the border issue, and an Indian team is expected to go to Beijing in October to begin formal discussions. There had been speculation that Huang Hua would present a package proposal offering some concessions in the east such as giving up claims on a narrow border between Sikkim and Bhutan, which the Indians say Beijing does not own. In turn, India would accept Chinese control of the Aksai Chin area in the North West. But the Chinese did not present the package as Indian Prime Minister, Indira Gandhi ruled out from the start any "barter of territory". She made this point publicly at a meeting in Patna, the capital of Bihar State, just as Huang Hua was beginning talks with Indian Foreign Minister Narasimha Rao in Delhi.

The two countries agreed to seek close bilateral relations and greater mutual cooperation in scientific, technological, economic and cultural fields. But observers here say Indian officials insisted that the border dispute is the main issue and cannot be swept under the carpet. Any resolution of the border dispute however, is a long way down the road, according, to Indian defence analysts. They argue that the Soviet presence at the Khyber Pass is a critical determinant of Chinese policy. China also intends to ensure the stability of Pakistan and maintain control of the strategic Karakoram highway—linking Xinjiang with Tibet—in the Aksai Chin area of Pakistan occupied Kashmir, according to staff member of the Institute of Defence Studies and Analyses. In March 1963, Pakistan ceded more than 3,000 square miles of this territory to China in return for Beijing's support for Pakistan's position on Kashmir. According to Article Six of the Sino-Pakistan Agreement, delimitation

of the two countries' order is renegotiable if there is any change in the status quo. India will certainly seek reconsideration of this point in the proposed talks. But analysts here say China would either resist any proposed change or reject it outright, thus making a quick resolution doubtful.

The Chinese Foreign Minister came to India as part of a three nation tour. From India he went to Sri Lanka, where China has good relations, and the Maldives. Just as Huang Hua set out on the tour, Chinese Premier Zhao Zhiyang visited Pakistan, Bangladesh and Nepal. But one China analyst told IPS that Beijing "is signalling to everyone concerned of the difference between intimate friends of long standing and states with which it has strategic, ideological and bilateral problems". India falls into the latter category, according to the analyst. Observers say that if the Chinese believe improved relations with New Delhi will aid their global anti-Soviet drive, then a rapprochement between the two Asian countries is possible. For India, settlement of the border issue is the key question. **IPS/Lankapuvath.**



INTERVIEW

Francois Mitterrand

Paris, July 2 : President Francois Mitterrand of the French Republic gave an interview to the Paris newspaper **Le Monde**, in which he spoke about home and foreign policy. Mentioning the US State Department's statement concerning the inclusion of communist ministers in the French government, he described this as an act of pressure. The policy of France, he said, is decided in France, and it would be inadmissible for a head of State to allow himself to be guided by other considerations than those meeting the interests of France and the French people. Touching upon the coverage of the issue in Western news media, he noted too many commentators are rather shortsighted. Some four and a half million French people voted for communist candidates. Later they voted for me, for socialist party candidates. Frankly speaking, I do not see why I should have dismissed them and offended millions of people by excluding them from France's political life.

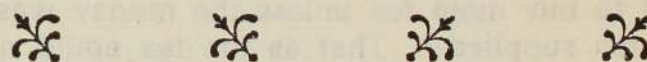
When asked about the US intention to limit military information offered to France because of communist membership in the government, Francois Mitterrand said: one of the American television networks maintained that I had given assurances regarding military security. One does not refute empty noise. The Council of Ministers has collective responsibility. It is there that the country's policy is decided. As to the rest, each of the ministers performs his special duty and

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is not to go beyond its limits. The President of the Republic plays an important role, especially in the field of foreign relations and defence. This distribution of roles does not invoke the infringement of anyone. It reflects my lawful desire to control immediately and personally all that concerns the country's security.

Touching upon French-American relations, Francois Mitterrand described as inadmissible the US practice of increasing bank rates, which was harmful to West European economies. Talking about other points of disagreement between France and the United States, Francois Mitterrand said: I have serious reservations, if not to say more, about the US policy in Central America. The peoples of that region want to put an end to the oligarchy, supported by bloody dictatorial regimes, that exploits and oppresses them. An insignificant part of their population has almost all the riches. How can one fail to understand popular indignation? It is not subversive work by communists but refusal to put up with poverty and humiliation. The West should help these peoples instead of forcing them to remain under the heel of dictatorships.

Among other problems causing differences between Western countries, the President cited relations between industrialised and developing countries as well as performance of the international monetary system. Turning to home policy, Francois Mitterrand said that the socialist party had an overwhelming majority in the National Assembly. He stressed that this made it possible to pursue in the long term the policy on the basis of which he had been elected president. He said he wanted the parliament to perform its functions more actively to elaborate, discuss and adopt legislation. He criticised the past practices which led to diminishing the role of the parliament **Tass.**



NEXT WEEK

- LIVABLE HOUSES
--For Villages
- DDC ELECTIONS-4
--UNP View (2)
- MALAY HOUSE
--Concrete Jungle or Kampong
- POWER PROBLEM
--A Solution?

CONFIDENTIALLY

* Tea Board * Milk Board

IS IT NOT TRUE that the **Sun** on July 7, reported that: "a Colombo Tea export firm has been fined Rs. 200,000 by the Ceylon Tea Board for dabbling in stolen teas. This followed inquiries the Tea Board conducted in regard to the firm bringing in teas—without recourse to the Colombo Auctions—for packaging and export. The firm has appealed to the Board over its action and it has been called up on to explain why the fine should not have imposed"? That readers will recall that this column on June 6, 1981, in writing about the Tea Board, had stated: "That in another case another company had 88 chests of tea not sold through the auctions in their store with the name of the estate still intact? That the Company was not able to explain this even with the assistance of a leading Q.C.?" That it is reliably learnt that the firm which has been fined is the same one referred to by us? That we do not want to claim that it was our spotlighting this default that has prompted action, albeit belatedly? That the simple question is why no action had been taken all these long months? That in the same article we had referred to other alleged defaults on which no action has yet been taken (or finalised)—kept pending perhaps, until these matters are forgotten? That on June 6, we had in this column pointed out: "That another company had attempted to draw Rs. 90,000 as bonus payment for the packeted teas by altering the dates? That the decision to hand this matter to the Fraud Bureau had upset some VIPs? That another matter which was handed over to the Fraud Bureau related to a complaint by an Arab State Tea Purchasing Authority that a Sri Lanka Government agency had not fulfilled a contract (worth Rs. 4½ lakhs) of tea purchased at the auctions? That the country concerned had refused to buy more tea unless the money was paid or the tea supplied? That as the tea could not be supplied, the Board had paid the money and the foreign buyer (a very large purchaser) had thereafter entered the auctions? That this matter too, had been handed over to the Fraud Bureau but that strangely enough nothing seems to have happened on the complaint"? That we hope that some action is taken about these matters—at least to declare publicly that the parties are not guilty of the allegations?

THAT in regard to the matter of the manufacturing costs of small-holders' teas which we had taken up in this column in our issue of June 13th, we had hoped that the Tea Manufacturers' Association would send us a note or memorandum on the information published by us—that whereas the actual cost of manufacture is around Rs. 3/75—Rs. 3/90 per kg., the Tea Board was allowing manufacturers to charge Rs. 5/60 per kg.? That we had undertaken (and still undertake) to publish any statement which

refuted or contradicted these figures,? That we had expected the Tea Board to send us the statistical facts on which the rate of Rs. 5/60 per kg. was fixed? That so far we have received no communication from the Tea Manufacturers' Association, or the Tea Board or anyone else for that matter to controvert the information furnished to us? That, in the meantime there are whispers that the Tea Board has already pushed up or is likely to increase the permitted charge to Rs. 6/40 per kg.? That this may be only a false or malicious lie by interested parties, but it is for the Tea Board to make the true facts known? That the certified Balance Sheets of some Tea Manufacturers would be one way of substantiating costs of production? That this story is coupled with another that has come down the grapevine that now some factories of a state-owned Plantation Corporation only charge Rs. 3/10 to Rs. 3/21 to manufacture a kilogram of green tea? That all these stories add to confused thinking about the costs of manufacturing green leaf? That it is time the Tea Board issues an authoritative statement on this matter so that the allegations and counter-allegations can be finally laid to rest?

IS IT NOT ALSO TRUE that though the National Milk Board (NMB) has not figured in this column for some weeks, information about its diverse activities comes flooding in from time to time? That the latest tidbit is that the NMB milk collection statistics show a drop? That at the different elevations, the collection compared to March 1980 revealed the following percentages: Hill country 9.6% down; Mid country 12.0% down; Dry Zone 9.1% down; Coconutbelt 20.8% down and other areas 19.4% down? That information has also come to us that in some areas like Galaha five to six pedigreed milch cows of imported stock go to the butcher every day because dairy owners are not able to keep them at the present prices of feed in the reality of NMB's purchase price for milk? That if the Ministry concerned is not able to bring down the cost of feed, then it should increase the price for the producer (and not the "official" middlemen who are in between the NMB collection centres and the dairy owners)? That a dairy owner has written to **Tribune** to say that it costs a consumer Rs. 5/60 to Rs. 5/75 per litre of milk made up from imported milk powder, and that a local producer would be lucky to get Rs. 2 a litre after the deprecations and the invisible levies of NMB's graft-ridden collecting agents? That unless something is done, more and more of the country's best milking animals will soon end up at the butchers (illegally but without a doubt)? That by the time the Oils and Fats Corporation produce more cattle food—even with infused Dutch courage (aid)—there will not be many cattle left?



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