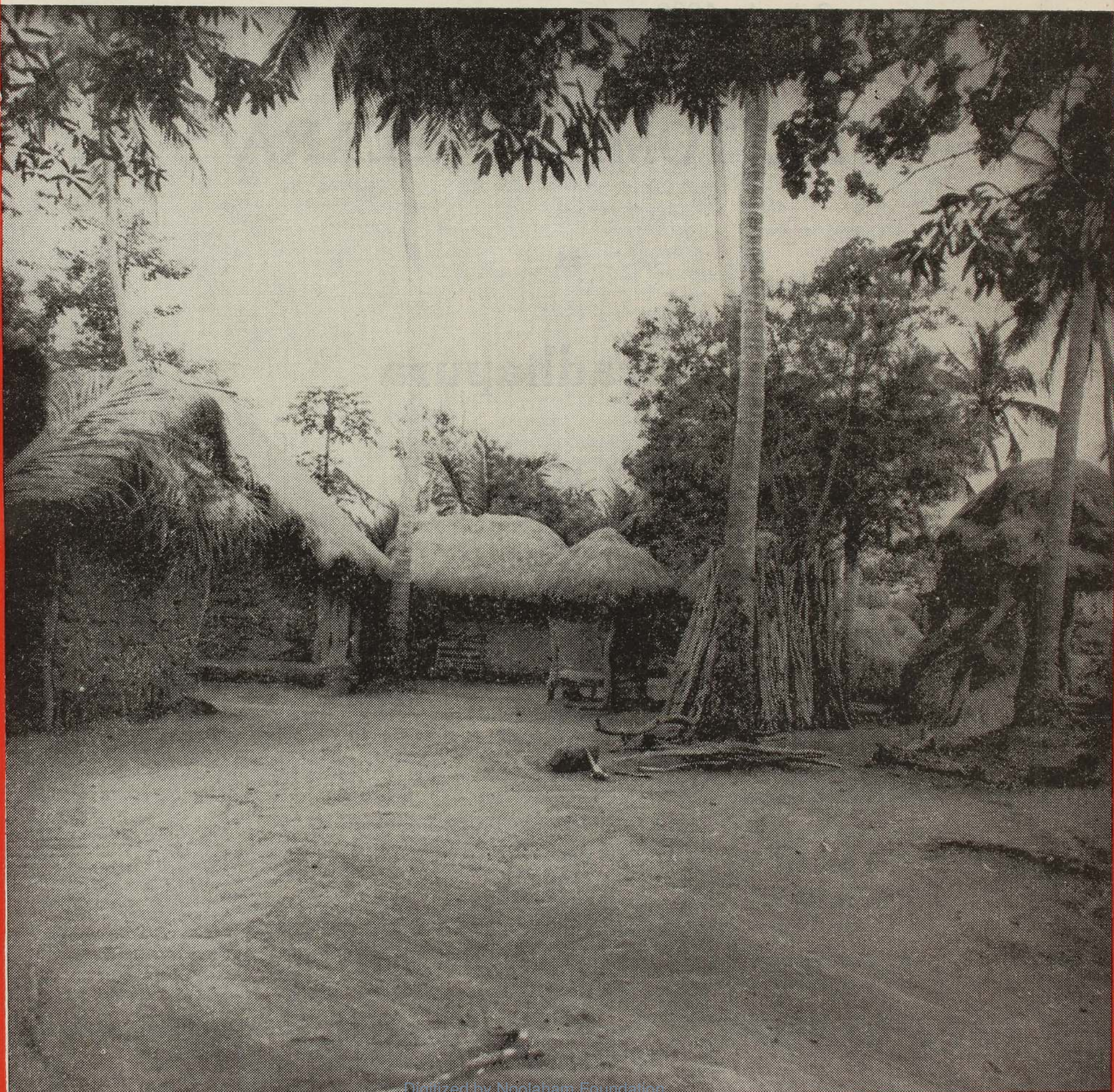


TRIBUNE



26TH YEAR OF PUBLICATION



MEMORANDUM
CEYLON
"..... It is to the credit of the people of Ceylon that during two thousand years and more they obeyed this decree and continued to pay their homage to one who was a brave man and a just and humane ruler".

-- G. P. Malalasekera in The Pali Literature of Ceylon, Colombo 1928 p. 25.

THE TOMB OF ELARA

at

Anuradhapura

by

Dr. James T. Rutnam

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LETTER FROM THE EDITOR

ON THE COVER we have a picture of a dwelling complex in a Wannu village. It is no doubt a relic of the times when the family was the integral unit and the village was composed of a number of such families traditionally involved in different vocations that made the old rural economy tick. That kind of village has disintegrated and is fast disappearing. A new kind of village is emerging in the context of current realities. But one thing that can and must be salvaged from the old village is the traditional thatched house with earthen walls and floors. It is the most suitable for man in our environment. But, unfortunately, an attempt is being made to force the new village into the straight-jacket of brick, mortar, concrete and tiled tenement housing estates totally unsuited for our rural people's needs and the nation's environment. And the cost of this flamboyant experiment has been so high that it has undermined the finances of the country for many years to come. In the last four years, this government has built a hundred or more such model villages designed by Western-trained architects who could not think of a better model than a glorified cooly line with a few extra amenities thrown in. So far so good. It has shown that the Prime Minister can get things done. It has also projected him on the national canvas. But, whether both these objectives could not have been achieved without this massive expenditure is a matter for conjecture and speculation. We do not want, at this juncture, to hold a postmortem on the model village houses so far built or the socio-political implications that threaten to boomerang on the UNP, but we would ask that a halt be called to this kind of housing in our rural areas. Our traditional village house of earth walls and thatched roof must be resurrected, to be updated and streamlined to make it the typical dwelling house of the new and emerging village. We are now publishing in the **Tribune** a series of articles about the re-thinking in Malaysia about the traditional Malay kampong (village) house compared to the concrete housing estate structures. Such rethinking is urgently needed in this country. One reason advanced by those who favour the expensive brick and mortar structures is that thatch is liable to catch fire easily. Apart from pointing out that the incidence of fires in rural areas with thatched houses is far less than in urban concrete jungles, modern science can be utilised to improve not only the fire-resistant qualities of thatch but also all other materials used in such traditional buildings. In this connection, we publish an excerpt from a report from Vijayawada in Andhra Pradesh in the Madras **Hindu** of July 14, 1981 that spotlight: "Fire-proofing of thatched huts has been taken up on a big scale at Payakapuram in Vijayawada, with the State Government availing itself of the invention of a local entrepreneur In the first phase about 1,200 huts are being treated with the solution. Distressed by the frequent fires in slums in the State, Mr. B. C. J. Koppoola Rao, an engineer by profession, started developing a fire repellent in the sixties. In 1974 he disclosed his invention to the public. At this residence at Autonagar here, he constructed a thatched hut with raw materials treated with a solution. Matches and torches failed to set ablaze the hut. The addition of kerosene and petrol too was of no avail. Mr. Rao's mission however, did not end with the invention. His life's ambition was to give this benefit to the poor at a cost they can afford. He stubbornly refused to take a patent or sell the formula to a business concern, for it will defeat his purpose. He is able to realise his dream now. . . ." Next week we will examine how Mr. Koppoola Rao was helped to make this discovery available to the rural people and we will also suggest that the Sri Lanka Government should take steps not only to obtain this fire-repellent solution for use on our thatch roofs (some variations may be necessary here) but also launch a major research programme to bring our traditional village house into its own in the modern context.

TRIBUNE

Ceylon News Review
Founded in 1954

Editor: S. P. Amarasingam

Every Saturday

Vol. 25

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No. 48

August 1, 1981

43, Dawson Street,

Colombo 2.

Tel; 33172

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The Media

Colombo, July 25 : The Finance Minister, Mr. Ronnie de Mel, made an important statement in Parliament on Thursday, July 23, about his recent successful aid mission to Tokyo. After setting out some salient features of Sri Lanka's economy at present (unfortunately he relapsed into his earlier malady of SLFP-baiting as a preamble to outlining current difficulties), he warned the rich (getting richer everyday) that they would soon have to bear a greater burden in order to pull the country out of the doldrums into which it had slipped. The **Ceylon Daily News (CDN)** of July 24 did not publish his statement but gave banner headline front-page treatment to his warning to the rich under the headline: **NEW TAXES ON THE WAY: PAY NOW OR LOSE ALL, RONNIE TELLS THE RICH.** This is what the **CDN** reported: "Presenting a coldly candid picture of the economic problems facing the country today, Finance Minister Ronnie de Mel yesterday told Parliament that there was no magic lamp and he was no Alladin. He also made it very clear that the country had to raise 'substantial additional resources and this could be done chiefly by way of new taxation...' The private sector and the affluent classes in Sri Lanka must realize they are living on borrowed time. If we fail they fail. Let them not be overwhelmed by too much self-greed, to make a quick fast buck all the time. Let them realize that from the terrific profits they have made and are still making, they must also contribute their fair share to the mobilisation of local revenue and local resources.

"Mr. de Mel had this message for the rich: 'If the affluent classes are not prepared to share the burden of development now, a time will surely come when they will lose all'. In the course of his speech yesterday, the Minister, who outlined the successes of the aid raising effort, said that it was natural for Sri Lanka to expect a sharp decline in aid pledges after 1982. Disbursements of pledges already made will rise from next year onwards he said, explaining that most aid pledged in a year was disbursed over the following years some times going up to 5 years. But future aid pledges are likely to decline, he forewarned. The Minister said that with expenditure running at twice revenue, the economy survived, grew and flourished only by the aid the country received. He said that the 'hump' in the country's expenditure, the difficult period when all expenditure will peak, will be 1981, 1982 and 1983 perhaps going on till 1984. After 1985, when our policies begin to bear fruit, when our present programme begins to give results, then a golden age will surely dawn for our people, the like of which has never before been seen in the history of our land', he said Mr. de Mel forecast that if these policies and pro-

grammes of growth, distribution, development and social equity befitting a truly democratic socialist government and society are continued then after 1990 Sri Lanka should be a very different country to live in. 'The people of this country will then be eternally grateful to President J. R. Jayewardene and those who initiated these policies and programmes that brought them to the promised land', the Minister said."

In our column **Letter From The Editor**, last week we had referred to a speech the Finance Minister had made at Elpitiya where he had begun his speech with the remark that "Mass media, the newspapers and radio, in this country are daily telling people that Sri Lanka is flowing with milk and honey. This is a completely distorted picture of the economic impasse that this country is facing...."

Although there is something in the Finance Minister's complaint about the media's predilection for sunshine stories, the big dailies have never failed to publish Mr. Ronnie de Mel's pontifical and often excessively lengthy homilies on the financial and economic problems of the country. Mr. de Mel, however, cannot or should not complain about the way the **Sun-Davasa** group treats him. His touchiness about criticism (which any paper is entitled to make) has led him into a situation where he is in a state of permanent confrontation with this newspaper group—in a kind of running guerilla war. To make matters worse, his publicity men indulge in petty reprisals on newspapers and newspapermen that boomerang. The **Sun** of July 24 had a front page box entitled **UNTOUCHABLE SUN** which said: "The **Sun** was left out yesterday when copies of the Finance and Planning Minister's statement in Parliament on the Aid Consortium meeting were distributed. 'We have been asked not to have any connection with your group, I have been directed not to give the statement to your group', the Ministry's Publicity Director, Prabath Manawasinghe told the **Sun's** parliamentary reporter". Understandably, the **Sun** of July 24, did not pay any attention to the Finance Minister's statement in Parliament.

The **CDM**, which never fails to print the full text of ministerial statements, published what the Finance Minister said about his mission at some length. The **CDN** published a fuller statement (the full text) on July 25. It is a statement that merits serious attention. The Finance Minister's statement would have had much greater impact if he did not indulge in his old obsession—SLFP-baiting. It is his fifth year as Minister of Finance and he would do well to leave the old sins of the SLFP alone.

All three English morning dailies of July 24 paid particular attention to (a) the debate on the no-confidence motion against the Leader of Opposition, Amirthalingam; and (b) the return of 125 Tamil youth who had sought asylum in West Germany

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accompanied by German journalists and TV cameramen. But arising from the second item there was a development which will certainly not add to the prestige of the Sri Lanka government here as well as abroad. The **CDM** passed it off lightly with a front page box - **CONFERENCES CANCELLED**: "Two press conferences connected with the return of the 'refugees' from Berlin were cancelled yesterday. Opposition leader A. Amirthalingam was expected at the first of these while the second was a meeting between Foreign Minister Hameed and the visiting German press. The Foreign Ministry which gave no reasons for the cancellation of the press conference said that a statement will be issued today."

The **CDN** made no reference to this unbecoming incident. The **Sun** on July 24 went to town with the story and published a detailed account of the blundering ham-handed action which will not reflect well on the Government. Should the authorities not have checked carefully at the airport itself the entry papers of German journalists and TV cameramen who accompanied the Tamil youth on the Red Cross sponsored flight from Berlin? The platitudinous sermon on sovereignty, human rights, and colonial arrogance is no excuse for admitting foreigners into the island without proper papers. It is a case of bolting the stable doors after the horses have bolted.

While on the question of the media, we must say that the SLBC lobby coverage of parliament provides the most reliable guide of what happens in that august assembly. We never miss Nimal Karunatileke's "In Parliament Today". We tune in wherever we are in the island. We are also aware of many others, deeply interested in politics and current affairs, who also never fail to listen to this broadcast. Last Thursday evening (July 23) he gave his listeners an objective, balanced and an excellent summary not only of the Finance Minister's statement but also about the debate on the no-confidence motion. The **CDN** also had an excellent coverage of the day's (July 23) events. This paper has now become brighter and livelier after Manik de Silva took over. A professional touch has begun to manifest itself in its columns. The new offset printing has also added to quality of the paper.

Any discussion of the media today turns to the TV. ITN's selection of videotape programmes has improved a great deal, in quality and scope, but it suffers from all the limitations of an overdose of canned fare. ITN's World News Magazine, has taken many strides forward in recent weeks. The newscasts are more topical and up to date via satellite. For a long time earlier, the items televised were not only dated but had little relevance (most of them being feature tele lets and not news). Today, TV viewers including ourselves, look forward to the 9.30 p.m. News Magazine in English six days of the week (the Sinhala and Tamil versions are at 7.45 p.m. every other day).

There are a few observations and comments we wish to offer about the English "News Magazine" programme. (We will deal with the Sinhala and Tamil counter parts on a subsequent occasion).

First, it appears to us a misnomer to call the programme a "World News Magazine" because it is no longer a "magazine" as it was earlier. It is also interspersed with telecasts about local events. It may be more appropriate to call it the ITN News Bulletin. Second the timing of the programme at 9.30 p.m. creates many difficulties for those who listen to SLBC's "Behind the News" and "In Parliament Today"—because these programmes are also scheduled to begin at 9.25 or 9.30 p.m. Those responsible for arranging TV programmes should seriously consider having the TV English news bulletins at 9 p.m. (or even at 8.30 p.m. or 8.45 p.m.). This will prevent any clash with high priority SLBC features like "Behind the News" or "In Parliament Today".

There is another matter to which those in charge of the TV should pay some attention. Most of the news readers (English, Sinhala and Tamil) do not betray any professional touch or competence when they appear on the TV screen. They concentrate so much either on self-consciously showing off their good looks (most of them have little of that precious commodity) or pompously laying on a thick diction like an elocution teacher with the result that they fail to establish a rapport with the audience. A TV news reader or commentator has to be a "personality" who can win the confidence of the viewers (in a different way from that of a broadcaster), but the ITN has so far failed to produce even one good news reader or commenator. The best of them wear a painful deadpan look with an occasional but forced cheesecake smile to appear "pleasant" on the screen. But most of them look like dolled up mummies from Madam Taussad's museum thrust on TV viewers here in a kind of mock beauty parade,

Why many of them are retained as TV news readers, even on a temporary basis, is a mystery. There should be a limit even to favouritism. We hope that those in charge approach the question on a professional basis and do not insist on inflicting such news readers on a long-suffering TV public. At this stage, we do not want to mention names. Our hope is that the TV bosses will remove their blinkers and set about getting news readers who have a professional TV touch or can be trained to acquire such competence fairly expeditiously. As far as we can see no such attempt has yet been made. Any TV news reader must also convey visually an appreciation of the news dealt with. At present all news readers without exception only recite words obviously written by people who seem to be totally unaware of the significance or implications of what they are writing. And the news readers seem little concerned about what they read—their only concern seems to be the costume they sport and their TV makeup.

OUTSTANDING FILM

By Simon Nawagattegama

Soldadu Unnahe

Directed—By Dharmasena Pathiraja

Moscow, July 14 :

The audience of the 12th International Film Festival in Moscow has seen the Sri Lankan feature film *Soldadu Unnahe* directed by Dharmasena Pathiraja. The Soviet press called the film unaffected and austere. The critics have taken it not as the story of an old soldier who remembers but too well the horrors of the war through which he had gone, but as an allegoric representation of things which should never happen to man again.

In the opinion of critics, inherent in the script is a certain sluggishness of the dramatic composition, incompleteness of the plot, and monotony in comparing the past and the present. For all that, there is a special attitude to films about war in the Soviet Union which has lost 20 million of its citizens in the struggle against fascism. "In the Sri Lankan film" notes one of the critics, "the main thing can and should be seen. It is a passionate and sincere protest of man against war which maims and destroys everything living in man, dooming him solely to the nightmare of war memories."—APN.

LONG AGO I read of an artiste by the name of Kramskoi, who was more interested in other peoples art than in what he was creating himself. He wrote a personal letter to somebody who had done, not a film involving a lot of money, (and a lot of rackets), just a landscape during a free weekend. Here is one paragraph, from that published letter: "Have you noticed that I haven't said a word about your colours? That's because there aren't any, you see, none at all. Before me is just a view of nature, I see woods, trees, I see clouds, I see rocks, and not only that, but a poetry of light moving over them, a kind of solemn silence, something profoundly thoughtful and mysterious. Well, what mere mortal can see any colours, any tone, in these conditions?"

One might suppose that our art critic is enthusing about how "natural" this landscape painter was. But the idea must not be taken out of context. The rest of the sentence clearly modifies this first idea, and indeed it could not be otherwise for him to confirm that he was perfectly capable of appreciating the most important thing in art—profound human thought, the live feeling of the artist—and was not inclined to fetishise representational authenticity for its own sake. The latter after all can immediately destroy

the aesthetic charm of a work of art, and lead to the acceptance of a mirror--like reflection as a brilliant creation of the highest order. Now, when I remembered these words and referred them up in my notes, long fading into yellow, it was only my students reflexes reacting to an excellent work of art of a particular nature in our local context, by one of our few serious minded sensitive artists. His name is Dharmasena Pathiraja. His latest creation is celluloid "SOLDADU UNNAHE" is now released in the prestigious fifth circuit.

AS A STUDENT OF CINEMA, who has followed Pathiraja carefully from **SATHURO** his first introduction into cinema, I am happy to observe that with **SOLDADU UNNAHE** he has come of age in the mastery of his chosen medium, signs of which were apparent even in **PARADIGE** a film misunderstood by many a critic who usually impose on any work of art their own subjective concepts and thus get blinded to objective reality of a work which is an expression of the particular individuality of an artiste, projected in a medium again modified to suit this individuality.

Soldadu Unnahe is based on H. A. Seneviratne's short story "The Old Soldier". Analysis of this basic material is irrelevant here. Film script might be a reflection of the direct social reality of the film Director. It also could be an inspired imitative experience of another's reality. But the ultimate material for our appreciation or appraisal must solely be the totality of Pathiraja's experience embodied in **SOLDADU UNNAHE** itself. Given the same theme and the characters accompanying it, another imaginative writer may have written an entirely different script, perhaps more complex or more to the liking of the multitude, but all these hypothetical potential projections are only highly subjective visuals of the onlooker or the critic, which cannot in anyway be a concrete premise for the analysis of the work in hand.

WHAT QUALIFIES **Soldadu Unnahe** for a higher plane of visual experience, almost a masterpiece? First it is the theme. What Pathiraja has set about to analyse, the content. H. A. Seneviratne has guided him into a reality which is very familiar to any of us in our day to day urban experience, the so-called underworld of the lumpen-proletariat, the lowest strata of the modern city culture. There is the common pick-pocket—the **ARTFUL DODGER**, the pimp and the third-class prostitute. They live apart on the fringe, cast-offs of the more successful class hierarchy, but thriving on the same. And there are the other individuals who find common ground under the shade of a Nuga-tree, their vagrant abode. There comes the social failure, the alcoholic, who has lost pace with the eternal social climbing process. And finally comes its most permanent resident. He has helped to shape the modern national culture, fighting even in Singapore, as they say, defending

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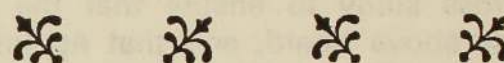
the newest socio-economic forces of the motherland against all the enemies of the Imperial masters who were also supposed to have been his and his nation's enemies. Even with all that patriotism drummed into his self so vehemently by the superstructural reorientation and propaganda, the war had been too much a burden for his simple soul. He has been crushed spiritually by this very same burden of alien values he has been trained to uphold. He is still disciplined by what they taught him, expressed in the form of very correct physical drills he goes through every morning. But he is lost in this web of culture pattern he has helped to be brought about. They see something wrong in him, a definite maladjustment. He does not care. He is still defending, on his own innocent way at least the few unfortunate vagabond brothers and sisters thrown into his bosom by some mischievous fate.

THESE PEOPLE may not be the unique symbolic expression of the sick wretchedness or the richness of our society, but they are also a definite social entity. You cannot annihilate their presence by police raids. They return repeatedly to this same rootless but homely shade in the Galle-Buck or others supplant them. They may not possess a coherent tongue. But they also feel incoherently their status of sovereignty guaranteed by the constitution in even arguing and quarreling over this dignified and noble concept of socio-political law. They also notice from their open-air abode, more conspicuously the American helicopters participating in the Independence day air-force parade. Old soldier's instincts react instantly. He fears a bomb attack on the sovereignty of his fellow vagabonds, Pemakkas and Simons. "Nothing to worry" another one consoles. "These helicopter gunships are presents from Americans to protect our freedom and sovereignty. And they are flown by our own pilots this time."

Now this material seems so devoid of any colourful textures, it is almost commonplace. Pathiraja draws our attention on the screen inside the cinema, to the same people we saw outside, along the pavement on our way to the same picture-hall. Like in the canvas referred to above, there are only woods, trees, clouds and rocks, an art appearing not to have reached even the stage of Realism, just some brush-strokes in the plane of Naturalism. But on close scrutiny you will notice a poetry of light, may be from the street lamp, moving over this commonplace pettiness, a kind of solemn silence, something 'profoundly thoughtful and mysterious. This same "something" sublimates SOLDADU UNNAHE from an apparent lower rung of Naturalism into a great work of art of the highest social realism. The most commonplace content itself transforms it into an universal experience of the whole third world social reality. Pathiraja merely points his finger at some miserable lump of existence by the wayside, the camera starts cranking focusing into itself a deep critique of its social content.

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What about the technique? We do not notice it. Dark lights among the war-clouds in the old library-shots from many a war films coincide in such perfect harmony with that of the new shots, Malini Fonseka, the actress blends herself in such creative harmony with other Pemakkas of our pavements, Joe Abeywickrema's consistently portrayed soldier just another "cracked-pissa" we see in the side-walk, Neil's pick-pocket, Cyril's taxi-driver-pimp and all the rest of the film created including the make up man Ebert, Editor, cameraman, Kemadasa the music director, they all behave at one with the sober analytical touch of the director. Dharmasena Pathiraja has reached a definite masterly stage of his craft. In this versatile inspiration, the technicians and all the participant artistes have blossomed into their best creative selves in perfect harmony of form.



FILM FOCUS

Distribution

This column rests satisfied that its recent exposure in the **Tribune** (2.5.81) under the title KANDY STINK has brought about immediate results and the monopoly of exhibiting Tamil films no longer belongs exclusively to a cinema outside the Hill capital proper. It has been brought to my notice that this action followed on a Janathipathi Mandalaya observation that the prevalent situation should cease in the larger interests of the Tamil and Muslims picturegoers of Kandy. Thus it was that the Box office smasher "Thee" scheduled for the Sampan, Kundasale was also run simultaneously at the Wembley Cinema in Kandy. This column now hopes that a strict rotation of popular Tamil hits is maintained in Kandy and distributed evenly among all cinemas there, without interfering with the Sinhala releases, and at reasonable intervals.

While on the subject of "Thee", this column has since received copies of copious and constructive correspondence on Film distribution matters from the exhibitor of Asoka Theatre (Asoka David) of Puttalam who knows his onions well and appears very thorough on the subject, having done this homework methodically. This private exhibitor minces no words in stating that by some sleight in distribution procedure, his cinema is to be deprived of exhibiting this Tamil film, thus breaching the already accepted table of alternative precedence, in the Puttalam District. In staking his claim for fairplay and justice, he has also espoused the cause of many private exhibitors caught in this plight. His representations to the National Film Corporation covers various fields of the cinematic media, and done in a logical and orderly fashion, but firmly to drive his points neatly to bureaucratic ears. If most private exhibitors

could rally round him, this column feels convinced, that their voices will be heard loud and clear in the right quarters, and a fairer distribution of films for them should be assured. Asoka David appears to believe more in the might of the pen and has reversed a few NFC decisions, like convincing them that population-wise (16,289 Tamil-speaking as against 5,138 Sinhala-speaking) in his area, more time should be allotted for Tamil films, which has now been accepted in principle, but a trifle tardily in practice.

This column will return to some of the Asoka submissions in subsequent issues, but would request Chairman Anton Wickremasinghe of the NFC in the meantime to personally check on the distribution system that was decided upon on THEE as an objective cross study to ensure that the procedure adopted was above board, and that no unfair tilting had taken place. This column is of the view that it is the private exhibitor who needs succour, more than the powerful combines, if more private cinemas which are woefully lacking in this country are to come up for the sake of the industry. Then and then only would the unseemly queue of Sinhala films shorten, and there would be no bottlenecks, that would open the doors wide for corruption, fanned by vested interests in the important matter of a fair and free film distribution.

KRAMER VS KRAMER (ENGLISH): In a review of "This Marital Tangle" which this film portrays, in a Sunday paper, the reviewer makes the point that had the film begun as the relevant novel did, there might have been a greater comprehension of the author's point of view by the cinema viewer. This expectation of seeing a faithful transfer of book into film is what leads some critics to make serious errors of judgment. A film does not have to start where the book does or follow it frame by frame from chapter to chapter, an observation that applies appropriately to some of the book bound Sinhala film, **Beddegama** critics. A film director is entitled to make his own version of a book and—this is fundamental—a film ought to be judged cinematically and not in any other way. The artistic unity is even more valid as in this film, where the writer of the screenplay and director are the same. Director Robert Benton's intention in making a film, of Avery Cormans' novel appears to be to expose adequately, a section of contemporary American life through a specific domestic situation—the disintegration of one family through the desertion by the mother Joanne (Meryl Streep) or her advertising executive husband David (Dustin Hoffman) and their six year old son Billy (Justin Henry), apparently for no reason, if not a superficial one. This is where the film begins, a point one fourth of the way in the book where many of the wives motivations are amplified. Director Benton probably began here perhaps because he probably felt this was a more dramatic beginning, and from there he discloses

or peels off segments of the complex situation layer by layer. In the process, he gives an insight into the beleaguered institution of marriage—such as it is in a permissive society—and the effects on the lives of three persons involved heavily as a result of the marriage crack-up.

American society is portrayed convincingly as a harsh and hostile setting for marital bliss. Precedence is evidently rationed in that society for everyone going their way—husband Kramer wants to make a killing in the advertising jungle, wife Kramer wants to discover her real self, and no mercy is spared for those—even their innocent son—who lag in the ruthless race to the top. Cinematically, the images are translated with great skill and artistry, and a tension peculiar to a strong emotional situation grips one from the first frame to the last. It is a sickening feeling caused by people to those they love most, because of their selfishness. The strength of the film comes from the restraint exercised in treating the theme. There is never a maudlin moment except in the opening sequence where the another leaning over the cot of the child whispers, "I love you Billy" before walking out on her husband. The husband handles the new situation with a professional efficiency and courage with a strong paternal sense and fairmindedness. The weakness of the film lies in the incomplete portrayal of the wife, who is more in the shadows, a symbol at most, who derives some depth with emotion in the court room scenes. As for the moral values of the film, they are humanistic ones of a highly secularised society, and occasionally, the norms of the barnyard are given as perfectly valid. Quite apart from that, every person interested in the stability of society, and specially in that of marriage, including counsellors in the field ought to see this film and study it in depth. The Oscars for this film have been well earned.

WHEN TIME RAN OUT (ENGLISH): This is an Irwin Allen production with an enviable cast, the big three among them being William Holden and Paul Newman who teamed together successfully in similar roles in "The Towering Inferno" and the attractive Jacqueline Bisset who does not add up adequately to the tringle. The story shot in Hawaji is more adventure-bound and any emerging love interests are padded down towards this end. While Holden is an international Hotelier tycoon with many business ramifications, Newman is after black gold and drilling hard for it, with a passing interest in Bisset and a more serious one in a dormant Volcano in the distance which appears cherry ripe for an eruption. Well circled in this motley setup are the tourists, among whom are Burgess Meredith on a sentimental journey with his family and Ernest Borginine who is on the scent of an ancient crime. With a roar, the inevitable eruption takes place and the crater fills and spills over, its larva to catch everyone flat-footed. A few led by Holden and Newman make a

quick getaway through precipitous and treacherous territory, and the crossing of a crumbling bridge over a river of molten lava is the main highlight of the story, revealing moments of steely bravado. However, one is left wondering at curtains why such an impressive cast was assembled to present such an over-fictionalised story, unless they were paying their cornbills for an expensive holiday in the land of the Hula Hula. This was average fare which was more in the shallows than in the deeps, with the angry volcano holding forth as compensation, that consoled somewhat.

THE BRAVE BUNCH (ENGLISH): Its 1941 and Macedonia (Greece) is in the thick and throes of World War II, as the neighbouring Bulgarians who have an axe to grind with them are goaded on by the Nazis to go for the spoils while the going was still on their side. As the dirty work goes on—there are more rape sequences portrayed than what I had witnessed before in a film a couple of Greek patriots parachute in from Cairo, and gather a bunch of bravados to turn tables on the invaders and save the day for the pillaged nation. This true story moves fast and furious, and spares time to titillate as well with an eye on the box office. Either way, you should like this film while it lasts. Remember its for adults only.

James N. Benedict.

MORE DANGEROUS

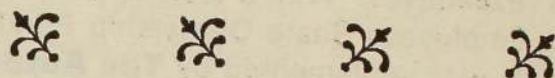
Than Bermuda Triangle

Moscow, July 10 : American General Vernon Walters intends to meet representatives of several Latin American countries and South Africa to continue the talks on the establishment of a military bloc in the South Atlantic. Each of the parties to the expected agreement has his own interests. Some Latin American dictators led by Washington, possibly, think that the guns of American warships will add muscle-power to the force of the bayonets that prop up their regimes. Pretoria sees the new bloc as a way of establishing close practical military cooperation with the United States. There are supporters of the idea in Europe as well. London was the first to fall into line, and the London **Observer** writes that the idea was warmly greeted in the UK capital. It also seems that the European NATO members see the plan as offering an opportunity for the North Atlantic Alliance to expand its boundaries, with the USA providing the connecting link between the two blocs. The purpose is self-evident.

The establishment of a South Atlantic Alliance(SATO) is in complete accord with the American foreign

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policy doctrine, which is founded on the struggle against "international terrorism" i.e., the national liberation movements. Washington needs SATO to be "legally" present near the shores of two continents beset by turmoil—Africa and South America. The objectives of the creators of this alliance are obvious. The danger it poses is equally obvious. What the authors of the alliance between the United South Africa and the Latin American dictatorships are after is to totally stifle the right of the nations in that region to decide their own destiny as they deem correct. Gunboat diplomacy, given the status of a military bloc, may lead to the emergence of a triangle far more dangerous than the Bermuda triangle. **APN.**



Govt.

Notice

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

Reference No:- 11/7/7/7

The Government intends to acquire the Land described in the Schedule below, for a public purpose, for particulars, please see part 111 of the Gazette of the Democratic Socialist Republic of Sri Lanka No 152 of 31 - 07 - 1981

SCHEDULE

District	: Anuradhapura
D.R.O.'S Division	: Nuwaragam Palatha (West)
G.S.'S Division	: Tulana No. 6
Name of Village	: Nelunthottama
Name of Land	: Gangoda, Akkara Watta, Purana Wela Nelunthottama Kele, Nelunthottama Landu Hena
Plan No.	: F. V. P. 672 (Sup No. 1)
Lot No.	: From 21 to 115

Anderson Jayasuriya.
Acquiring Officer,

The Kachcheri,
Anuradhapura.
1981. 07. 06.

“SHARING IS WHAT WE OWE OTHERS”

EMPLOYEES SHARE OWNERSHIP TRUST FUND (ESOTF)

In 1970 over 10 yrs ago The Autodrome donated Cycles and Radios to employees and shares to Executives. With a view to extending Share Ownership to all employees, not only Executives, an Employees Share Ownership Fund to be invested primarily in employer coys, and associated coys. was implemented by **The Autodrome, UnionCo and Cyril Gardiner Ltd.** and the Fund amounts to **Rs. 1,000,000 at present.**

The Galle Face Hotel Co Ltd. has also a similar Fund of Rs. 1,000,000.

Employees with over 7 yrs service at all companies would receive benefits of Share Ownership. The employees vote will be cast democratically according to the wishes of the majority of the employees by an employee chosen by them and the vote would be cast on all shareholders' resolutions including capital structure, increase and issue of Bonus shares, alterations to Memorandum and Articles of Association etc.

A similar Fund was instituted at **Millers and Cargills** on a Directors' decision proposed by Mr. Cyril Gardiner and it was publicly announced to the **Hon. Prime Minister** at his office by the entire Board of Directors of Millers and in the presence of all the employees and this was reported in the national press. All documents in respect of approx. 3% bought for Rs. 2. 2M were lodged in December '80 with Grindlays Bank, Cargills Building, at the disposal of the Directors and/or Lawyers and /or Auditors. Other purchases included the initial and conditional payments amounting to Rs. 1,00,000 made to the Directors of Millers & Cargills, namely the Thambiayah family direct and the de Vos family through Messrs. Julius & Creasy. Grindlays Bank advanced the above sum without interest as arranged by Mr. CG. The GM of Grindlays was present when the announcement was made by all the Directors at the office of the Hon. Prime Minister in the presence of all employees.

Mr. Cyril Gardiner who is Deputy Chairman of Hotel Services **Inter Continental** has proposed that about 10% of Bonus shares be allotted for the benefit of Employees of Inter-Continental.

“GIVE BEFORE IT HURTS”

Giving does not make you poorer
Not giving does not make you richer

What we gave, we have:
What we spent, we had:
What we left, we lost:

July 10 - 18

**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.

FRIDAY, JULY 10 : Prime Minister R. Premadasa will leave on July 11 by Air Lanka on a three-nation tour of London, East Germany and Yugoslavia; the main event in his visit will be the opening of the Sri Lanka Exhibition in London to commemorate 50 years of Universal Adult franchise. Iraq has categorically denied that it has reached an agreement with any political party here to supply discounted oil; in a statement issued yesterday, Mr. Mamdoh Abdul Hamid, the Iraqi Ambassador in Colombo referred to a news report of a speech made by Mr. Lakshman Jayakody, the SLFP MP for Attanagalla and said that Baghdad had authorised him to deny that Iraq would give oil at a 50 per cent discount and confirm that his country had come to no such agreement with any party. Development secretaries have given the green light for a Rs. 120 million Truck and Vehicle Assembly Project of the Industries Ministry; a Treasury spokesman said that the massive industry would assemble all the lorries and trucks required by the country; it would be sited at the abandoned Lanka Leyland building at Panagoda. Under the government's revised scheme, engineers in the State services and statutory bodies will be paid an enhanced monthly allowance to stem the exodus of engineers from Sri Lanka; with effect from January 1980, an engineer will be paid Rs. 250 a month for the first four years of service; Rs. 400 for the next four years and Rs. 900 from the ninth year and after; this is more than double the allowance they draw at present—**CDN**. The Ministry of Education will shortly implement a scheme under which 38,000 science and mathematics teachers will be trained and posted to schools to overcome an acute shortage of science and maths teachers throughout the island, according to Mr. S. Weerawanni, Deputy Minister of Education—**CDM**. The position of the tea industry in Sri Lanka's economy is becoming relatively less important; the country's tea in the international market is weakening, both in terms of quality and quantity and these trends will continue in the future; these have been identified

by the Sri Lanka State Plantations Corporation and Janatha Estates Development Board as two major trends, in the tea industry in a report to President J. R. Jayewardene. The Sri Lanka Freedom Party wants the period of the state of emergency in May-June this year included in the terms of reference of the proposed Presidential Commission to probe the recent Jaffna incidents; this decision has been conveyed to President J. R. Jayewardene by the party's parliamentary group leader Maithripala Senanayake—**SU**. There were no reports of any Sri Lankans being involved in the current racial riots in England, acting Minister of Foreign Affairs Tyrone Fernando said this morning; Mr. Fernando said the Foreign Ministry was keeping in close touch with our High Commission in London regarding the safety of Sri Lankans in the UK—**CO**.

SATURDAY, JULY 11 : The Health Ministry said yesterday it was awaiting the report of the Salary Review Committee on the new salary structure for nurses submitted by the Public Services United Nurses' Union; until this report was received the Ministry could do nothing to restructure nurses' salaries. One of the biggest elephant drives in recent years begins in the North Central Province at the end of this month when the Wild Life Conservation Department launches a carefully mapped operation to move over a hundred elephants trapped in small patches of jungle within the Kalawewa area into the safety of the Wilpattu National Park. The Public Service United Nurses Union will continue its present work-to-rule campaign till Monday, the Union President Ven. Muruthettuwa Ananda said yesterday—**CDN**. The State Timber Corporation has blown the lid off a massive racket in the issue of permits by certain Forest Officers for the transport of timber to certain furniture manufacturers in Moratuwa and Colombo—**CDM**. The demand for driving licences is increasing rapidly; last year the average number of licences issued by the Department of Motor Traffic was 230 a day, as against 120 in 1979; in 1978 only 98 were issued a day. The Job Bank scheme introduced in March 1978 is likely to be scrapped; a review of the Job Bank's functions was ordered last week by President J. R. Jayewardene with a view to ascertaining whether recruitment through the bank was beneficial to the public service. The Government is to train 1,000 heavy equipment operators and 500 heavy equipment mechanics to meet severe dearth of skilled personnel in the irrigation sector, specially the accelerated Mahaveli Development Project; the crash programme which is scheduled to get underway at the end of the year, is funded by the World Bank affiliated International Development Agency and the Government—**SU**. A Committee comprising of high-ranking officials and headed by the Minister of Home Affairs K. W. Devanayagam will visit the Paddiruppu and Amparai areas where there was violence during the past few days and make inquiries; the Defence Ministry yesterday sent a Tamil Police Officer there to assist in the inquiries.—**VK**.

SUNDAY, JULY 12 : Regulations on granting political asylum in West Germany were being tightened and those seeking political asylum were going to be very much disappointed; Dr. (Mrs.) H. Hamm-Brucher, Minister of State in the German Federal Foreign office told a press conference held yesterday at the Hotel Oberoi. A crack squad of CID detectives led by Director, Amerasena Rajapakse yesterday raided what Police described as a "mini immigration department" at Pettah which was alleged to have issued thousands of forged passports the majority of them to Northern youths to travel abroad.—**SO.** The government is likely to ban Sri Lanka women going out as housemaids in Middle East countries; representations have been made to the President Mr. J. R. Jayewardene and Prime Minister R. Premadasa by various social service organisations and independent observers regarding the degrading and "slavish" conditions young women had to work in these countries—**ST.** The Indo-Sri Lanka Amendment Act has provided for the grant of citizenship to about 50,000 Sri Lankans during the current year—**VK.**

MONDAY, JULY 13 : The Ceylon Electricity Board (CEB) is now battling a hidden crisis of voltage losses on its antiquated transmission system leading to dim lights in homes countrywide; Mr. Cyril Mathew, Minister of Industries and Scientific Affairs and President of the Federation of State Corporations' Buddhist Associations on Saturday asked the Buddhist public to join in the restoration of Buddhist shrines in the North and East launched by his Federation in order to thwart the Eelam cry—**CDN.** Members of Parliament of the Tamil United Liberation Front will not participate in the Parliamentary debate on the Vote of No-Confidence on the Leader of the Opposition scheduled for July 23 and 24; the motion has been moved by Dr. Neville Fernando, MP for Panadura and group of 36 other Government MPs. The Inspector General of Police has rushed two Police riot squads to the troubled district of Amparai where thugs had gone on the rampage last week, damaging houses and shops there. The Prime Minister Mr. R. Premadasa said on Saturday night that the Festival of Sri Lanka in London which will be opened this Thursday (July 16) at the Commonwealth Institute at Kensington Street by Queen Elizabeth II will tell the whole world how dedicatedly the people of Sri Lanka had safeguarded universal adult franchise in this country for the last fifty years—**CDM.** Inspector General Ana Seneviratne has ordered that a team of at least four Police Officers headed by an inspector, sub-inspector or a sergeant, should be detailed to conduct on the spot investigations into any criminal act, committed in the Jaffna district—**SU.** The Department of the Registrar of Motor Vehicles has collected a whopping Rs. 90.6 million as revenue from motor vehicles registered in 1980—**CO.** The disputes that existed between the farmers of the Paddiruppu and Amparai have been settled amicably

by the steps taken by the Minister of Home Affairs Mr. K. W. Devanayagam—**VK.**

TUESDAY, JULY 14 : Eight thousand of the 40,000 students eligible for entry to the Universities have not replied to the questionnaire sent by the University Grants Commission asking them whether they wished to join a university and for details relevant to admissions. The building construction boom in the Middle East has come to an end, and it is time that Asian countries equipped their unemployed with other trade skills, Labour Minister Captain C. P. J. Seneviratne told a regional seminar on Apprenticeship at the Hotel Taprobane yesterday. Mr. Sam Wijesinha, the Secretary-General of Parliament will be appointed the first Ombudsman under provisions of the 1978 Constitution, authoritative governmental sources said yesterday—**CDN.** Batches of forty two education inspectors each will visit all schools shortly to advise teachers on teaching methods and examine accounts and administrative methods, the Minister of Education, Mr. Ranil Wickremasinghe has decided. Sri Lanka has been fortunate enough to obtain over Rs. 15,000 million as aid to the "Aid Group" meeting held in Tokyo last week, so said Mr. Ronnie de Mel, Minister of Finance and Planning at a rally at the Elpitiya esplanade after opening the Bank of Ceylon branch earlier—**CDM.** A top-level government committee is to study the trade profile of ASEAN member countries—Singapore, Malaysia, Indonesia, Thailand and the Philippines—in a bid to chalk out areas for trade with Sri Lanka; the move is a follow up of Prime Minister R. Premadasa's visit to ASEAN capitals (excluding Singapore), where accords were reached for enhanced bi-lateral trade co-operation—**SU.** A call for paid maternity leave of not less than six months has been made in the Code for the Promotion of Breast Feeding and the Marketing of Breast Milk substitutes to be presented to Parliament shortly as a draft Bill; at present maternity leave is 42 days. Nearly 500 volunteers from St. John's Brigade the Colombo Red Cross Society and all pupil nurses rushed to vital points at Government medical institutions to stand in for the Government nurses who sent in sick notes again today—**CO.** The Inspector General Ana Seneviratne has decided to issue revolvers, pistols and guns to banks on a credit basis; training on the handling of these weapons will be provided to security officers employed by the banks—**DP.**

WEDNESDAY, JULY 15 : The nurses trade union action escalated yesterday by a second sick note campaign, took an ugly turn when doctors and other staff reporting to the wards found many of the drugs and instrument cupboards locked and the keys allegedly hidden; there was absolute confusion in some hospitals with the authorities frantically getting instruments, drugs and other supplies from elsewhere in an effort to cope—**CDN.** West German authorities have advised the Sri Lanka Government

that a total of 3,960 Sri Lankans have attempted to enter the Federal Republic since 1979 for various reasons. The Prime Minister, Mr. R. Premadasa who is also Minister of Housing and Construction has ordered the sale of all idle bare land in Colombo and the money realised used to boost his housing program which now exceeds 150,000 houses—**CDN**. Sri Lanka has rejected East Germany's terms for signing a bilateral shipping agreement, they had wanted a 40-40 cargo sharing formula, the remaining twenty was not to be covered by the agreement. Wage increases for unskilled categories of labour in Sri Lanka have ranged from 85 to 205 per cent, according to a survey by the Ministry of Plan Implementation of 'Wage increases in non-staff grades between June 1977 and March 1981'—**SU**. Nurses who have created chaos in all state hospitals by sending in sick notes for the last two days will decide at 3 p.m. whether they are to resort to strike action; a spokesman for the 5,900 member Public Service United Nurses' Union, said that they would meet at their Union headquarters this afternoon to consider the decision to take strike action or not—**CO**. The High Court yesterday made order issuing notices on the 19 defendants to appear in Courts on 22nd September, in the writ application calling for an order making the Jaffna District Development Council null and void—**VK**.

THURSDAY, JULY 16 : The Public Service United Nurses Union yesterday decided to call off its sick note protest campaign; accordingly the 5,800-strong membership of the union, now on sick leave, will report for work today; a union spokesman said that they had decided to call off their protest as President J. R. Jayewardene will meet a delegation from the Union next Monday. Some 250 thugs hanging round the entrance to the Colombo Airport, Katunayake, badger, torment and extort money from bewildered tourists, on the pretext of carrying baggage, no sooner they set foot on Sri Lanka soil; these men live by thuggery; they hold to ransom the fair name of the Island's growing tourist industry—**CDN**. The cabinet of ministers presided over by the President, Mr. J. R. Jayewardene yesterday studied what incentives should be given to private bus operators to continue running their services for the benefit of the public—**CDM**. President J. R. Jayewardene will meet a delegation from the Tamil United Liberation Front shortly for talks on several key matters; main among them, will be the appointment of the proposed commission to probe recent incidents in Jaffna and the ongoing TULF boycott of Parliament proceedings—**SU**. The Deputy Minister of Food and Co-operatives Mr. Sarath Chandra Rajakaruna informed the Cabinet yesterday that there is a big fraud going on in the use of food stamps; he pointed out that certain consumers had made use of the stamps which they had already used and thereby committed fraud—**VK**.

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FRIDAY, JULY 17 : Prime Minister, Ranasinghe Premadasa discussed on Wednesday the riots that had rocked Britain in recent days during a luncheon engagement with British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher, at No. 10 Downing Street; there have been no reports received in Colombo that any Sri Lankan had been attacked or hurt during the disturbances, according to the Foreign Ministry; about 30,000 Lankan expatriates live in the UK at present the largest Sri Lankan community outside Sri Lanka—**CDN**. Britain's relationship with Sri Lanka stretches back into history; the colonial association has been replaced by one between equals as fellow members of the Commonwealth; it remained strong and friendly and they have each learned from the other said Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth when she declared open the "Festival of Sri Lanka" exhibition at the Commonwealth in London—**CDM**. Nurses in state medical institutions ended their sick note protest yesterday—but began a work-to-rule campaign; wearing black bands on their arms, the nurses yesterday refrained from performing a number of duties. A group of slogan-shouting demonstrators provided some light entertainment, appropriately outside the Odeon, Kensington High Street as Queen Elizabeth declared open a Sri Lanka Festival at the Commonwealth Institute across the road. Industries and Scientific Affairs Minister Cyril Mathew has accused the Public Enterprises Division of the Ministry of Finance and Planning of flouting presidential directives and disregarding Cabinet decisions in respect of four corporations coming under his ministry; he has also charged this division with vitiating budgetary principles and acting contrary to law in regard to the finances of the Steel Corporation and the Industrial Development Board—**SU**. There are a few who want to be policemen although the average take home pay of a police constable now amounts to around Rs. 1,000; a police spokesman said yesterday that they were being severely affected by a shortage of manpower caused by high paid jobs in Middle Eastern Countries as well as better paid jobs in the corporation and private sectors—**CO**. A conference of the District Development Councils will be held in Colombo today; Chairmen of the DDCs, District Ministers, Development Secretaries will take part in the conference which will be addressed by the President Mr. J. R. Jayewardene—**DP**. The Government machinery is to start their propaganda both internally and internationally against the demand for Eelam which is not justified—**VK**.

SATURDAY, JULY 18 : Industries Minister Cyril Mathew yesterday condemned the "massive fraud" perpetrated on consumers by certain unscrupulous manufacturers and stressed the fundamental rights consumers are entitled to. The electricity bills of some Colombo residents run higher than Rs. 200 a month, a Ceylon Electricity Board survey has revealed; "this big league of consumers is very small; sixty per cent of the domestic power users

on our books pay electricity bills of less than Rs. 20 a month", a CEB spokesman said. Engineering students of the Peradeniya University continued the boycott of their examinations yesterday; only one student sat the Part II Final examination for external students held yesterday—**CDN**. Sri Lanka faces a balance of payments deficit of US dollars 210 million for the current year; the government has decided to formulate methods to promote exports in the face of the decline in the prices of tea and rubber; the plan is to boost the non-traditional products as Sri Lanka already holds an advantage in this field over other countries in South East Asia and the Far East—**CDM**. West Berlin authorities, already pressed to provide services to foreigners seeking asylum, today said the situation had become desperate with the newest influx of Sri Lankans; Ulrich Von Chamier, in charge of asylum matters in the Police Department said 592 Lankans had asked for sanctuary in the first two weeks of July; about 200 were camped in the railway station by the city zoo "Zoo Bahnhof". A series of new tariffs for all imported goods has been finalised by the Presidential Tariffs Commission and is expected to come into effect next month—**SU**.



THE MALAY HOUSE—2

Housing Estate vs Kampong

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 is the second instalment of the five-part series.

THE ECONOMICS of a house can be studied by various approaches. The conservative method of comparing the monetary costs of materials, labour, overhead, professional fees etc. is difficult to apply to the traditional Malay house for various reasons. Further in the first place, many of these items do not apply to the Malay house. Further, much of the material used in the traditional Malay house is obtained free of charge from the surroundings, and many of the materials used are also recycled; e.g., if an old house is torn down, its materials are used for a new house. For a modern house, all the materials have to be paid for. **Labour** in the traditional Malay house cannot be accurately accounted for in monetary terms as the houses are largely built and renovated by the users

themselves, sometimes with help from neighbours and friends. However, sometimes carpenters are employed. Traditional house-building also provides fuller employment for the users themselves, as they are often free in the off-working seasons due to the seasonal nature of work in the kampongs—mainly agriculture and fishing. Labour in modern houses is fully paid for, and the users do not even have the slightest involvement in the house construction until the house is completely finished and sold to them. House-building by the users themselves also provides a sense of achievement and belonging. There are no professional fees, overhead costs, and other service charges in building a traditional Malay house.

The main costs of a traditional Malay house, excluding land cost, are for materials and labour. If full labour is required for the construction of a traditional Malay house, it may range from 35 to 50 per cent of the total cost, depending on the type of house. The construction cost for a traditional Malay house varies considerably because of its varied size and quality, depending on the user's needs, priorities, and economic means. The building cost (materials and labour) for a traditional Malay house can range from M\$ 3,500 (for a basic house) to M \$20,000 (for a big, finely finished building of good timber). The housing-estate house on the other hand has a more fixed range for construction costs. There are many reasons for this. First, the house designs have to be of a certain quality that complies with the by-law (based mainly on average middle-class standards), irrespective of the user's needs or economic means. Second, there is no user participation or control at all in the design or construction of the house; the user has no choice in the design, the materials used, or the construction. He just buys the house when it is completed.

AN ESTIMATED AVERAGE BREAKDOWN of the cost of building a housing-estate house—apart from the cost of the land—is as follows: Building cost (materials and labour) 70%, External work (roads, sewers, drains, minor earthwork, etc.), 20% and professional fees 10%; total construction cost 100%. Thus, about 30 percent of the construction of the housing-estate house — in fact, of most urban houses—is taken by costs which could be cut down considerably. In most housing-estate developments, about 50% of the land is taken up in roads, open spaces, substations, and road reserves—things which the developer considers unproductive but the costs of which nevertheless must be borne by the house buyer. Some 35 to 40 per cent of this 50 per cent is for roads and road reserves; this increases the cost of houses not just by the cost of land but also by the cost of paving the roads. Construction of the roads accounts for most of the 20 per cent of construction cost taken for external work. Cars are given too much priority. The great amount of land

devoted to roads not only increase cost but also change the micro-climate of the settlement because of the loss of natural ground cover.

The intangible costs involved in modern housing-estate development are tremendous when compared to the intangible costs in kampong development. The possible intangible costs of modern housing development include: destruction of trees, destruction of landscape, destruction of watersheds, creation of floods, depletion of "lungs" (trees and vegetation) for the cities, creation of traffic congestion, creation of social ills, creation of defective micro-climates, loss of supplementary income for people dislocated by the development, change in life-style (cultural adaptation is needed for living in the house and housing estate), pollution—noise/traffic, lack of children's playgrounds etc. These intangible costs are mainly social and environmental costs borne more by society as a whole, especially by the less privileged and poorer classes who do not have social mobility. Their effects on individuals are slow and indirect, so that it is possible to hide them to some extent under the claim that all these things are being done for the progress of the individual.

A lot of these intangible costs in social and environmental ills are not found in the development of kampongs for the following reasons: the kampong is a closely-knit community where social interests are more integrated with the community; the scale of development is small and human and is not based on the western concept of conquest and exploitation of nature; Kampong development is a natural growth on the basis of the needs of the inhabitants; Kampong development is not profit biased; Kampong development does not impose "order" on a site through conscious artificial plans and designs; the development, instead, is subordinate to nature and fits into nature. The intangible costs of the two types of development are further discussed in the following section on environment.

The relationship of development and environment in the kampong is basically an I-Thou relationship, whereas that in the housing estate is an I-It relationship. Nature is given due respect in the kampong; only what is needed is taken away from it. There is no gross exploitation of nature for profits and gains. The scale of development is small, and the technology used is appropriate to both the people and the environment. The houses and the village layout are fitted into the environment, rather than imposing a new order on the environment. Nature is made use of in the most appropriate way, without destroying it. Trees are used for shade. Rivers are used for water supply and drainage. Fruits, vegetables and other forms of food are gathered from the surroundings, supplemented by the cultivation of food. Building materials are also gathered or taken from the surrounding vegetation. Technology in the village is local

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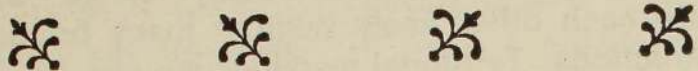
and decentralized. Village technology is simple and is understood and used by the local people themselves. There is much direct interaction with nature. Nature is understood in depth—its ways, characteristics, and peculiarities....and from this understanding many traditional technologies evolved.

THE KAMPONG ENVIRONMENT is cool and shady with lots of vegetation. Paths are unpaved; compounds are kept meticulously clean. Spaces flow into each other freely without many boundaries or obstructions. Territorial markings are unclear, often unmarked by any physical structures. Physical markings, if there are any, are subtle and do not act as a physical barrier—they just act as markings, not to keep out unwelcome people or for privacy. The kampong is an integrated environment, with free-flowing spaces integrating the various houses and elements together, unlike the unintegrated environment of the modern housing estate, where the housing units are segregated by fences and physically linked by a rigid network of roads. It is not an integrated system where anything can be substituted for anything else without making any difference. Flood-prone areas are known to be caused by many new housing estates. New housing estates are always bare like deserts with some shrubs. New housing estates are known to dislocate many squatters. New housing estates are known to reduce watershed areas. New housing estates are known to take away large green areas which provide oxygen for the people. New housing estates are known to take topsoil and cause severe erosion, and to aggravate flooding by siltation. New housing estates are known to be disastrous environmentally.

Generally the physical development of a new housing estate is as follows: First, the site is cleared of all vegetation by bulldozers. Levelling or filling of land may be needed according to the site conditions. Due to "shortage" of land, many unsuitable low lying areas are filled in for the housing development. This may save the housing-estate site itself from flooding but causes massive problems of flooding and siltation in neighbouring areas. Natural river courses and drainage systems are changed, and the change of ground cover causes an increased rate of surface water runoff and therefore may cause floods in nearby areas. The site becomes a man-made desert devoid of any vegetation, with a lone shelter for the workers and materials. Because of the scale and convenience in design and construction, nature is changed to suit the needs of a few individuals without regard to the effects on others. The lots for the individual houses are surveyed and marked. Materials and workmen come onto the site, the workmen often staying in makeshift shelters. The frames of the buildings are put up, then filled in with walls, panels, and roofs. Meanwhile roads and infrastructures are constructed. The housing estate is ready with the final touch-up of paintwork, fittings,

and paving. A certificate of fitness is given to the users, to certify that the houses are finally ready to be lived in. The houses already completed and certified fit for occupation are still situated in a desert of concrete pavement and buildings, with very few trees. The glare, sterility, and monotony of a newly developed housing estate is disturbing to the eyes.

To be continued.



DDCs ELECTIONS—4

UNP View (2)

Continued From Last Week

THE FIRST ARTICLE in **The UNP Journal**, June 12, entitled PRESPECTIVES FOR NDCs read: "The dust and the heat of the hustings have abated. The National Development Councils have been returned for 23 of the 24 Districts and the stage is set for the beginning of development from the grass-root level. The eyes of the nation will be focussed on these Councils. For, at last, for the first time in the island's history, a start is being made to involve the mass of the people through the political parties of their choice and, thereby, through elected representatives for popular participation in development endeavour in viable manageable district units. Since Independence, the word 'development' has featured in the political, social and economic vocabulary of successive governments. Much has been sought to be done in this respect. Billions of rupees have been spent. From Colombo to the provinces, from the centre of power to the periphery, fiat for development have been issued. Various schemes, agricultural as well as industrial, have been launched. These schemes have, of necessity, been comprehensively islandwide in their scope and content. The blueprints setting them out have had to take the larger view of the mobilisation of men and materials. Having been conceived at the centre and moving outwards thereafter, their aims and objectives have in certain instances, resulted in discontent and dis-satisfaction at the periphery" **Then follows a long homily on the virtues of the DDCs and how they would be able to reach the people at grass-roots level even in the remotest corners of Sri Lanka.**

THE SECOND ARTICLE: SPECIALISTS IN THE FUDGING GAME was probably intended to lay a smokescreen to distract the attention of the people from some of the implications of the election results: "The name of the game is fudging. Yes, fudging with election figures. The Leftists have been practising this game for the last three decades. We commend them to the world political analysts for the Lenin

Prize. Why? Because there is none other to match their dexterity in fudging election figures. The first noteworthy General Election, fought on a sort of party basis for the first time in the then Ceylon was in 1947. After the results the Marxist Party at the time, the LSSP, strained its golden brains to prove that the results were against the UNP, though the latter had emerged as the largest single party. The nett result of the "Yamuna Conference" and its after-math was the oft quoted phrase 'the three headed donkeys' which the LSSP called Independents who joined the UNP. This term back-fired on them at all subsequent elections to the legislature.

"At the 1952 General Election, when Mr. Dudley Senanayake sought a fresh mandate from the people, the Leftists fared slightly better than the breakaway scion of the UNP—SWRD's SLFP. While the UNP formed the government, the LSSP was busy trying to prevent SWRD from being the leader of the Opposition. The golden brains were taxed again to add and subtract the totals gathered by the three or four major parties. But the astute politician that SWRD was, made him the Leader of the Opposition. In 1956, when the most spoken of election took place the result of which in a very wide sense, could be compared to the recent election of Francois Mitterand. The leftists did their best jugglers' performance to show that SWRD won solely and purely because of an unwritten electoral agreement with the Leftists, Each party of the Left, the CP, LSSP, VLSSP, added and carved percentages of votes to suit their preconceived theories. Though bitter about this outsider and newcomer, SWRD, reaping the benefits of toil by the Marxists for over two decades against the UNP and the establishment the Marxist groups collated the election results and voter patterns to show that it was not SWRD who defeated the UNP.

"The country was never told that the UNP received the largest number of votes as a single party despite their ignoble defeat in collecting only eight seats out of 95. The tussle for power in March 1960, proved that, despite the long standing campaign of the Marxists they could not stand on their own. This bitter lesson, made them join the SLFP at the July elections. From the "Salu Pota" of SWRD to which the VLSSP hung on, the LSSP and the CP moved on to hang on to the 'Sari Pota'. Here again, the Marxists added and subtracted to show that Mrs. Bandaranaike's 'mother figure' was not the magnet that polled votes to the unofficial electoral coalition. To their chagrin, the Marxists could not explain why the SLFP got a working majority in Parliament and why the UNP got the largest number of votes as a single party. Similarly, we can gloss over the 1965 and 1970 elections, where, in defeat or in victory, the Maxists tried to show that it was because of them that the SLFP got so many seats. Came 1977 and the complete rejection of the Marxists

by the Sri Lankan voter. This left the Marxists without any explanation, arithmetical or otherwise. They also could not explain why the UNP got more than 50 percent of the total number of votes cast. At the recent DDC elections, from which the Marxists and their blind follower, the SLFP ran away, the UNP had bettered its previous record of 51 percent to 87 per cent. It was interesting to note how the leftists tried to explain this to their supporters. They started fudging the figures, the percentages and the totals in an unprecedented manner. We know, even at the last General Election, the percentages that did not go to poll was over 20. **Even if we go by their figure, that around 50 percent did not go to polls, the UNP had still more votes than that percentage. Maths, double maths, pure maths and applied maths will not alter the fact that the UNP policy has been endorsed by the vast majority of the voters."**

This article is no doubt intended to debunk the Left (and the SLFP) which endeavour to utilise the DDC election results. Many believe that attack is the best form of defence, and instead of meeting the challenge of the statistics the UNP indulges in this mini red-baiting exercise in the fond belief that people will not accept critical analyses of the results by branding all critics as leftists who were experts at "fudging" comments on the election statistics. One does not know whom the UNP hopes to take in with this kind of propaganda gimmick, but the UNP will do well to find out how many of its supporters (even in high places) now read the **Aththa**, the **Janadina** and the **Dinakara** to get at the other side of the story. This article also betrays a cocksure complacency about the invincibility of the UNP and the infallibility of commentators who write pieces like **SPECIALISTS IN THE FUDGING GAME**. Such cocksureness is not a happy augury and the UNP will do well to read the writing on the wall.

THE THIRD ARTICLE: LEADERSHIP DELUSIONS OF SLFP is a direct attack on Mrs. Bandaranaike and a rhetorical onslaught on the value of the boycott: "The Sri Lanka Freedom Party has a non-playing captain in Sirima Bandaranaike. No doubt, such an odd situation is the cause for considerable embarrassment and frustration for some of her team mates. If she does not have the good grace, some may say good sense, to vacate temporarily the key post she so desperately clings to, it is not our headache. That is a problem which only SLFPers can resolve. In the context of having to play Dr. Jekyll and Sister Hyde in the situation Sirima Bandaranaike finds herself, it came as a little surprise to those in the know, when the SLFP, under her leadership, decided to dodge the National Development Council elections. If the SLFP had contested the elections, they would have had to take the field with an active playing captain.

"But here was the rub. What if the Party under such a substitute leadership, fared even tolerably better than the miserable performances at the 1977 General Election, under Sirima Bandaranaike's leadership? What if the SLFP emerged with a considerably better image at the NDC elections, than the Party did under Mrs. Bandaranaike's leadership at the Local Government elections and the Parliamentary by-elections? That fear no doubt, which brought about a last minute withdrawal of the Party from the recently concluded elections. The public, by and large, were not fooled into believing that the SLFP ducked the elections because a high level inquiry might be taking place simultaneously with the election campaign into the conduct of some SLFP members of the government during the Sirima Bandaranaike regime. They could not be duped into believing that such an inquiry would be prejudicial to the chances of the SLFP at these elections.

"And so, the SLFP, under Sirima Bandaranaike's leadership, dodged the election. As was expected, with or without the SLFP contesting, the UNP emerged, a facile winner at the NDC elections, capturing power in 18 out of the 23 districts, with the results of the Jaffna District unknown as yet. The year 1981, marks the 50th year of adult franchise in Sri Lanka—an historic landmark in democracy. During these 50 years, the people of Sri Lanka have time and again, demonstrated their faith in the democratic process. They have eschewed violence, firmly opting to resort to the ballot rather than the bullet to change governments. They have recognized, in keeping with their religious traditions, that the peaceful and orderly use of the ballot is more powerful than guns and bayonets.

"Such being the high regard and esteem with which the right to vote is widely held in Sri Lanka, what was the advice the SLFP could give the voter at the NDC elections? Shockingly enough, it was to ask the voter to go to the polls and spoil the ballot paper. On reflection, such monstrously perverse and barren exhortations should not evoke much surprise. A feudal Walawa leadership, riddled with family bundyism and laced 'with a little bit of totalitarianism' cannot be expected to have a deep and abiding regard for an integral part of the democratic process such as the free vote. As a matter of fact, the entire period of the Sirima Bandaranaike regime from 1970 to 1977 was characterised by varied attempts to negate the democratic process. Having come to power by the free vote of an unsuspecting people, that regime proceeded to extend its life by two years without any reference back to the people. It, for all intents and purposes, by-passed Parliament and set about to rule arbitrarily under Emergency powers for a period of six years, imprisonment without trial, political victimisation, including torture were common practices of that time.

"It was no surprise, therefore, when that rotten set up was thrown out of power, lock, stock and barrel at the 1977 General election. And today, that very leadership would exhort the people to mutilate their votes. That is the only significant contribution which this sterile leadership can make to further democracy, when the people are celebrating the 50th year of adult franchise! Not only that. After the resounding UNP victory at the polls, Sirima Bandaranaike has emerged from the shadows to declare that the NDC polls verdict was a tremendous defeat for the UNP and clearly indicated that the people were turning to the SLFP. Where psychiatric cases are concerned, it is well known that the most difficult symptoms to treat are symptoms of what is termed 'withdrawal'. In such instances, patients are generally suffering from some severe shock after a shattering experience. Such cases then steadily withdraw from the harsh world of reality to an unsubstantial shadowy world of illusion and delusion in which they are perfectly happy. Such is the infinite capacity of human beings to fool themselves. Discredited and discarded politicians are no exception."

Even this article does not attempt to evaluate the election results. In the Parliament, the Prime Minister and other UNP spokesmen on July 11 repeatedly reiterated that "people had stood loyal to UNP in DC polls". This meant little or nothing. No attempt was even made to explain why nearly 45% of the voters kept away from the poll.

The President, Mr. J. R. Jayewardene, in a speech in Colombo on June 12 had pointed out that the SLFP had supported the TULF in the Eastern province in spite of TULF's continued adherence to Eelam. The **Ceylon Daily News** of June 13 carried the following report; "President J. R. Jayewardene said yesterday that the SLFP when in office and formed the Government jailed the TULF leadership, governed the North and East under emergency regulations and postponed the Chelvanayakam by-election, but when in opposition helped the establishment of Eelam. 'Let the rank and file of the SLFP and the rest of the country know that Eelam has received support from the present SLFP leadership, particularly in Trincomalee and the rest of the Eastern Province' he said. He was addressing the annual general meeting of the Executive Committee of the All Ceylon UNP Women's Union held at the Ramakrishna Hall, Wellawatte. President Jayewardene said that the party was now analysing the results of the recent Development Council elections as to why the UNP did well in some areas and not so well in others. It was the duty of all the party's organisations, including the Women's Union to find out their mistakes, seek to correct them and from now on start their campaign for the General Election of 1983. 'If there are members of Parliament, who do not work, tell them to resign'. He said that they should go to the people and convince them of the party's policies and the fact that it was

only through those policies that their problems could be solved. Referring to a remark made by an earlier speaker, Miss Ratna Serasinghe of Trincomalee, that the UNP would have won the Trincomalee DC if the SLFP sympathisers voted with the UNP, President Jayewardene said that statement was quite true. He said that in the Trincomalee District the polling at the 1977 General election and the 1981 DC elections showed that the TULF polled 2,304 votes more than the UNP. In 1977 the SLFP polled in this district 20,841. If one-fourth of those voted for the UNP in 1981, then the Chairman would have been one who did not advocate the division of the country and Eelam. Let the rank and file of the SLFP and the rest of the country know that Eelam has received support from the present SLFP leadership, particularly in Trincomalee and the rest of the Eastern Province. When they are in office and from the government they jail the TULF leadership, govern the North and the East under emergency regulations and postpone the Chelvanayakam bye-election. When in opposition they help the establishment of Eelam'. President Jayewardene emphasised that the UNP was against Eelam and would never allow the country to be divided...."

These extracts and citations show that the UNP has not got down to the task of seriously analysing election results and evaluating the perspectives that have emerged. The UNP seems to be content that it was returned unopposed in 7 districts and it won the majorities in 11 other—thus controlling 18 of the 24. The UNP has no representation only in the Jaffna DDC, but in the other 5 it has strong representation.

Is this enough for the UNP to be satisfied about the prospects of the Party for the 1983 General Election? The fact that the Opposition is still in total disarray may provide comfort but is such a negative attitude good enough for a ruling party which must keep grass-roots rapport at all times?

To be Continued.

Next Week : SLFP's Reactions to DDC Results.

PALESTINE STUDIES—3

Self Determination

—and State Terrorism—

By A Special Correspondent

ANOTHER SIGNIFICANT area of Zionist repression involves the Israeli refusal to grant self-determination to the Palestinian people within the occupied territories controlled by Israel. This had essentially involved (1) the development of an economic programme

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which exploits the Palestinian labour force; (2) restrictions on local institutions, and (3) restrictions placed on Palestinian political activity. The economic exploitation of the Palestinians in the occupied territories has been used as a measure of control over their political power. Brian Van Arkadie concluded in 1977 that Palestinians from the West Bank and Gaza Strip "have not participated in the political process that has set the major economic policies affecting them or that has supervised the overall implementation of those policies." The goal seems to be to bind the inhabitants of the occupied territories to the Israeli economy through a regime of colonial practices. These practices include the development of a captive market for Israeli products in the West Bank and Gaza, and the exploitation of a cheap labour force to provide a stimulus to the crisis-ridden Israeli economy.

Because the domestic population of Israel can no longer consume all the goods it produces, the West Bank and Gaza have provided a convenient captive market. But while this forced strategem has benefited the Israeli economy, the 1978 United States State Department Report revealed that the economy of the occupied areas "has remained relatively stagnant". The strategy is so one-sided that Hilal reported in 1976 that the West Bank and Gaza obtained 90 per cent of their imports from Israel, while it only obtained 2 percent of its imports from the occupied areas. In fact, Israel enjoyed a 513 million dollar trade surplus with that area from 1967-1976. At the same time, due to its more advanced industry, Israel needs more workers. However, instead of opening opportunities in Israel to all Palestinians in the occupied areas, it has specifically excluded skilled and professional workers. The **Israel Economist** commented: "The Israeli government is channelling Palestinian workers into the lowest ranks of the Israeli proletariat by denying work permits to persons from the occupied territories for any job deemed appropriate for unemployed Israelis and by referring workers from the occupied territories only to unskilled or semi-skilled jobs."

THE POLICY described above is in clear violation of Article 52 of the Fourth Geneva Convention, which reads in pertinent part: "All measures aiming at creating unemployment or at restricting the opportunities offered to workers in an occupied territory, in order to induce them to work for the occupying power, are prohibited."

The United Nations Special Committee on Palestine has described the economic relationship between Israel and the occupied territories as a "classic pattern of colonial economic dominance and exploitation. Such a policy, if given free rein, would reduce the economy of the occupied territories to a position of almost entire dependence on the economy of the

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occupying power for a long time after the end of the occupation. In this sense, the Special Committee has come to the conclusion that the occupation is causing undue interference in the economic life of the occupied territories and even if, for the sake of argument, it is conceded that certain short-term benefits are accruing to the population of the occupied territories, the situation could in the long run prove irreversible and, therefore, prove detrimental to the economic future of these territories." The institutions which might serve as an infrastructure of self-governance and self-determination within the occupied territories have likewise had their effectiveness limited by the Israeli government. Through a policy of interference with the work of municipal councils and social welfare institutions, the dependence of Gaza and the West Bank on Israeli services has been insured. As an example, while election of municipal officials was finally allowed in West Bank, and Gaza communities in 1976, all important decisions have remained within the province of the military governor of each jurisdiction. Additionally, there has developed a continuing Israeli effort to undermine the authority of the local mayors through a requirement that all citizens deal directly with the military governors on administrative matters instead of with the elected officials.

Military authorities have also precluded the expansion of locally owned utilities doing business in the occupied territory. The Israelis now require that additional water and electrical needs be satisfied solely from Israeli sources. The West Bank Military Governor has already incorporated the Hebron electrical system into the Israeli grid. This action was unsuccessfully challenged in the Israeli Supreme Court in 1975. Thomas S. Kuttner has succinctly stated the issue that is raised by such Israeli actions when all means of self-sufficiency are eliminated: "If the measures result in the integration of the utility systems of the occupied territory into the utility grids of the metropolitan territory of the occupant, does this not impinge on the reversionary interest of the dispossessed sovereign?"

THE STATE OF ISRAEL controls the occupied territories, as earlier noted, by military fiat. To maintain control and limit resistance, it applies the same Defence (Emergency) Regulations enacted by the British in the Mandated Territory in 1945 and vehemently denounced by the Jewish immigrants and their Zionist leaders. At a 1946 conference of the Jewish Lawyers Association in Tel Aviv, Dev Yosef, later a government minister, queries, "With regard to the security regulations the question is: Will we all be subject to official terrorism?" Unfortunately, **these regulations** were applied against the Palestinian population inside Israel until 1966 and soon after the June 1967 war were put into effect in the occupied territories, where they are presently applied. The repressive security regulations described below

cannot be construed as legally enacted because they contain provisions at variance with the Fourth Geneva Convention. The exceptions provided by the Fourth Geneva Convention for reasons of security are limited strictly by that Convention.

THE COLLECTIVE PENALTIES, threats of expulsion and the use of administrative detention by Israeli authorities are all methods of suppressing resistance which have been documented in the occupied territories. While Article 33 of the Fourth Geneva Convention clearly indicates that no protected person may be punished for an offence in which he was not involved, (Art. 33 States: "No protected person may be punished for an offence he or she has not personally committed. Collective penalties and likewise all measures of intimidation or of terrorism are prohibited... Reprisals against protected persons and their property are prohibited.") Regulation 119 of the Defence (Emergency) Regulations of 1945 permits an Israeli commander to destroy the homes of inhabitants if located in the same general area where a prohibited act has been committed. (The complete text of Regulation 119 (1) reads as follows: "A military Commander may by order direct the forfeiture to the Government of Palestine of any house, structure, or land from which he has reason to suspect that any firearm has been illegally discharged, or any bomb, grenade or explosive or incendiary article illegally thrown, detonated, exploded or otherwise discharged or of any house, structure or land situated in any area, town, village, quarter or street, the inhabitants or some of the inhabitants of which he is satisfied have committed, or attempted to commit, or abetted the commission of, or been accessories after the fact to the commission of, any offence against these Regulations involving violence or intimidation or any Military Court offence; and when any house, structure or land is forfeited as aforesaid, the Military Commander may destroy the house or the structure or anything in or on the house, the structure or the land.") Another form of collective punishment used to retaliate against acts of protest in the occupied territories is the use of curfews. Regulation 124 of the Defence (Emergency) Regulations allows their imposition for any purpose. (Regulation 124 reads as follows: "A Military Commander may by order require every person within any area specified in the order to remain within doors between such hours as may be specified in the order, and in such case, if any person is or remains out of doors within that area between such hours without a permit in writing issued by or on behalf of the Military Commander or some person duly authorized by the Military Commander to issue permits, he shall be guilty of an offence against these Regulations.") The destruction of private homes, however, has generated the greatest fear and hatred among the indigenous population. According to one estimate, as many as 20,000 homes have been destroyed since the occupation began following the 1967 war. Eleven

entire villages have also been completely destroyed. Whatever the number, each destroyed home represents a violation of Article 53 of the Fourth Geneva Convention which states: "Any destruction by the occupying power of real or personal property belonging individually or collectively to private persons, or to the State, or to other public authorities, or to social or cooperative organizations, is prohibited, except where such destruction is rendered absolutely necessary by military operations." Fritz Kalshoven has correctly observed that there was no military necessity: "It needs no argument that in instances discussed here (Israeli demolition of houses in the occupied territories) there was no question of military operations, let alone that these could have made the demolitions absolutely necessary."

IT HAS ALSO BEEN NOTED that the prohibitions contained in Article 53 must be regarded as absolute with no derogations permitted. The fact that these Israeli policies violate articles 53 and 33 of the Fourth Geneva Convention has been recognized by the UN Commission on Human Rights in 1977 and by the US State Department in 1978. Unfortunately, recognition of violations and the correction of abuses are often far apart. Resistance to Israeli policies is suppressed in other ways as well. Expulsion and administrative detention are two of the most frequently used, despite prohibitions against their use in the Fourth Geneva Convention. In November 1977, the American Friends Service Committee issued a study which concluded that approximately 1,500 West Bank and Gaza Palestinians have been expelled by the Israeli government since 1967. In examining the identity of those expelled, it is obvious that expulsions have been used by the Israeli government to deprive the West Bank and Gaza Palestinians of their indigenous, established leadership, around whom they could focus their discontent with the Israeli occupation. Not only does Article 49 of the Fourth Geneva Convention prohibit expulsions, but Article 68 of that same Convention prohibits any punishment other than imprisonment even for those convicted of a crime. The Convention permits incarceration for crimes, but not expulsion.

Equally violative of Palestinian rights has been the use of administrative detention beyond that authorized under international law. Article 78 of the Fourth Geneva Convention permits an occupying power to use internment or house arrest "for imperative reasons of security." Each such case must be reviewed every six months. The Convention does not, however, permit the use of administrative detention beyond one year from the "general close of military operations." (Article 6(3) reads as follows: "In the case of occupied territory, the application of the present Convention shall cease one year after the general close of military operation: however, the occupying power shall be bound, for the duration of the occupation, to the extent that such power exercises the function

of government in such territory, by the provisions of the following Articles of the present Convention: 1 to 12, 27, 29 to 34, 47, 49, 51, 52, 53, 59, 61 to 77, 143.) Despite the fact that thirteen years have passed since the close of hostilities related to the occupied territories, this practice is very much alive. In fact, following the (March) 1978 invasion of Lebanon, hundreds of West Bank and Gaza Palestinians were administratively detained in what has been described as an "indiscriminate crackdown." Detention for security reasons could be more easily defended if minimum due process were accorded the detainee. Haifa attorney Moshe Aman stated in 1978, however, that "neither the detained person nor his counsel is permitted to know the grounds for suspecting he is a security risk. Thus, no effective means is open to the detained person to challenge the detention." Article 78 views administrative detention as an extraordinary measure, not a means of incarcerating a person against whom evidence is too weak to support a criminal charge. While Article 78 grants a right of appeal and periodic review, these rights are effectively denied by Israeli authorities since a detainee is not informed of the grounds for suspicion. **This use of administrative detention by Israel has been characterized as illegal by the UN Commission on Human Rights and the US State Department. Nevertheless, these violations, like the others which have been described, continue uninterrupted.**

IN THE FORMULATION of a reasoned procedure through which nations such as Israel would consider it to their advantage to adhere to the principles of international law, the role of the leading powers cannot be ignored. It is the influence of the powerful states which holds the key to humanitarian treatment for the oppressed. Unfortunately, the United States, as the leader of the enlightened world, has set a very poor example. Charles W. Yost, former US Undersecretary of State, correctly described the United States government's concept of terrorism when he stated: "We all righteously condemn it—except when we ourselves or friends or ours are engaging in it. Then we ignore it or gloss it over or attach to it tags like "liberation" or "defence of the free world" or "national honour" to make it seem something other than what it is.

Many respected scholars believe that such a contradictory policy actually promotes another form of terrorism—individual and group terror-violence-while providing the protective shield under which state repression can continue. They explain that a policy such as that maintained by the United States reinforces the conviction of oppressed peoples that they cannot receive justice through peaceful procedures. The United States not only violates the spirit and letter of the Fourth Geneva Convention and United Nations Charter by not actively seeking an end to

oppression in areas of the world where it enjoys influence, but it violates its own domestic laws by continuing to support such regimes.

In 1973, the Congress passed the first of a series of legislative enactments which prohibited economic or military assistance to any country which violated the human rights of those within its borders for political reasons. The Foreign Assistance Act of 1974 expressed the sense of the Congress that "except in extraordinary circumstances, the President shall substantially reduce or terminate security assistance to any government which engages in a consistent pattern of gross violations of internationally recognized human rights." The International Development and Food Assistance Act of 1975 prohibited economic assistance to any country which consistently violated internationally recognized human rights unless the aid would directly benefit the needy. In 1976 the Congress established as a "principal goal" of United States foreign policy the promotion of increased observance of internationally recognized human rights by all countries. This legislation established as United States policy the prohibition of security assistance to government that engage in "gross violations of internationally recognized human rights". The Congress went even further the following year. In the International Development and Food Assistance Act of 1977, the Congress, in section 203 of this legislation, added a new section 112 to Public Law 480, Title I programme, which prohibited entry into any agreement under that title to finance the sale of agricultural commodities to the government of any country which engages in a consistent pattern of human rights violations, unless the agreement would benefit the needy people in that country. The Congressional appropriations for foreign assistance in 1978 and 1979 contained similar restrictions. Assistance was to be denied to any country which "repressed the legitimate rights of the population contrary to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights."

As is evident from the documented violation of Palestinian rights presented earlier in this paper, the State of Israel would appear to be ineligible for any United States military or economic aid. The facts have proven the contrary to be true, however. In the US State Department report on human rights for calendar year 1979, it was noted that the Israeli government received 3.2 billion dollars in economic and military aid and an additional amount in non-governmental United States support. Former Undersecretary of State George Ball claims that while the United States has failed for a decade to exert the influence needed to induce Israel to comply with (UN) resolutions there is no international doctrine of estoppel to deter the US from now moving incisively—particularly when the chances of success and the dangers of failure are both far greater than ever before.

Concluded

HUANG HUA VISIT

By Vijaya Chari

Madras, July 5 : At long last a "break-through"—to use Chinese Foreign Minister Huang Hua's own expression—has been made in the Sino-Indian relations during his four day visit to India in the last week of June. Though the normalisation process has been set in motion after more than two decades of frigidity, progress is bound to be only at snail's pace in view of petrified antagonism and sharply differing perceptions of global issues by both the countries. But, as Mrs. Indira Gandhi has said, the very fact that it has become possible for a Chinese Foreign Minister to make an official visit to India after more than twenty years (the late Chou En Lai was in India in 1960) was itself quite "significant". The ice has been broken and the thaw has set in but the climate bilateral and international, is not warm enough for a smooth and rapid flow towards the cordiality of the "Hindi-Chini Bhai Bhai days" of the pre-border conflict of 1962.

The rapprochement process began during the last year of the previous tenure of Mrs. Gandhi when, after protracted silent diplomacy, both countries raised the level of diplomatic representation to Ambassador's level. Pretty soon there were two setbacks with Mr. Atal Bihari Vajpayee, the Indian Foreign Minister, during the Janata rule, abruptly cutting short his visit to China in the wake of Chinese invasion of Vietnam and postponement of Huang Hua's visit to India scheduled for last year following India's recognition of the Heng Samrin Regime in Kampuchea. These setbacks are but indicative of lurking mutual suspicions over each other's motivations and foreign policy postures. But under the pressure of developing geo-political compulsions both sides have now moved ahead with determination to make a break-through.

The compulsions are obvious and not far to seek. With the emergence of multi-polar power centres and with the accentuation of US-Soviet confrontation with the US Naval build up in the Indian Ocean and the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan, India and China are anxious not to allow tension to mount to a peak in South-East Asia as it would only lead to the greater super-power play with repulsive back seat for both of them. While India is taken on not placing all its eggs in the Russian basket and gain more manoeuvrability in the international scene, China is anxious to block the growing Russian influence in the region. Thus there is an element of convergence of views. As the two major Regional Powers, India and China are left with no alternative but to evolve a mutual working relationship marked by mutual trust and conditioned by individual self-interest China is

now willing, although reluctantly and belatedly, to accord a "regional power" status to India. China's armed onslaught on India in 1962 was primarily aimed at humiliating India and deflating its then growing prestige in the world in general and in Asia and the non-aligned world in particular. China was then goaded by its desire to dominate the Asian region with no place for rivals to challenge its supremacy. With Vietnam under Russian patronage now successfully undermining Chinese aims and ambitions in the region, it has begun wooing India as a balancing actor.

Besides declaring publicly that India is a Asian regional power to be reckoned with, China has given other green signals too in the recent past. In clearly perceptible moves to allay Indian apprehensions that China was seeking to isolate India in the Asian scene, it has ceased to support Pakistan's demand for a plebiscite in Kashmir and has veered round to the Indian view that this vexed question should and could be solved by bilateral negotiations in terms and spirit of the Simla agreement. It has stopped arming and aiding secessionist tribal elements in India's North-Eastern region and has thus eliminated another source of friction. China has indicated that it is prepared to acquiesce at the right time in Sikkim's accession to the Indian federal set-up and has abandoned its efforts to put up border Himalayan States like Nepal and Bhutan against India.

China has of late shown better appreciation of India's role in the birth of Bangla Desh and of the compulsions on the Indian side which lead to the Indo-Soviet friendship treaty. It is now willing to accord a paramount power status to India in the subcontinent in contrast to its earlier efforts (in conjunction with the United States) to equate Pakistan with India in the power equilibrium in the subcontinent. It has also forgiven India's grant of asylum to the Dalai Lama and his followers and no longer holds this humanitarian Indian gesture as a hostile action. It no longer holds the view that India is a "Russian Stooge" and its "hireling" in Asia and has hung this budge on Vietnam's shoulders.

These positive Chinese signals have been well received in New Delhi's South Block which is now prepared to reciprocate. But China and India realise that the biggest stumbling block for normalisation is the border dispute. China has been proposing through intermediaries a package deal for a swift resolution of the dispute. In the Western sector China controls 35,000 sq. kms. of the Aksai Chin Plateau which, India claims is its territory which China has occupied surreptitiously. In the Eastern sector India recognises as the border the McManoh line which is the product of the 1914 Simla Convention at which the then autonomous Tibet was also represented, besides the UK and China. The Chinese claim 93,000 sq. kms. west and south of this line, which

it holds, is an British imperialist imposition. The Chinese formula is to exchange Chumbu valley for Aksai Chin, the argument that the Chumbu Valley is as strategically important to India as Aksai Chin is to China. The Valley is a narrow strip of land jutting into Tibet, between Sikkim and Bhutan. If the valley will come into India's possession it will broaden the corridor between the North-Eastern region and the rest of the Indian land mass.

But Huang Hua desisted from formally proposing the package deal in his official talks with Mrs. Gandhi and his Indian counterpart, Mr. P. V. Narasimha Rao, presumably because of Mrs. Gandhi's outright rejection in Patna of the offer even while Huang Hua was in New Delhi observing "our land is with them (China). The issue bristles with sentiments. A balanced outlook is needed." Instead of the package deal a new modus operandi has now been evolved. A team of Indian officials will visit Peking in October to carry forward the dialogue on the border dispute. Their task is arduous and is bound to be time-consuming as still there is a fundamental difference in approach between the two countries on the issue. While China regards the issue as a mere "boundary question", India views it as a major "territorial dispute", involving sizeable strategic segments.

As if to cater to the Indian sensitivities and susceptibilities on the seemingly intractable problem, Mr. Huang has set (at his press conference in Delhi) significant guide lines for its resolution. He has pleaded for what he called a "fair, reasonable and comprehensive settlement" taking into account the "historical background, the present actual position and the national feelings of the two peoples". Though these guidelines are endearing to India, the official level talks are bound to be long drawn out process involving several patient and persevering rounds alternatively in the two capitals, aimed at evolving modalities, leaving the specifics to be sorted out at higher levels. Pending this imponderable exercise, both sides have agreed to maintain the status quo and tranquility on the border.

On international plane perceptions on major global issues persisted due to the basic difference in approach. China attributes all global tensions to "Soviet hegemonism and expansionism" while India apportions the blame equally on both the "super powers". These differing perceptions were however not allowed to cloud the talks on bilateral matters. If China (as enumerated supra) has shed its blatant anti-Indian stance on sensitive issues of importance to India to create a proper climate for initiation of dialogue, India too has shown accommodation. It has abandoned its rigid posture that no normalisation of mutual relations is possible without an amicable settlement of the border question and has now agreed to establish closer bilateral relations in the scientific, technological, economic and cultural fields even while attempts to settle the border dispute are on. But the pace of

progress in these fields is bound to be synchronous with the advance on the official level talks on the border issue which has been taken out of the deep freeze and brought to the negotiating table.

A US correspondent suggested to Huang Hua that the Sino-Indian break-through is comparable to the Shanghai Communique which heralded a new era in the Sino-US relations. Though with abundant caution Huang Hua said that he would not like to draw a parallel, it cannot be gainsaid that if the normalisation process gains momentum and becomes a reality, it is bound to change the face of tension-ridden South-East Asia. The Asian countries and Vietnam would readjust their sights though the US and the Soviet Union would not easily reconcile themselves to a less dominant role in the region. Thus Sino-Indian detente holds the key to the future destiny of Indian and South-East Asia.



A SOLUTION TO

The Power Problem

By R. Kahawita

THE DEBATE is on once again over the Power Crisis. Who was right and who was wrong is not going to find a solution to our Power Problems; what is hard thinking and bold decisions in the interest of the people and the country. What these decisions should be cannot be thought out overnight. First we must understand the problems-generation, distribution, concentration of consumer points, future requirements and growth rates etc. etc., The problem is worsening because we have not yet understood our rainfall patterns and the variations to be expected year to year, and for how many months, there should be carry-over storage to meet the vagaries of the rains. Yet we are banking fully on hydro-power to turn the wheels of industry. The alternative sources of energy i.e. gas, fuel oils, solar, tidal, nuclear etc. are too expensive, nor do we have the technology, nor has allied technology advanced for universal adoption etc. A small country like ours will always be confronted with problems, major in our own context, but may not be so else-where.

Hydro-power should be our mainstay. But unfortunately our thinking is not in keeping with our financial and natural resources. Our terms of reference are for massive hydrel projects where the rich nations can participate and even practice charity. So we are today engaged in multi-billion projects, Kothmale, Victoria, Samanalawewa,, Randenigala and so on, where abundant rainfall and its storage is the sin equa non to success. Whereas there are several minor schemes, more certain of

water resources than the above and within our own financial resources for execution and to meet the power needs of a region rather than at a National level. Our first hydrel project was on such a scale—thanks to Wimalasurendera. In the twenties we were used to thinking in terms of hundreds not even in thousands, so we were interested in small projects. In spite of our advance thinking the “average man” still thinks only in hundreds. That is all that comes his way. Therefore, we still have to think in such terms, otherwise we will not be able to sell the energy, nor can our “average man” benefit.

We mentioned “regions”- Why not in our future planning for energy divide the country into energy regions? To our mind there can be 20 regions, each region getting its power priority according to consumption patterns and concentrations. In turn these can be classified as mainly Hydrel and mainly Thermal, that is to say, that “X” percent of the time, source of energy will be Hydrel and “y” percent of the time thermal, the balance (100-x) or (100-y) of the time to depend on the central and national supply system of projects like Victoria etc.,

Once we have settled on the primary source of power Hydrel or Thermal in each region, then we can take points of micro or mini hydro development in each such region according to its own resources, and the others to be the thermal development regions. Today we think in terms of fuel oils or gas to generate energy. We will have to abandon this idea till we strike on better times. At the moment our economy is such that we can think only of simple and cheap sources like steam generation fuelled by coal etc. These are in vogue today in some of the advanced countries like England where coal is available in plenty. We have no coal. What is the alternative?—Coconut shell charcoal, coal and wood charcoal—not ipil ipil, there are other woods still available which were used as standby fuels during the first World War.

Steam Generation is very simple compared to other methods. Many advances were made when steam held its ground against cheaper forms. There were techniques developed then to recycle condensation water to save fuel to reduce cost of electricity generation. These techniques are still available though they were edged out by sophisticated techniques.

IN THIS COUNTRY we have a variety of fuel woods of which **coconut shell charcoal** is one of the most important items. This is now available as an export item. **The first step then towards thermal generation is to stop the export of shell charcoal to conserve it for local use, followed by four or five units, located in the Coconut Triangle, to produce a high efficiency shell charcoal”.** Even in this, Western countries have

developed techniques to increase the heat efficiency of shell charcoal. The quantum that can be produced can be estimated and this quantity will be available annually. The shortfall in shell charcoal can be made up by importing **Coal** from India—transport from Calcutta may not be more than three days to our Northern or Eastern ports. **Wood charcoal** will be the third form of fuel. If we can rationalize the production of shell and wood charcoal as an alternative source for fuel oils, then the picture in a nutshell is :

- (a) Development of small hydrel-plants in the Wet Zone rivers.
- (b) Small steam generation plants in areas where:
 - (a) is not possible using local “fuels” available.
- (c) Each type to be assigned a region and
- (d) The national system supplementing when the need arises in any region.

Steam generation will be the cheapest source of electricity for us, using what is available locally. Water, shell and wood charcoal supplemented by imports of coal from India. There are certain problems connected with steam generation using charcoal fuels but none of them are insurmountable. If we are thinking of research in “power alcohol derived from crops” as an alternative, it will be cheaper in time and money to investigate the efficient use of shell and wood charcoal, both of which we have in plenty. Research efforts in this direction will be more fruitful than power alcohol from sugar and manioc. Today bulk of our coconut shells and wood are wasted, when it could be used for power generation. We remember of a shell charcoal unit set up at Madampe (Chilaw district) long years ago to produce high efficiency shell charcoal and Acetic Acid as a by-product. As usual we never followed it up. We strayed in search of new pastures.

The regions for mini schemes may be

- (a) **Thermal** : Jaffna, Vavuniya, Mannar, Anuradhapura, Puttalam, Kurunegala, Katunayake.
- (b) **Hydro Power** : Trincomalee, Batticaloa, Matale, Minneriya, Kandy, Ratnapura, Badulla, Galle, Matara, Tangalle, Hambantota, Nuwara Eliya, Kegalle.

If we concentrate on a system of this nature, we will be able to find a permanent solution to our power problems within reasonable limits—both for production and to the consumer in the rural areas; 80% of the consumer potential is in the rural areas. Load of the rural supply system can be taken over by these mini-schemes.





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Political Interference

IS IT NOT HEARTENING that daily papers like the **Ceylon Daily Mirror** and the **Sun** (and the **Weekend**) pay attention to the canker of smuggling that is eating into the body politic of this country? That though the **CDM** has often scooped some of the top smuggling stories, the **Sun-Weekend** combine have usually followed up the stories with commendable persistence? That early in July, the **Sun** (8/7/81) had an interesting story that read, "Beruwela police yesterday detected nearly a million rupees worth of textiles which was believed to have been off-loaded from a foreign vessel in the Southern Coast on Monday night.... Preliminary investigations revealed that there is a strong possibility of the seized textiles being those which were released with another suspected contraband carrying ship that was seized by customs early this year with a load of undeclared textiles. The ship was released by Customs last week..." The next day of July 9, the **Sun** again led with a front-page story that: "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 nights' detection of over one million rupees worth of textiles by the Beruwela police. The contraband bearing detention seals, it has been found, was the same goods customs had seized previously on board the cargo vessel 'Pearl' and later released. The textiles had been allegedly off-loaded from 'Pearl'—a vessel registered in the Maldives—and off-loaded on the high seas into two vallams. The Beruwela Police swooped down when the textiles were unloaded from the vallams and were being loaded into a Ceylon Fisheries Corporation vehicle. The 'Pearl' was at the centre of a controversial Customs investigation early this year. It was seized by the Customs on October 13, 1980, after they detected contraband being allegedly unloaded into a vallam alongside. Customs and Navy personnel who boarded the ship had detected 276 rolls of textiles worth 6.7 million rupees. The goods and the vessel were ordered to be forfeited after investigations by an Assistant Controller of Customs. However, the vessel was released in June along with the goods that were seized. This was, among other matters, the contention that the goods were destined for another port. Customs have established that a good part of the contraband bore their inquiry identification code in relation to the detection on board the 'Pearl'. The same contraband of textiles had at first come to Sri Lanka by air and had remained in the warehouses. Discreet Customs inquiries had thereafter led to it being flown out to the Maldives. The next thing we learnt was that they were on board 'Pearl'...."?

THAT IT WAS EVEN MORE ENCOURAGING the **Sun** in an editorial on July 11 entitled RECYCLED CONTRABAND said: "Smugglers of varying kinds seem to be having a field day in Lanka these days. A few days ago the authorities nabbed a large consignment of 'recycled contraband' in the process of being smuggled into the country. The luxury goods which were detained by the Customs after a raid on the high seas were released after apparent political interference. Within a few weeks of their release these goods have reportedly hit the smugglers, trail only to be nabbed by the efficient Customs operatives. This single incident admittedly provides a clue to a massive operation of trafficking in contraband and that big influential names too having a finger in the lucrative pie...." That this editorial refers to one matter to which the government must find an answer? That it is necessary to know what "political interference" had pressurised the relevant authority to release the vessel "Pearl" caught with contraband? That is common knowledge that the "legal" excuse on which the vessel "Pearl" was released was that the destination of the goods was Tuticorin and that the Customs here had no right to seize the vessel? That it is impossible to understand how anyone, particularly the VIPs of the Customs, could have been persuaded to swallow this tale? That the fact that India does not permit the import of textiles (because she is today one of the world's largest exporters of textiles) is well known? That with this "Destination Tuticorin" fairy tale, "political interference" had secured the release of the vessel? That even before one could say "Jack Robinson", as the old English saying goes, there was an attempt to smuggle the same textiles into Sri Lanka again? That the **Sun** editorial went on to say that "some of the kingpins" were "powerful tycoons..... whose real vocation is kept under cover wield power over some of the decision-makers too"? That "the small time operators generally fall into the net while the sharks seem to slip out only to carry on their activities unabated. The Customs authorities are fighting a vain battle against the big time crooks. Yet an extraneous influence seems to provide some sort of protection to most of these people. According to some of the enforcers the primary impediment against their counter-offensive is the amount of money that is being virtually thrown to buy influence. Top bureaucrats and even petty politicians have reputedly interfered in investigations..." That the **Sun** rightly stressed that it would be "a crime to let smugglers get away with their dastardly activities by which they are robbing a valuable slice off the national coffers...." and concluded that "what is needed almost urgently is a political will to wipe out the menace once and for all. The Customs authorities should be empowered to wage a calculated war against the miscreants without fear or favour. Speedy punitive action must also be introduced through new legislation."?

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