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LETTER FROM THE EDITOR

REAGANOMICS HAS INTRODUCED new imperatives into Third World financing. Under the Bretton's Wood dispensation and even after it had disintegrated and the dollar had devalued itself by going off gold, developing countries were able to get multilateral loans and credits from multinational agencies like the IMF, IBRD and Aid Consortiums. SDRs and a basket of currencies joined the privileged one-time reserve currencies. Bretton Woods revamped in Bahamas and elsewhere began to limp along on a world battered by economic storms. But Reagan has ended all this. The USA is in a position, with nine other rich industrialized countries still hanging on American military and economic coattails to dictate to the World Bank and the IMF. The last Annual General Meeting, of the World Bank and the IMF saw Reaganomics take over both institutions. Multilateral aid has disappeared: bilateral investment by private bankers in conjunction with international agencies like the IDA or even the World Bank has begun to take over. Special teams from the US consisting of bankers, businessmen and officials are leaving for selected countries to find out if the climate for private investment was good enough there to promote private investment from the US and other rich countries, A team has been named to inspect Sri Lanka and it is expected here shortly. But whether such investment will help to meet deficits or shortfalls in trade balances, as standby credits from the IMF had done in the past, is doubtful. How poor countries will cope with the problems of deficit budgeting—a chronic feature of development economics in the postwar era—is yet to be seen. Many countries may have to declare bankruptcy officially in the same way that many priavte companies and industries in the US and UK have gone bankrupt under the hammer blows of Reagansum-Thatcher monetarism. The law provides for bankrupt private companies to go into liquidation. Unfortunately, nations and governments can only declare moratoriums in a bid to stave off revolution. Anticipating this change in multilateral lending by international agencies after Reagan came on the scene, many countries had started looking for other sources of loans and credits. The Ivory Coast, typical of many Third World countries, is the first to arrange a Euro-loan in Special Drawing Rights (SDRs), "suffered serious budgetary and balance of payments difficulties caused by the poor world market prices for cocoa and coffee, its major exports. Ivory Coast should be self-sufficient in oil by 1982 and an oil exporter by 1986, yet its offshore oil has not been able to offset these shortfalls. Ivory Coast has had to turn to the IMF in 1981 for SDRs 484.5 million and has also borrowed from the World Bank. The Ivoreans badly need funds to bridge their financing gap until their oil begins to yield benefits. They also need money to back up their five year development plan. In February, Ivory, Coast tapped the Euromarkets for a loan of Francs 30 million. This was arranged with a French bank (Interunion Banque) for 10 years at a rate of 12 per cent over French prime. France is Ivory Coast's major trading partner which makes borrowing in French francs very convenient". (South, July 1981) It is cheaper and wil. decrease debt servicing. "The lower interest rate of the SDR in comparison to the dollar makes it an attractive proposition. Dollar interest rates do not seem likely to decline in the near future, and bankers will be able to sell their SDRs on the strength of their relative cheapness". Sri Lanka has raised loans in Europe, but a Euro-loan has many advantages. How the Jayewardene government will meet the fiscal and financial challeneges of the Reaga-nomics is yet to be seen. It will not be easy.

Pavement Hawkers

ON THE COVER we have a picture of Colombo few years ago. Today more high rise buildings have begun to blackout the skyline. That is another matter but in this note we are concerned with what goes on below the city pavements in the busy world of the tribe known as pavement hawkers and all those who flit around them. At one time owners of shops in substantial permanent premises adopted every ruse known to law and political lobbying to drive hawkers off the pavements. The Police moved them out, often forcibly, to special pitches and shanties, but the hawkers were back on the pavements in the Fort, in the Pettah, in fact everywhere where sales could Then politicians and governments be effected. began to view them in a different light. Pavement hawkers came to be regarded as self-employed persons who provided a service to the growing populations in cities and towns. Low income groups were able to buy goods of all kinds cheaper and quicker on the pavements than in shops. Pavement hawkers soon became a powerful political lobby in urban areas. Today, as much retail business is perhaps transacted on the pavements as in the shops in Colombo and all towns and townlets in the island.

IT IS INTERESTING to note that this pavement trading is today a phenomenon in all Third World countries. The magazine Development Forum published by the United Nations University in Tokyo in its June issue had an interesting article entitled THIRD WORLD STREET TRADERS AND ODD-JOBBERS-SAFETY VALVE TO UNEMPLOYMENT. An introductory note stated: "If the streets of Third World cities were suddenly swept clean of their milling throngs of paddlers, handymen, repairmen and other odd-jobbers, an economic and social shock wave would shake the entire urban structure. By providing a livelihood for over 150 million people, this "informed sector' acts as a safety valve of Third World unemploy, ment and should be recognized and supported, an /LO study says. Struggling shopkeepers should be given access to credit, and skills training should be made available to the 'mechanics' and 'technicians' whose workshops are the pavements of a city". The article is a summarised re-hash of the study prepared (in 1381) for the World Employment Programme Research Study, 110, Geneva by S. V. Sethuraman entitled THE URBAN INFORMAL SECTOR IN DEVELOPING COUNTRIES: EMPLOYMENT, POVE-RTY AND ENVIRONMENT: "Referred to as the informal sector by economists and simply as street hawkers by social scientists, there are already some 150 million of these people and their numbers are

growing fast, with up five in every 10 of the new entrants in the Third World urban labour market joining tneir ranks, according to estimates of ILO study. Prepared with the assistance of the United Nations Environment Programme, the study is based on data from some 16,000 small-scale units in the informal sector of nine cities in Africa, Asia and Latin America. One of the several major aims, of the study is to shed some light on the employment structure, income generation, conditions of work and economic viability of the informal sector. The urban informal sector contains mainly small-scale units operating on a shoestring budget to produce and distribute goods, rather than a group of small-scale entrepreneurs with substantial capital and managerial inputs, the study points out. It explodes a current myth that the informal sector is primarily a source of employment for secondary earners and older persons. On the contrary, the findings reveal that people who head informal sector units are comparatively young; for instance in Freetown (Sierra Leone) the median age was 35 years; in Kano (Nigeria) 27 years, in Colombo (Sri Lanka) 35 years, in Jakarta (Indonesia) 36 years, in Manila (Philippines) 42 years, in Cordoba (Argentina) 41 years and in Campinas (Brazil) 40 years. The study also contradicts the view that the sector is but a holding ground, and that the participants will sooner or later gain entry into the formal sector. In fact most of them expect-and even prefer-to continue where they are".

THE ARTICLE went on to point out that: "Runaway population growth and massive rural exodus continue to fuel the meteoric increase in the u:ban population of the Third World, which is expected to spiral unabated to reach over 2,000 million human beings by the turn of the century. This means that one of every three people in the world will be living in a Third World metropolis in the year 2,000-up from the 1975 figures of one in every five. Within the next two decades the number of megacities in developing countries with over I million inhabitants each will have mushroomed to 300 as compared with only 90 in 1975. These waves of humanity bring with them additional social, economic, environmental and political problems, but finding a job is always an immediate and crucial worry. It is not surprising that despite the considerable expansion of industries, services and government-related activities in urban centres of developing countries, these sectors have failed to absorb the ever-swelling army of job-seekers. And yet, open urban unemployment has increased very little, considering the massive additions to the labour market. The explanation, however, is very simple and highly visible. The urban poor cannot afford to remain idle if they are to survive, so they do odd jobs on city streets and sidewalks as cigarette and newspaper vendors, shoe cleaners or run tiny shops, or work as handymen, smiths and repairmen." The ILO study examines the problem with clinical interest: "A

TRIBUNE, November 7 1981

majority of the heads of these units earn incomes comparable to the minimum in the formal sector. Remuneration paid to wage earning employees in the informal sector varies considerably, but available evidence suggests that most of them receive wages below the legal minimum. However, in some activities such as repair services, most skilled workers are paid more than the legal minimum. The rate of remuneration for women, whose participaton in the informal sector is surprisingly small, is significantly lower than for men. The study's findings demonstrate that the amount of capital needed to create jobs in the informal sector is very low, ranging from \$ 36 per worker in Freetown to \$ 300 in Manila. This is only a fraction of the capital/labour ratio in the formal sector, which is between \$ 15,000 to \$ 30,000. In addition, the informal sector contributes between a quarter and a third of total income gene ated in cities; for example, in Asuncion (Paraguay it is estimated at 33 per cent; in Jakarata and Lima (Peru) at 30 per cent, in Ahmedabad (India) 28 per cent and in San Salvador (El Salvador) 25 per cent. This shows that the informal sector enterprises use very little capital and mostly their own, while making a respectable contribution to total urban incomes. They are no drain on scarce financial resources of the economy-on the contrary, they contribute to resource mobilisation. Moreover, the informal sector mainly on local materials, often recuperating and recycling discarded products and equipment. which imposes no strain on available foreign exchange nor does it burden the balance of payments by imports, as the ILO study points out. That the urban informal sector acts as a safety valve to the multitude of jobless and underemployed is therefore a reality, and one which policy makers in developing countries ought to recognize", the study pointed out.

IT SINGLE OUT two key measures that could help strengthen the safety valve capability of the sector: access to skills and capital. in view of the important role that skills play in shaping the structure of the informal sector, the study called for "reorientation of the existing formal and informal training facilities grading the quality of training and introduction, of new skills." Another major constraint is limited access to capital which often increase the vulnerability of small enterprises. The study urged a change in acredit and bank policies, taking into account the needs and absorptive capacity of the sector. Furthermore, lending institutions must make an effect to reach the informal sector units and recognize the links between capital and other forms of assistance, notably training. The above measures will no doubt strengthen the safety-valve character of the sector and even facilitate upward social mobility for many. But the informal sector will continue to be the stepchild of urban economies until national developments strategists accord it a role complementary to the formal sector, the study conclude... Will the state

banks and the commercial banks in this countrylocal as well as foreign-adopt a forward looking approach to generating new employment and increased income through financing pavement hawkers, mechanics, others in the informal sector? . our bankers are still hidebound in inflexible conservatism even in regard to credit to farmers. They depend on government undertakings and political lobbies. Those who cannot get MP's chits are left out in the clod however creditworthy as successful farmers. Tied to the coat tails of politicalised government money-lending, our state banks have so far not evolved a mechanism to extend and service loans to farmers and also to collect the repayments. That is why by 1980 over one thousand million rupees had accumulated as unpaid agricultural loans within a period of ten years. Banks in India however have developed the techniques and methodology for extending credit to farmers which were repaid promptly without difficulty. Many seminars have been held in this country on rural and agricultural credit Banks have been But, unfortunately, opened in rural areas. bank officers are desk bound bureaucrats totally incapable of promoting dynamic rural credit. Something must be done about this. And it is not too early to consider ways and means of utilising bank credit to extend the frontiers of the informal sector of the selfemployed on our pavements and our by-ways.

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JOURNEY TO AFGHANISTAN-4

Departure Delhi

By S. P. Amarasingam

The flight from Delhi to Kabul was not over the shortest route—over Pak-occupied parts of Kashmir, the disputed Ladakh territories of Aksai Chin and the Khyber Pass area. Pakistan does not allow Indian and Afghan planes to fly over this territory. It is considered a sensitive military area. Accoding to a UNI review of a recently published book entitled KASHMIR PROBLEMS AND POLITICS by B. L. Kak; "China is understood to have built an underground defence system across Ladakh near Sumdo in the Aksai-Chin. Mr. Kak has drawn attention to the Chinese decision not to quit Aksai-Chin and explained that the area through which the Chinese have built a highway is important to Beijing because this serves as the only link between China's Sinkiang province and Tibet. China is reported to have deeply entrenched itself in the Aksai-Chin area and occupied about 700 square miles in the Gilgit Agency after the new government seized power in Afghanistan in 1978. Following the Afghanistan crisis in December 1970, setting up of Chinese camps at some 15 places

across the 13,500-foot high Burzut mountain pass in Kashmir and at ten places in the district of Baltistan across Kargil besides the movement of men and material at several places between Skardu and Sialkot evidently formed part of Beijing's plan to strengthen the Chinese influence in Pakistan. Mr. Kak says that as Chinese cartographers have not given up their old game of drawing and defining the trans-Himalayan region of Ladakh as part of Tibet, China may not hesitate in future to take possession of some territory by summary methods regardless of legal formalities or rights that others might possibly have".

There is no doubt that the whole area is a complex conglomeration of the conflicting strategic and security interests of several countries. I have no interest in these geo-political complications of this area. but I would have liked to have had an aerial view of the Khyber Pass that has figured so much in history. Instead, the plane took a more circuitious route (and twice the time) by going round the southern part of Pakistan and then up through the mountainous area of Baluchistan into Afghanistan to reach Kabul. Nevertheless it was a fascinating journey over the arid mountain homelands of the Baluchis about whom much has been written recently because of the separatist political ferment agitating them. Imperialist boundary-makers of the 18th and 19th centuries had divided the Baluchis as citizens of three political territories viz., Iran, Afghanistan and British India (now Pakistan). Similarly the Pushtuns or Pathans were broken between Afghanistan and British India mainly by the imposition of the Durand line which helped the British to grab whole chunks of Afghan territory and the Khyber pass. While on the question of the Baluchis, I came across an agency report among my clippings datelined New York June 27, that read: "A Carnegie Endowment report had cautioned that much of the proposed US military assistance to Pakistan would probably find its way to the garrisons in Baluchistan. It would also add to the current polarisation of political forces in Baluchistan and help create a favourable environment for Soviet intervention. The report released today said that organized separatist activity was stendily growing among five million Baluch tribesmen in strategicallycritical areas of western Pakistan and eastern Iran. Dealing with the Baluchi issue and military aid to Pakistan, the report said the US should take into consideration the Baluchi problem in formulating military and economic assistance policies in Pakistan. For example, it said, if the United States were to obtain the use of Pakistani territory for anti-Soviet intelligence monitoring in return for military aid, as it did from 1958 to 1966, there would be a significant danger of Soviet reaction in Baluchistan and the Pushtu North Western Frontier Province. Similarly an agreement providing for US military access to Pakistani ports and airfields would be viewed as provocative by Moscow and could lead to Soviet pressures in Pakistani border areas. As for providing military equipment and weaponary to Islambad the report said the debate over this multifacted issue hadfocussed largely on whether Pakistan would deploy such weaponry on the Afghan or the Indian border; on the pros and cons of using Pakistani force as surrogates in shoring up Gulf regimes. Strengthening the armed forces would advercely affect the prospects of democratisation of Pakistani political life, it added".

There is undoubtedly a great deal of thinking and rethinking ever since the United States about arming Pakistan. Will more arms for Pakistan bring stability to the region? Will it even solve the country's own internal political problems? Will it serve the best interests of the USA? Will it help Pakistan to achieve an ordered society and a democrative government? While these thoughts kept flitting through my mind, I became aware of an intersting development inside the plane. Once outside Indian air space, the bar was opened and there was a brisk sale of Beer and Scotch Whisky. What was consumed there was little, but most of what was sold was for taking away and that not in miniatures but in full size bottles. Many, if not most, of the passengers had brought plastic jerry cans each capable of holding at least a gallon. Whisky bottles were emptied into these plastic containers until they were full. The number of whisky bottles thus emptied were piled up in a corner of the cabin. I was puzzled by these goingson, but a fellow pascenger enlightened. me. He told me that a passenger was permitted to take into Afghanistan one bottle or one container of alcholic spirits as personal luggage, and that the size of the container did not matter. And so nearly every passenger carried a container full of whisky and nobody, not even the Customs said a word about it. I discovered that in Afghanistan there is no prohibition. Liquor had never been forbidden even though the overwhelming majority of the population is Moslem. In Kabul whisky fetched a good price on the open market there is no blackmarket because there is no prohibition. But whisky was scarce. This scarcity had arisen after the import of whisky from Pakistan had stopped not because of any guerilla fighting but because of General Zia's fundamantalist taboos. Whisky became an expensive commodity sin Kabul because it has to be airlifted from India or from Europe.

I was extremely anxious to bring myself up to date on as many relevant matters as possible about the "Afghan problem" before I reached Kabul. I kept dipping into my file of clippings. After the Carrington visit, a special envoy from India, S. K. Singh, a former Indian Ambascador in Afghanistan had gone to Kabul on August 10 for discussions. Last year he made what was reported to be a fact-finding mission to the Afghan capital for Indian Prime Minister Indira Gandhi. This time, Mr. Singh has been sent to Kabul to assess the current situation in Afghanistan.

Shortly after that the Indian External Affairs Minister had gone to Moscow and G. K. Reddy writing in the *Hindu* on July 18 said: "the Soviet Foreign

Minister Mr. Andrei Gromyko.... had indicated some degree of flexibility in the Soviet stand Afghanistan. But it is not considered to be a firm enough manifestation yet any marked change in the Soviet position for initiating a fresh dialogue to pave the way for an amicable political settlement. The Soviet Union continues to maintain that it has a reaty obligation to back the present revolutionary regime in Kabul to the hilt. But it is no longer insisting on an unreserved acceptance of the Babrak Karmal government by the outside world as an essential pre-condition for any substantive discussions on the future of Afghanistan. The small shift in the Soviet position will, however, enable Mr. Narasimha Rao to pursue their matter further with the UN Secretary-General during his stay in New York later this month on his way to Mexico to attend the preparatory meeting of the North-South summit. The Secretary-General's special representative is due to visit Islamabad shortly to explore the possibliies of informal contacts between Pakistan and Afghanistan under UN auspices...".

An AP report from New York dated August 19 had the particulars: "UN special envoy Javier Perez De Cuellar said yesterday he had won a confession from the Kabul government that would give the United Nations a direct role in attempting to reach a peaceful settlement of the Afghanistan problem. Mr. de Cuellar, personal representative of Secretary General Kurt Waldheim said during his visit to Kabul earlier this month he had 'cemented' an agreement to make Mr. Waldheim, or his representative, a full participant in talks between Afghanistan and Pakistan. Pakistan also supports a direct UN role, Mr. De Cuellar said. adding that he was continuing efforts to bring Iran into the peace process." The bulk of the news paper clippings however, were not about negotiations for a political settlement but about the successful attacks of the rebels against the Soviets and Afghan army. A Reuter report on July 27 had stated: "Hundreds of persons have been killed in the biggest clash between rebels and security in Afghanistan since the Soviet armed intervention late in 1979. Western diplo mats here said on Wednesday, Soviet and Afghan troops withdrew on july 15 after a three-day battle in the region, some 58 km north-west of the capital Kabul, the sources said. The outcome of the fighting was unclear, but when security forces pulled back after razing a number of villages, the rebels regrouped in nearby hill with others from neighouring Reliable eye-witnesses quoted by the diplomats reported seeing the bodies of hundreds of villagers piled up awaiting identification According to some eye-witnesses accounts, between 50 and 100 rebels were killed, while several hundred Soviet and Afghan troops were killed or wounded ... "

Then again on August 3, a report based on New Delhi stated: "Raiders firing submachine guns invaded the Pakistan dissident centre in Kabul a week ago and at least 19 people were killed or wounded.

in a violent shootout with guards and Pakistanis says AP. It was the first reported outbreak of fighting at the Kabul headquarters of Al Zulfikar, a Pakistani extremist group pledged to overthrow President Zia of Pakistan. Numerous sources have reported that the three hijackers of the Pakistan International Airlines jet in March and some of 54 political prisoners released in Pakistan and sent to Damascus in exchange for the plane and its passengers and crew have been staying at the Al Zulfikar centre, located near the West German Embassy in central Kabul. Quoting a report from Kabul, AP said the attackers struck at 12.30 a.m. on July 26 with bursts of submachinegun fire. Three guards and six raiders died and at least 10 Pakistanis were killed or wounded in exchange of fire. It was not clear what group the attackers represented. The report so far not confirmed in dependently did not mention any intervention by Afghan authorities or the numerous Soviet troops stationed in Kabul. Mr. Shahnawaz Bhutto, Al Zulfikar's operations chief was reported seen at the hospital, but it was not clear if he was wounded or visiting others. His 27-year-old brother, Murtaza was reported abroad." This kind of news about Afghanistan has been proliferated since the Sau Revolution. radio broadcasts have inundated news columns, and TV newscasts. Subsequent newspaper reports often admitted that these stories could not be confirmed, but fresh tales on the some lines were put into circulation. On the question of such reports, Kannan Srinivasan in an article in the Economic Political Weekly of Bombay, in July 1981 revealed ".... Much of the unreliability of the news from Afghanistan is explained by the fact that it emanates from 'western diplomat; sources'; in fact, it is concoted n the US embassies in Islamabad or Delhi. The other principal source is the various Afghan 'goverments in-exile' all in Defence Colony, Delhi. Most of these gentlemen are former civil cervants and politicians with foreign connections. Earlier they used these connections in 'import-export', now they make their money selling news about Afghanistan or as arms dealers. It is not clear how much Western arms aid actually reaches the rebels...."

Whether the rebels were getting these arms or not it was no secret where the arms were coming from. N. Ram writing for the Madras Hindu from Washington on July 28 had stated: "After a period of holding off, details are beginning to surface in the American media about the not-so-secret cladestine and covert US operations with respect to Afghanistan—making use of the nervously but increasingly conniving military dictatorship of Pakistan... The unusually direct and visible role for the CIA Director in such a field was clearly meant to convey the message that economic assistance for the chief agents of US strategic purpose in these regions must be beefed up to be supportive of military and political efforts including covert or clandestine activities directed by the CIA. ".

But it was only sometimes after I returned to Sri Lanka that more slight was thrown on the mystery of the massive "arms for Afghan rebels" by President Sadat of Egypt about a for night before his death. A Reuter report from New York dated September 23, revealed that an American television network said tonight the US, Egypt, Saudi Arabia, Pakistan and China were involved in a covert operation to send arms to guerillas fighting Soviet troops in Afghanistan. ABC Television, which gave no source said more than 100 million dollars worth of arms reached gueirlla bases in Pakistan and the Reagan administration recently ordered the flow increased in an operation co-ordinated by the CIA. The report followed an interview by President Anwar Sadat of Egypt on ABC television yesterday in which he said the US had been buying arms from Egypt for the Afghan guerilla since the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan 21 months ago. In Washington, the State Department declined to comment on tonight's report. ABC said the weapons involvep—almost all of them Soviet made and including SAM 7 surface-to-air missiles—were bought from Egypt and China with US and Saudi Arabian money. ABC said Egypt has provided training and weapons to the Afghan geurilias and China has promised to allow American planes to fly over its territory and provide overland supply routes if the Afghan-Pakisani

border is closed." Up to this time it was made out that the massive quantity of Soviet-type arms with the rebels had been captured by them from the Soviet and Afghan troops. This revelation by Sadat had promptly brought a sharp comment from Moscow: "Egyptian President Anwar Sadat's disclosure about US weapons supplies to Afghan rebels show that demands for a withdrawal of Soviet troops from the country are hypocritical. Tass news agency said today. Referring to Mr. Sadat's revelations in a US television interview earlier this week Tass said be had badly let down his friends in Washington and made clear to all Americans just why the Soviet military presence was needed in Afghanistan. The Egyptian leader told NBC television the US had brought Sovietmade arms from him over the past two years to equip Afghan rebels fighting the Soviet-backed government in Kabul. 'In the light of these new facts about the build up of US interference in Afghanistan's affairs how hypocritical are appeals from Washington for a withdrawal of the limited Soviet contigent there'..."

Looking down from the plane on the bare mountains and the rocks that stretched endlessly with occasional signs of a human settlement here and there, I wondered what the word "countryside" meant in this countrythe countryside that was said to be "under rebel control".

To be continued

Govt.



Notices

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

My No. LA/1652

The Government intended to acquire the land described in the schedule below for a public purpose. For particulars please see the Gazette of the Democratic Socialist Republic of Sri Lanka. No. 165 (part III) 03.10.1981

SCHEDULE

'Kadatkarai Villundi'. Name of Land

Village Navanthurai

DR O's Division Jaffna

1, 2 and 3 P.P. Ya 1511 Plan and Lot No

The Kachcheri,

A. M. M. Kulanayagam

Addl. Govt Ageut (D. S.) Jaffna.

October, 1981. for Govt Agent Jaffna District

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

The Government intends to acquire the Land described in the Schedule below for a public purpose. For particulars please see the Gazette of the Democratic Socialist Republic of Sri Lanka. No. 165 (part III) published on 30.10.1981

SCHEDULE

Nema of Land

:- Vannakaladdy Navindhankaladdy., (Parts of Assesment) Nos. 59, 65 and 71.)

Name of Village D. R. O's Division

:- Valikamam South West.

:- Pandatterippu.

Lot No

:- 1.

P. Plan No.

:- Ya. 1476.

The Secretariat, Jaffna, 30/09/1981

A. M. M. Kulanayagam Addl. Govt. Agent, for Govt. Agent, Jaffna District.

TRIBUNE, November 7, 1981

BOOK REVIEW

Pakistan

POLITICS IN PAKISTAN: THE NATURE AND DIRECTION OF CHANGE by Khalid B, Sayeed (New York, Praeger Publishers, 1980, pp. 194)

THIS IS a difficult book to review. It is written by the foremost analyst on Pakistan's political problems and it is therefore not easy to tilt at windmills. More importantly, the book economices on words; it is tightly knit containing the most important political trends you always wanted to know about Pakistan. The language is terse and the argument succinct. Sayeed does not merely try to disentangle the main strands in the tangled wed of direction and change in Pakistan as the subtitle indicates. As much to the point is that he provides a most appropriate model of regime formation. regime maintenance and regime collapse, a model which can be applied with equal facility and minor modification to other similar Third World situations. Sayeed clears the debris from the remarks and observations of Western commentators like Samuel Huntington and Gustav Papanek who have theorised on Pakistan's problems. Even his colleague David Easton is taken to task; and with good cause. So is his countryman Mabub ul Hug. His criticism is the familiar one that Western forms of economic development are unsuitable when applied to a different socio-economic, political and religious environment. Consequently the trickle down effect (to the disadvantaged) and the spill over effect on regions, so often expatiated by economists committed to the free enterprise system failed to have their impact. Nor did the practice of populism of which Zulfikar Ali Bhutto was about the most consumate exponent achieve much success. At the end of this volume, we presumably have a "Sayeed model" for application to other similar Third World situations. It must be said that the chapters are purposefully self containing; and there are link which keep the author to the subject of his title. One wonders whaa kind of state is Pakistan. Jinnah is referred to as it "nation builder and a state builder" (p. 24), a man with "an impecchale sence of political timing" (p. 25) and as "a sword of Islam resting in a secular scabbard" (p. 27) Yet it must not be forgotten that here was a man who did not eat the food of his countrymen. nor wear their clothes, nor practice their religion, nor speak their language. Elsewhere Professor Robin Moore (Flinders University) has stated that when a minion of the All India Muslim League waxed eloquent on the Leagues' contribution to the founding of Pakistan, Jinnah chided him, saying: "Dont talk nonsense. It was I and my stenographer who created Pakistan". What kind of state emerged? It was one that was, as Sayeed asserts, cemented by Islam and the fear of India. But who dominated it? The Punja is, mostly in the higher echelons, and the

military recruited from the outlying districts, especially from among the troublesome Frontiersmen. But n t even they could be quietened into accepting the fact of Pakistan. Punjab remained dominant and Punjab was as responsible for the collapse of the original federal state of Pakistan as Prussia was for the dismemberment of the German federation.

WHAT IS so very insightful and instructive about Sayeed's analyses are the penetrating political portraits of the self assured men that ruled Pakistan. Jinnah is treated with awe and respect with the possible hint that had he lived, he may have constructed viable state. But the others appear to slide down the hill. A "half mad Governor-General", Ghulam Mohamed, in 1957, with "a general to the right of him and a general to the left of him imposed upon a captured Prime Minister the dissolution of the Constituent Assembly and the setting up of a semi' dictatorial executive" (p. 35). And then in September 1958 the East Pakistan Assembly ceased to function when one party moved a motion to declare the Speaker insane and with the other party assuaulting the Deputy Speaker..." (p. 44). Samuel Huntington is made to look foolish when he compares Ayub Khan to one "close to filling the role of a Solon or Lycurgus" or "a Great Legislator on the Platonic or Rousseaulan model" (p. 55). Whereas Ayub is quoted by the author as saying "I may be right, I may be wrong, but I have no doubts" (p. 55). Ayub is at the same time reported as being contemptuous of his cabinet ministers, referring to them as pimps. More than any other Pakistani stateman, he brought Pakistan right into the vortex of the American military alliances, CENTO and SEATO; and with Churchillian candour he made a lend lease request to the Pentagon: "We provide the manpower and you provide us with the means to do the fighting" (p. 50). Though these moves did not bear much result, Sayeed, rightly observes that Ayub's period "represents a watershed in the history of Pakistan" (p. 62). But nonetheless despite the meagre reforms, there continued to function in Pakistan even in 1968, the 22 powerful families; they controlled 66 per cent of industrial assests, 70 per cent of insurance funds and 80 per cent of bank assets. And Zulfikar Ali Bhutto in the end, for all his education (he had the best collection of books on Napoleon Bonaparate in the world.) his populism, his attempts to tune to a different popular wavelength, proved a miserable failure. His boyhood ambition, as The Times once stated, was to be Prime Minister of his country. Ironically he achieved the position by presiding over the dismemberment of Pakistan. A wiser, less avaricious statesman may have been more accommodating and East Pakistan could have been saved. Sayeed thinks that a confederal structure and a consociational executive could have contained the situation (p. 68). Bereft of even the thin veneer of political morality, Zulfikar Ali Bhutto compared his political strategy to a politician having "fairly light, fairly flexible fingers, to insinuate them under the bird and take away the eggs. One by one. without the bird realizing it" (p. 104). And the present military ruler of Pakistan, General Zia, is no worse. Time and tide will take them all away.

A. Jeyaratnam Wilson This review will be published in The Canadian Journal of Political Science.

University of New Bruswick, Fredericton, N.B., CANADA.

U. S. PRIORITIES

In Iran

Teheran: Alexander Haig, the US Secretary of State, said in his reply to a journalist's question that Iran was included among the top priorties of the US foreign policy. He declared that the Americans should do everything they could so that the Iranian regime would, in the long run, correspond to the Western values and Western orientation. Haig's words shed more light on the real reasons for the sharp aggravation of the internal situation in Iran in the recent period.

The matter is that the USA has not become reconciled to the people's revolution, which deprived the USA of its strategic bridgehead in that area, and has not dropped its attempts to return Iran back to the ranks of its vassals. That is why the USA keeps Iran included among its strategic pricrities and undertakes all efforts to erode, destabilize and, in the long run, destroy the new Islamic regime that was born of the anti-Shah revolution.

All the means are used to achieve these ends: the US naval armada, brought there back already at the time of the "hostages crisis", is still offshore Iran, and the economic blockade of Iran by the USA and some of its allies is continuing albeit in a changed form. Agents of imperialism, capitalizing on the real internal problems and contradictions between the forces, that carried jointly the Islamic revolution, are aggravating internal tensions, bring together the motley oppositon of the regime's opponents, provoke mutual terrorism and are pushing the codntry towards a civil war. All the intrigues are aimed at one goal—to weaken the country, to discredit the anti-imperialist tread of the revolution and to deprive Iran of independence it had gained in a hard struggle.

Govt.



Notice

The Land Acquisition Act (Chapter 460) as amended by the Land Acquisition (Amendment) Act No, 28 of 1954-Notice under Section 7.(1)

My No. LA/1663

The Government Intended to acquire the Land described in the Schedule below for a public purpose. For particulars please see the Gazette of the Democratic Socialist Republic of Sri Lanka, No. 166 (port III) 30.10.1981

SCHEDULE

Name of Land :- Navatsolai

Name of Village :- Varani North

D. R. O's Division :- Chavakachcheri

Plan and Lot No :- 1. and P.P. Ya 1528

Jaffna. 15th October, 1981.

The Kachcheri

M. Punchaljngam
Addl. Govt Agent
Jaffna District.

The Land Acquisition Act (Chapter 460) as amended by the Land Acquisition (Amendment) Act No. 28 of 1954 - Notice under Section 7.

My No. LA/1692

The Government intended to acquire the land described in the schedule below for a public purpose. For particulars please see the Gazette of the Democratic Socialist Republic of Sri Lanka No. 166 (part III) 30.10.1981

SCHEDULE

Name of Land :- Pungadn

Name of Village :- Kudathanai Karaiyoor

D. R. Os Division :- Vadamarachchi North & East

Plan No. & Lot No :- 1. and P.P. Ya 1526

The Kachcheri.

Jaffnn
Add
15th October 1981.

M. Punchalingam Addl. Govt Agent Jaffna District.

TRIBUNE, November 7, 1981

October 18 - 24

DIARY OF EVENTS IN SRI LANKA COMPILED FROM DAILY NEWS-PAPERS PUBLISHED IN COLOMBO

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

SUNDAY, OCTOBER 18: The stage is set for the most spectacular event during recent times as the icountry awaits the arrival of Queen Elizabeth and Prince Philip on a five-day state visit on October 21; the Royal Australian Air Force jet carrying the Royal visitors is due to touch down at Katunayake's International airport to a warm and colourful reception on Wednesday at 4 p.m. Police yesterday offered Rs. 5 lakh reward to anyone giving information leading to the arrest of terrorists in the North who were responsible for the brutal killing of the two soldiers and several other terrorist activities that had taken place within the Jaffna peninsula in recent times-CDN. Sri Lankans continue to lead in longevity among Asians, Malaysians and Singaporeans come a close second; according to statistics, the average life expectancy of a Sri Lankan is 69 years and that of a Malayasian and a Singaporean 68 years. One hundred and fourteen foreign investors meet from tomorrow at the BMICH for the UNIDO sponsored Investment Promotion Meeting; it will be inaugurated by Finance and Planning Minister Ronnie de Mel-ST. Sri Lanka may soon face a major security threat from a proscribed terrorist organisation which is now having a large number of its members undergoing military training abroad; the ranks of the terrorist group now operating in the north are expected to be swelled by close to 2,000 trained members within the next two years. Detectives of the CID have begun questioning several members of the Sri Lanka Freedom Party in regard to matters arising from the declaration of a state of emergency by the previous regime. Englands cricket tour of Sri Lanka next February hangs in the balance following a reported decision by the Indian government yesterday to ask that two of the England players be dropped because they had sporting links with South Africa. All police stations in the North and East have been placed on a "red alert" following the killing of two soldiers on Thursday; these security measures have been adopted due to the possibility of the terrorist strikes against some of

these stations; joint night patrolling is now being conducted with all police vehicles being accompanied by one military vehicle—WK. Several top politicians belonging to the UNP in the Ratnapura district have been questioned in connection with the recent burst of communal violence which rocked the gem city and its outlying areas; Brigadier Cyril Ranatunga, who was placed in charge of the district following the violence told The Island that investigations had been launched to find out whether the violence had been instigated by a group. Problem of the thousands of workers who lost their jobs in the July 1980 strike is expected to be resolved by the Cabinet this week on the basis of a three-point proposal made by President J. R., Jayewardene-IS. Army personnel have been given strict instructions that they should not leave camp without the approval of their commanding officers-CM. The tension prevailing in Jaffna resulting from the killing of two soliders has come down; the Government Agent and the police are taking necessary action to bring calm in the area-VK

MONDAY, OCTOBER 19: The government has decided to release a substantial volume of rice through the co-operative network to arrest climbing rice prices in the open market, Agricultural Research and Development Secretary Ranjan Wijeratne said. Pat Decker, the well-known photographer, lover of wild life and conservationist died at the General Hospital, Colombo yesterday; the funeral takes place at Kanatte this evening-CDN. As many as 11,601 registrants with the Job Bank have been accepted as eligible for employment in the public sector; the government has decided that they have qualified to be taken for training against available vacancies in the clerical and allied grade posts—CDM. The first model village for migrant fishermen was set up at Patanagala in the Yala wild life reserve recently; this is one of a series of such villages to be set up in fishing areas periodically visited by fishermen from different parts of the country. A Housing Bank to provide prospective house builders with financial assistance is to be established by government shortly; one hundred million rupees will be allocated annually from the Central Government Budget for this Bank, officials of the Ministry of Local Government, Housing and Construction disclosed yesterday-SU. The government has spent lakhs of rupees to modernise the Fort area and other places as the Queen is visiting Sri Lanka-ATH: The Government will set aside Rs. 10 lakhs every Year in order to put up a new Bank to help the middle and lower class people to obtain loans to build houses; the Ministry of Plan Implementation is in charge of this; the banks that give housing loans now charge very high interest r tes; so the government has made this decision to put up this bank—DV.

TUESDAY, OCTOBER 20: The private sector, which recently went into large scale sugar imports and made

windfall profits, is now going in for rice imports in a big way; a merchnt freighter, the MV Kota Benar is now in the port of Colombo discharging a consign ment of 6,300 tons of rice for several private consig-In a statement issued yesterday the UNP Working Committee said that members of the SLFP(M) had urged the UNP to disenfranchise Mrs. Bandaranaike. A military unit in the North was withdrawn yesterday following intelligence reports that there was some unrest within it—CDN. President J. R. Jayewardene informed foreign investors yesterday that Sri Lanka offered them an unprecedented degree of political and economic stability fortified by provisions in the Constitution for legal guarantee of investments; in a message to the UNIDO-UNDP sponsored Investment meeting held at the BMICH yesterday, the President said that these benefits were also provided to all foreign investors outside the investment promotion zones in the rest of the coun-A Sri Lanka based Conscrtium will be set up by the Government shortly to operate a feeder cargo service from Colombo to ports in India, Pakistan, Southern Iran, Bangladesh, Burma and Western Sumatra; the state, the private sector and a leading West German concern will be among those who will be shareholders in this venture; Trade and Shipping Minister Lalith Athulathmudali said yesterday. Investigations into the shooting at Jaffna where two army officers and a bystander were killed have revealed that two. .45 revolvers had been used in the attack-SU. The Ministry of Education has received about 60,000 applications for teaching posts. The Parliament will meet tomorrow to decide on whether to extend the emergency now not; the President Mr. J. R. Jayewardene will decide on this; he has said that he will extend the emergency for another month. It has been reported that 250 army officers have been brought back from Jaffna; this decision was made to maintain peace; all shops and other places are now opened and everything is normal-DV.

WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 21: The town's been spruced, the red carpet laid and thousands of meticulously planned details have been neatly fitted in place as Sri Lanka prepares to welcome its former Queen who comes here today as the honoured guest of a sovereign Republic. Four hundred skilled port workers have taken no pay leave and struck out for the Middle East to make their fortunes: many more are likely follow them and port officials fear a lack of skilled workmen during the next two years. Mr. M. Sivasithamparam, President of the TULF, said his party MPs will not attend today's meeting of Parliament-CDN. A four-day fiesta of pomp and pageantry blended with the spontaneous welcome of millions of Sri Lankans commences today with the arrival of Queen Elizabeth II and Prince Philip; several months of meticulous planning and preparation will culminate today when the Royal Australian Air Force jet with its Royal passengers touches down

at the Colombo Airport this afternoon. forces in the north yesterday uncovered what they suspect is a well organised attempt to discredit the army and to heighten tension in the area. If the frivolous and politically motivated charge that the members of the SLFP (M) has urged the UNP to disenfranchise Mrs. Bandaranaike can be substantiated and proved I will as acting President of the SLFP initiate stern disciplinary action against any member irrespective of what position that person may hold states Anura Bandaranaike in a press statement issued yesterday. Parliament will this morning debate the extension of the Emergency when it meets at 10 a.m.—SU. Two persons impersonating personnel were arrested at Urumpirai yesterday while they attempted a robbery—VK. 9,000 policemen will be appointed at the International Airport Katunayake to guard the queen on her visit to Sri Lanka; Ana Seneviratne and Rudra Rajasingam will be in charge-LD. The Ministry of Plan Implementation has informed all heads of departments to take back those who went on strike on July 18 before the 1st of December 1981—DV.

THURSDAY, OCTOBER 22: The Queen of England, Queen Elizabeth II and The Duke of Edinburgh flew into a Right Royal welcome from the People of Sri Lanka at Colombo Airport Katunayake yesterday. As the Royal Australian Air Force plane touched down right on schedule at 4 p.m. there were cheers from the crowds watching the arrival of the Royal couple from airport barriers-CDM. It was a magnificient spectacle befitting royalty as an exuberant Sri Lanka decked itself in ceremonial garb to provide a red carpet welcome for the Royal couple, Queen Elizabeth II and Prince Philip, Duke of Edinburgh; a regal Queen Elizabeth II and her handsone consort found themselves immediately enveloped in the spontaneity of a nation, on their arrival for a four day state visit here. Police made a major breakthrough in solving the recent spate of highway robberies in the Hingurakgoda and Habarana areas when they arrested four suspects who had held up a private bus at a jungle stretch in Habarana—SU. The Ministry of Education has decided to open the Batticaloa University in January 1982 and not in October 1981 -DV.

FRIDAY, OCTOBER 23: Galle Face green was a riot of colour and festivity as Sri Lanka yesterday celebrated fifty years of universal franchise with the Queen of England playing a special role as an honoured guest; the day belonged to the children of Lanka who as the Queen was to remark later "performed so charmingly for us this morning". They had gathered there in their thousands, to cheer their school bands on and participate in an event that will occupy a special place in the history of the political evolution of this country—CDN. Youth marched past Queen Elizabeth II yesterday at Galle Face symbolising Sri Lanka's forward march in democracy at the cele-

brations of fifty years of Adult Universal Franchise in Sri Lanka—CDM. The second colourful function on the second day of the Queen's visit took place at Alfred House Gardens where Her Majesty declared open the new British Council library building. A soldier was killed and another wounded in a gun battle with a heavily armed group of terrorists in Killinochchi in the early hours of last morning; the skirmish the first between the northern terrorists and armed security forces took place as a platoon of the Gemunu Watch had been guarding a temple rushed over to the People's Bank office in Killinochchi where a robbery was in progress—SU.

SATURDAY, OCTOBER 24: It was perehara time in Kandy once again; the surging crowd massed in to a town decked out in its georgeous best to welcome the royal guests to the country's last royal city. Although the loot in terms of its pawned value taken in the Killinocochi People's Bank robber was earlier indicated as Rs. 2 million, police now estimate the value to exceed Rs. 8 million—CDN. The Maldivian government will purchase from Sri Lanka petroleum products, rice, wheat flour, cement, salt and several other items in terms of a new trade pact between the two islands; in exchange, Sri Lanka will buy from the Maldives best quality Maldive fish: the new trade pact will be valid till September 1982—CDM. Queen Elizabeth II and Prince Philip will today witness progress on the country's largest development project when they visit the Victoria dam site this morning. There was a tumultuous welcome for Queen Elizabeth and Prince Philip when they arrived on schedule at the Anuradhapura railway station last morning; as the specially rebuilt train, in which they had travelled during their previous visit in 1954, arrived from Sravasti station where it had been the previous night, large crowds cheered and waved flags. reward of one million rupees was offered by Police Headquarters yesterday as the manhunt intensified for the terrorist gang behind the estimated ten million rupee jewellery robbery from the Killinochchi bank the biggest ever in the history of the country. The Tamil United Liberation Front (TULF) yesterday unreservedly condemned the killing of a soldier at Killias an act of criminality-SU. The army and police conducting a serious manhunt for the terrorists who robbed the Killinochchi People's Bank; this operation is being carried on in the jungles in the Killinochchi and Vavuniya areas—VK. banks in the north will be provided with 24 hour security services in future; necessary orders to this effect were made by the Ministry of Defence yesterday morning-DP.

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WORLD NEWS IN BRIEF

October 17 - 22

EAST ASIA

CHINA: In an interview with Rishi Kumar Sharma, Editor of the Indian Patriot, Chinese Vice-Premier

TRIBUNE, November 7 1981

Ji Pengfei has called for improved economic cultural and other bilateral relations between India and China. This was not only necessary for the peopies of the two countries but also for Asian and world peace. China has received a note from Soviet Union with regard to Sino-Soviet border disputes. China claims 1.5 million sq. km. of territory still under dispute. *JAPAN*: Dr. Fukui of Kyoto University and Paul Hoffmann were named as the co-winners of the 1981 Nobel prize for chemistry.

SOUTH ASIA

INDIA: Though the conversion of Harijan (untouchables) to Islam and Buddhism was a trickle still it poses a threat to Hinduism. A mass rally in support of a reform of their religion was held in New Delhi. An Indian defence team has left for France to negotiate for the supply of Mirage-2,000, an interceptor air-craft. India is expected to purchase 150 of this variety. The Marxist-Communist led coalition government of Kerala collapsed as the Congress (S) and Kerala Congress Party withdrew their support. The State was brought under direct Presidential rule. Prime Minister Indira Gandhi met her Chinese counterpart Zhao Ziyang in Cancun. They discussed various issues for 45 minutes and Chinese Premier invited Mrs. Gandhi to visit China at a date convenient to her. PAKISTAN: President Zia told a group of judges and prosecutors attending a course in Islamic Law that the British oriented system of justice was contrary to the objectives of the Islamic State of Pakistan. President Zia renewed his verbal appeal for talks on a non-aggression pact with India. Military authorities stepped up their harassment of executed Bhutto's family by claiming damages for alleged misuse of official privileges during his terms of office. The summons were issued on the widow and two of his sons.

WEST ASIA

KUWAIT: Libyan Minister of Justice said that the Saudi Arabia's peace plan for the Middle East was just like "Camp David with a few improvements". He also called the Arab States to adopt stronger measures against President Numeiry of Sudan for having talks with Begin at Sadat's funeral. LEBA-NON: US has supplied Lebanon with 44 US M-113 armoured personnel carriers. IRAN: Akbar Vellayati was nominated as Prime Minister by President Ali Khamenei. But Iran's Majlis has rejected the nomination. ISRAEL: Contrary to Egyption claims that Soviet ships were waiting to ferry Syrian troops to Libya, Israeli authorities claimed that Syria was using chartered American DC 10 aircraft to airlift crews to Libya.

EUROPE

POLAND: The Politburo of Polish Communist Party accepted the resignation of its leader Stanislaw

11

Kania. Army Chief and Prime Minister Wojceicl Jaruzeski was elected as leader of the Polish Communist party: UNITED KINGDOM: The Chief of Britain's Royal Marines, Sir Steuart Pringle, lost his right leg in a bomb explosion. The Irish Republican Army (IRA) claimed responsibility for the bomb The controversial British Nationality explosion. Bill was passed in Parliament. Archbishop of Canterbury, Dr. Robert Runcie, and five of his bishops supported an amendment of the Labour Party in the House of Lords. The amendment said that it would result in injustice, greatly increase the number of stateless men, women and children, create new uncertainties and feelings of insecurity and exacerbate racial tensions. The Social Democratic Party won the by-election for the Croydon constituency. SOVIET UNION: In an interview with The Wall Street Journal, Egyptian defence minister said that Soviet ships were preparing to ferry Syrian troops into Libya. Tass denied this accusation as a lie invented to hide the United States and Egypt's own designs against Libya. Soviet Union has granted full diplomatic status to PLO. The decision was personally conveyed to PLO's leader Arafat by President Brezhnev. This recognition was a tremendous diplomatic boost for PLO. Soviet Union will not be represented at Cancun North-South economic summit. GREECE: Yet another Socialist Party has captured power in Europe. The Panhellenic Socialist Movement (Pasoka) led by Andreas Papandreou won the general elections. He has pledged to dismantle US military bases in Greece, pull Greece out of the military wing of NATO and strengthen relations with the eastern bloc nations; he also promised to hold a referendum on continued membership in the European Common Market. FRANCE: France will help Saudi Arabia with more arms. France has already 3.5 billion dollars military transactions with Saudi Arabia to modernize her navy. President Mitterand has appealed to the Organisation of African Unity to send African troops to Chad immediately. WEST GERMANY: Algeria has objected to the presence of Willy Brandt, leader of the North-South commission, at the 22 nation Cancun summit. Algeria claimed that this would prejudice the deliberations and the report itself did not go far enough to meet the problems of poor countries.

AFRICA

ZIMBABWE: Zimbabwe, in line with Tanzania, Zambia and Mozambique has decided to restrict the number of personnel of foreign embassies and their movements outside the capital. EGYPT: In a post Sadat assassination purge of the army 134 officers have been dismissed from service. The US government has agreed to finance the repair of cracked turbines at the Soviet built Aswan dam hydro-electric plant. Egypt and Israel have resumed Palestinian autonomy negotiations. SUDAN: Sudan is tightening its security in the capital and has also reinforced her western border with fresh military parsonnel. Sudan in a

panicky mood to counter a possible Libyan inspired subversion and has detained more than 10,000 people MOROCCO: Morocco forces claimed victory over Polisario guerillas near the strategic Guelta Zemmour area.

AMERICAS

UNITED STATES: Former President Nixon was convinced that moderate Arab states, who also happen to be friends of the US do not place much reliance on the Camp David peace process. their view that the US will have to negotiate with PLO at some stage or other. President Reagan has rejected the call of former President Nixon to boycott Libya. The victory of socialist Andreas Papandreou in the recently held general elections in Greece has been viewed with concern in Washington. Papandreou's anti-NATO policy may leave only Turkey as the last strategic link in NATO's southern flank. President Reagan and French President Mitterand participated at the 200th anniversary of the fall of Yorktown. It was in York Town battlefield Lord Cornwal is surrendered to American and French troops which fought for independence from British rule. President Reagan has re-established the Foreign Intelligence Advisory Board which was abolished by Carter. Former vice president of US Walter Mondale criticised Reagan administration for adopting go-italone policies instead of working closely with European allies especially in defusing Soviet threats, taking economic decisions like the high rates of interest and de-emphasising arms control. MEXICO: Mexican government has taken all security protections to safeguard the world leaders attending the Cancun meeting on international economic cooperation. Summit was expected to tackle four problems-world hunger and agricultural development in third world countries; secure stable incomes for developing countries and assist them to find markets for their goods; reduce dependence on the import of oil through the development of indigenous energy resources; monetary and financial questions. UN Secretary General Waldheim emphasised the need to help the third world countries at the opening of the Cancun congress. He also said "spending on arms was in stark contrast to the lack of money for fighting hunger and poverty". The British Foreign Minister Lord Carrington said that "the right of Israel to live within secure boundaries should be accepted by the Arab world, and secondly the right of the Palestinians for their own legitimate state in the area should be recognised by Israel." CANADA: The 10 premiers of Canadian provinces have called for a conference with Premier Trudeau to discuss economic issues. UNITED NATIONS: Austrian Government nominated its former Foreign Minister Kurt Waldheim for re-election as the UN Secretary General. The Security Council will take a vote on Tuesday. The UN General Assembly for the third consecutive year, voted for the withdrawal of foreign troops from Kampuchea. The voting was 100 in favour, 25 against and 19 absentions. *AUSTRALIA*: Australia has decided to support Tanzanian Foreign Minister Salim Ahmed Salim to replace Waldheim as Secretary General of the UN.

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SADAT OF EGYPT-2

After Assassination

By Alpha

HOWEVER MUCH THE WESTERN MEDIA attempts to make it out that Sadat's assassination was the work of the few extremist Islamic fundamentalists, knowledgeable observers are agreed that it is truly a reflection of deep-seated disenchantment about Sadat's policies among a wide spectrum of diverse sections of Egyptain peoples, primarily in the army. It may be true that the actual killing was carried out by a small group of religious fanatics but there cannot be the slightest doubt that it could have been possible without assistance from many quarters. The technicalities of the gunfire that killed Sadat were perfect. The superb timing had clockwork precision at a moment when the presidential guard was not there and an aerial show was in progress. And, all attendant circumstances show that this operation could not have been carried out without the participation of high-ranking officers of the army and the Security Service. A wide-ranging witch-hunt has now been launched. All persons, alleged to be, or believed to be dissidents have been detained. There has been a purge of men and officers from the armed services. But political observers realise that if the new leadership in Egypt persists in Sadat's policies they will soon be in trouble If the new leaders do not admit the failure of the Camp David Agreement, and refuse to abandon the policy of kowtowing to the US to the detriment of Egypt's national interests they are likely to suffer the same fate as President Sadat. It was not Sadat who was shot, but his policies. It must be noted that when national interests are sacrificed to bolster the strategic global aims of imperialism—today it is the USit invariably leads to a break up of the regime. Shah's Iran is a supreme example. Even the social and conservative Madras Hindu in an editorial on October 9, three days after the assassination stated: "In life as in death President Anwar Sadat of Egypt who was the victim of yet another of those desperate acts of violence which have been sweeping world capitals-Washington, the Vatican, Teheran and now Cairo-has generated strong and conflicting policital emotions. The United States and the European nations which found his conciliatory attitude towards

an unyielding Israel convenient to the pursuit of their own strategic interests in the region have rallied to the side of his successor Mr. Hosni Mubarak, in the belief that they can thus reinforce his declared resolve to continue Mr. Sadar's pro-Western stance. Symbolic of this is Washington's decision to include three former Presidents -Messrs Nixon, Ford and Carter—in its delegation to Mr. Sadat's funeral. The majority of the Arab nations which felt that Mr. Sadat had betrayed their cause by setting for a Pyrrhic peace with Israel are so bitter that they have not disguised their glee at his passing—at the United Nations many of them refused even to join in the mourning. The United States and the West would like to create the impression that Mr. Sadat's death is the result of nothing more than a stray act of violence and that it has not changed anything. Yet even before Mr. Sadat's death, signs of change became apparent—the internal unrest which led to Mr. Sadat's massive purge of religious extremists and political opponents was evidence that both Mr. Sadat and his pro-Israeli policies were running into serious turbulence in several quarters. Mr. Mubarak's hopes of continuing Mr. Sadat's policy vis-a-vis Israel in the teeth of Arab opposition will therefore necessarily be affected by the fallout from these earlier developments and now of course Mr. Sadat's departure from the scene. Sooner rather than later Mr. Mubarak will be forced to re-evaluate the policies of his predecessor (as indeed Mr. Sadat did Mr. Nasser's). Such a revision is certain to be forced upon him by Israel's obduracyespecially if he is not able to cajole and wheedle Mr. Begin as well as Mr. Sadat was sometimes able to do. The crunch could come long before next April when Israel is scheduled to return the last third of the Sinai to Egypt, if Mr. Begin gives into Jewish extremists who have moved into that territory recently with the overt encouragement of the Israeli authorities. Mr. Mubarak may also be compelled to change tack if Arab opinion at home and abroad is roused by Mr. Reagan's inability to deliver on his promise of those surveillance aircraft to Saudi Arabia. A combination of these events may make Mr. Sadat's successor realise that the Camp David route has reached a dead end. He may then conclude that his survival and that of an Egypt which is something more than a mere staging post for the United States' military plans will depend on his making common cause with the other Arabs and not in following a go-it-alone policy."

NOTHING MORE NEED BE ADDED. The repression that has been launched in Egypt does not augur well for the Mubarak regime. All the surviving leaders of the July revolution of 1952 have been thrown into prison. Analysing the present events in Egypt the press in other Arab countries have pointed out that the campaign of terror and violence against the opposition, started by the present rulers of the country, has been sanctioned by Washington and is directed not only against the Egyptians, but also

all other Arab peoples. Its aim, they say, is to break the determination of the Arabs in their struggle against the Camp David compact and against the USA's attempts to establish its domination in the Middle East. Some papers in Arab countries including those in Saudi Arabia have stated that the present situation in Egypt as a result of the government's repression is so dangerous that it calls for the immediate convocation of a session of the Islamic Conference to work out more effective measures for boycotting the Sadat regime. The New Delhi daily Patriot in an editorial on October 15 expressed the sentiments of a large number of people in the Third World. Alexander Haig has taken over Egypt, at least he seems to think so. Three days before Mr. Hosni Mubarak was elected President, Secretary of State Haig declared that the United States would move swiftly with direct aid' and an increased military presence. The take over was camouflaged with a stern warning to 'external powers' not to aggravate the situation in Egypt. There was no evidence of foreign involvement in the assassin ation of Mr. Anwar Sadat, but Mr. Haig thickly underlined the danger of 'external' forces trying to destabilise Egypt and other West Asian governments friendly to the US. Spokesman and the usual reliable sources' hinted a little more specifically at the impending threat from the Soviet Union and Libya. Our old friend Dr. Henry Kissinger, who acted as Mr Sadat's evil genius, spoke of a 'radical wave' whose forces were trained by the 'Soviet intelligence'. In this way legitimacy was sought for blatant intervention in the internal affairs of Egypt and other countries in the region. The Fentagon has drafted Egypt, Sudan Somalia and Oman for joint 'Pright Star' exercises, and dire warnings have been issued to Libyan leader Muammar Gadaffi, indigantly described by Sudan's President Numeiry as 'an animal' deserving 'physical liquidation'. Sudan and Egypt have already sent their troops to the Libyan border and Washington, in order to frighten external forces, is going to stage a spectacular non-stop flight of B-52 bombers from their US bases to Egypt and back after a bombing exercise. The verbal threats and show of force by the US and its clients are primarily meant to retain and strengthen Egypt as a base for Washington's political and military operations. There is, however, a second objective also which is connected with the first. With military directness Mr. Haig declared that the US was going to be more involved in West Asia and was 'demonstrating that it is not fatal to be an ally of the US'. The royalty in Iran vanished into the blue, and the ally in Cairo was killed after he was alienated from the Arab people. It is but natural that Saudi Arabia and other 'moderate' regimes should be feeling insecure and their leaders wondering if it is expedient to close all options in favour of the U.S. The Saudi leaders have expressed a sense of humiliation at the way the question of manning the Airborne Warning And Control System (AWACS) planes is being discussed by US Congress members and the administration.

It has been made clear to Saudis that the American leaders do not respect or trust them and are extremely reluctant to give them full charge of the planes which they would buy with hard cash. Washington is more concerned about the feelings of Israel than about the sovereign rights of the Saudis over their own AWACS planes. It is worth noting in this context that apart from Sudan, Somalia and Oman, no Arab country sent its leader to attend President Sadat's funeral although all of them were aware that Washington was making special efforts to raise Cairo's status and boost Mr. Mubarak's morale in his hour of trial as an unwanted leader. The Arab leaders also made it clear that they could not accept Mr. Mubarak as one of them. He was as much an American agent as Mr. Sadat. Dr. Kissinger was right about the 'radical wave' though he was wrong in giving the credit for it to Soviet Intelligence. The central issue in West Asia is vacation of Israeli aggression and establishment of a Palestinian homeland. The Arab nations, though divided in various alliances and in many cases led by conservative and reactionary leaders (leaning upon the US) are full of restless elements. A wave of national pride and freedom is rising and creating uncertainties for the US."

To make matters worse, President Reagan has threatened a world war. In his attempt to stampede Europe into supporting his policies he thought it necessary to declare that the Soviet Union would behave better crom the US point of view) if it knew that the USA had the (nuclear) power to destroy it completely on a first strike. This is a threat not merely against the Soviets and the Russians, but against all countries of the world and against all humanity. For the American people it is suicide.

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NGUVU

On Livestock

By Bwana Rafiki

TWO MONTHS AGO I had more money in the bank than I had ever had and yet without buying anything spectacular like motorsucceeded in reducing my balance to thirty odd rupees. Then I was lucky because certain payments and advances came in without delay and I was a few thousands of rupees to the good. Tomorrow that will be slashed by more than half with the quarterly income tax payment and the weekly advances and poonac which is now at Rs. 215 a hundredweight. The Dairy Max has failed to m terialize even though I have changed my milk collecting centre from one government corporation to another

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in the hope that it would be available. A third of the month has now gone by. As the new milk-collecting centre has failed to provide Dairy Max which until last month I was told they were receiving regularly, I am wondering now if I did right to change at all. Dairy Max costs a quarter of what poonac costs, a difference of Rs. 150 a hundredweight, or for the quantity of feed that I need, three hundred-weight, a saving of Rs. 450/- per week, no mean sum when my income from coconuts, which is negligible at this time of the year, has to support the dairy. A Labour Officer spent the morning on the estate and I was able to involve him in the problem of a theft of coconuts which started late last night, a matter of charge and coun ter charge, someone or some people brazenly telling a lie, but whom? A lie allright. When I finished what I was doing just now I found sleep so overpowering I nearly had to postpone writing this paragraph until the morning. What ultimately put me right and fit to write this was drinking a glass of cold water, iced-water to be exact. Now I remember what I did yesterday morning for my cousin and I visited a place he used to own, or rather his mother, about six miles out of Colombo and now a handicapped children's home. The master of the place was away. My cousin and I swam in the sea together there after an interval of twenty-seven years. In the evening back in Colombo there was a sporting event between the present and the past pupils of a school and the present won every event. I left immediately on the conclusion of the last race to go to a place near Campbell Park and I got there not a moment too soon.

SOMEONE who has been in Ceylon many years was leaving the island for good last night and I went along to say good-bye. After a brief visit to her home she will be going to Africa, where I hope to meet got her place muddled and I had to go on from Colombo to near Wattala to meet her. It meant that I had to postpone my return to the estate by a day and I was lucky to be in a position to do so without doing an extra trip to the estate and back. In the evening I was able to meet a friend in an old part of Colombo. He has a passport and would like to make the trip with me to Africa when I go. I am sleepy and I am at a loss to know how to fill up the rest of this paragraph. When I went to sleep a few hours ago paddy was being threshed at two places within sight of the estate by night. To judge by sound the threshing is still going on. Tom-toms and then, silence. In Colombo I usually have tea and read the newspapers in bed before going for a run in a football field about half a mile away. Time passes quickly until ten o'clock and then I am out of the house till lunch. Then before I can say Jack Robinson it is tea time, and if I am staying on in Colombo I am out from 5 p.m. until dinner, and often again from 9 p.m. till about eleven. This is the only time I am free to go visiting and I go a bus journey away. Last evening I was back on the estate by 5 p.m. and was greeted

at once by one of the watchers with his usual tale of woe, only this time he had brought the police in whom we had been without for a little while. The man is a confessed liar who has tried to persuade me that order can only be maintained by lying, quoting police. This is being written in the hour or so before dawn as I fell asleep on my bed and was just too exhausted to get up. Yesterday I purchased a Thorati bull from an estate conveniently near ours, and we led him back along the main road and by-passed the centre of our small town, a T-junction. He is complettely tame and makes no effort to run from us. He replaces our Murrah stud bull whose daughters are now old enough to be served, and just now we are keeping him away from the other buffaloes. The name we have given him is Handaya, which fits his description, a white mark on the forehead, just as the previous stud buffalo was called by us by his breed, Murrah. I have had to make the purchase inspite of our straightened circumstances for fear of losing him if I delayed.

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I.M.F.

U.S. Diktat

By K. Konopikhin

An annual joint session of the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD) has ended in Washington. At the meeting the United States exerted crude pressure on its participants to compel submission to Reagan's policies. The session took place shortly before a meeting of representatives of eight industrially developed capitalist states and 14 developing countries due to open in Cancun, Mexico on October 22. At the meeting newly-free countries intend to raise the question of establishment of economicrelations which would take their pressing requirements into account. However, Washington continues to view the developing countries primarily in the light of its imperialist strategy. Under the pretext of combating inflation, the United States insisted on curbing aid to the emergent states and recommended that they should resort to foreign private investments. The adoption of these "recommendations", now that bank rates are high in the capitalist world, is fraught with the ruining of the emergent stages and the loss of the positions they won in the anti-colonial struggle. Small wonder, therefore, that young independent states used the session to criticise the foreign economic policy of the major capitalist countries as unfair and frankly discriminatory with regard to the developing countries and hindering their economic and social progress. Representatives of a number of states exposed the political discrimination to which the IMF and IBRD subject progressive countries which refuse to follow in the wake of US policy. Thus, Le Hoang, deputy, Finance Minister of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam said the IBRD leadership supports the economic blockade unleashed against the Vietnam people by hostile forces. He said that in 1979 the IBRD stopped issuing loans to the Socialist Republic of Vietnam and asked, with a good reason, whether the Bank which poses as a non-political financial organisation expresses the interest of the US administration.—APN.

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300 MILLION DOLLARS

For Diego Garcia

Washington: The US navy has awarded a \$300 million contract for construction of expanded air and sea facilities on Diego Garcia, a key installation for US military operations in the Indian Ocean. The United States has been developing port, airfield and other facilities in the British owned island at an accelerated pace since the overthrow of the Shah in Iran and the Afghanistan crisis focussed major US security concerns on the region. The new contract, a joint venture of Raymond-Brown and Root and headquartered in Houston, Texas, will result in a three-to-five-year project which will include building aircraft taxiways and parking ramps, warehouses, maintenance shops, roads, utilities, a wharf housing for enlisted and officer personnel, and other facilities. When the work is completed, the navy said, the base will be manned by a force of about 2,150 men. The facilities are intended for both the navy and the air force and the airfield will be able to handle planes up to the size of the giant C-5 transport plane while the harbour will be able to shelter aircraft carriers. The actual construction will be carried out by a labour force of 800 to 1,000 workers, none of them American. The Reagan Administration has proposed an additional 237.7 million dollars in the 1982 defence budget for even further expansions that among other things will permit the United States of fly B52 bombers from Diego Garcia. The navy said a decision has not been made but there are indications that such planes might be stationed there i an emergency. The United States has obtained base access rights in Oman, Somalia and Kenya and plans to spend hundreds of million of dollars in developing facilities for use by US forces in those countries. But such use would be considerably more restricted than at Diego Garcia because of political considerations.-AP.

PAUL WARNKE

On Reagan's Policies

Moscow, October 16, Major American expert in • the field of strategic armaments, former director of the Arms Control and Disarmament Warnke in an interview Paul Agency the newspaper Los Angeles Times has sharply denounced the militarist course of the Reagan administration, the arms race build-up by it and exposed the inventions of official Washington about "the Soviet military threat", TASS reports. result of the administration's negative attitude to the process of strategic arms limitation, Paul Warnke said, what is being lost is a possibility of limiting the development of nuclear weapons which in turn can lead to a substantial growth of the probability of nuclear war. He resolutely, refuted the allegations that the Soviet Union "has substantially increased itc nuclear arsenal" while the United States has failed to carry out a build-up of its own. Since the time of the conclusion of Salt-1 treaty the United States has been daily adding about three warheads to its strategic arsenal, Warnke said. period the United States has developed cruise missiles, Trident missiles, is developing Trident-2 missile and the MX missile system. Also under way is the modernisation of intercontinental ballistic missiles, including those based under water, and of the fleet of strategic bombers.

Paul Warnke laid a special stress on the groundlessness of the assertions to the effect that over the last ten years the USSR has been appropriating more money on defence than the United States. According to Warnke, until recently the military spending of the NATO countries was substantially higher than the corresponding spending of the Warsaw Treaty member-countries, including the Soviet Union. He also reminded that already at the incipient state of the process of the strategic arms limitation the United States possessed a numerical superiority in all fields. Another factor about which the U.S. prefers to keep mum-is the Soviet Union's attitude to what it considers to be a threat to its security emanating from the United States and its NATO partners, Warnke said.

Warnke stressed that the Soviet Union is characterised by a highly reasonable approach to the problem of nuclear weapons since it has a much better idea of the scale of ravages that can be inflicted even by a conventional war. Warnke went on to say that the United States continues to hold the use of military force against the USSR is a thinkable way to attain the goals set. The nuclear age, however, has changed all this. In this connection Warnke invited everybody to recall Einstein's words to the effect that the release

of the energies of the atom has modified everything except human thinking. According to Warnke, there is only one reasonable way out of the present situation—which is to return to the road to strategic arms limitation.—APN.

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THE PRISON INQUIRY

Committee Report

By Dr. W. F. Jayasuriya

The Attorney General has drawn attention recently to the fact that in 1979 it cost the country Rs. 4,800 for person per year. When there are on the average 5,000 convicted persons and 5,000 un-convicted persons one can see that there is something fundamentally wrong in our entire Prison System. If nothing is done the result is certain to be ruination of the economies of this country and great suffering in the land. It may interest the reader to know why there is so much said about the value of Religion in the East and yet there is so much of crime. It is time everyone put their heads together to find out solutions to these problems which have grown so great. Partial solutions will not do much good but we should look at the problem from different aspects. We should seek the views of officers who have dealt with that problem from the Police, the Judiciary, Probation and the Prisons Departments. A report has been issued by a Committee headed by Mr. V. N. Pillai over a year ago but the public have not been given this. I have seen this report and it is a very good report. It is not second to the Gratiaen Report. The question is will it meet the same fate as the Gratiaen Report, the large majority of the latter's recommendations remain unimplemented to this day. Thirty two years have elapsed since the Gratiaen Report and it is a safe bet that this too will be ditto. Things are very bad in regards the subject of Crime and Punishment. Continued neglect of this problem will mean less funds available for other social and development projects. Coming to the subject of the treatment of prisoners all are agreed that the aim of sending a Prisoner to jail is not so much oppressive but correctional. Raising prison walls and recovery of prisoners who have run away because of frightful prison conditions is not the answer to the problem. The reform of the prisoner is the surest way of protecting society from crime.

THE UNITED NATIONS adopted in 1955 the standard Minimum Rules for the treatment of Prisoners. Sri Lanka being a signatory to the convention is obliged to implement those rules. Although the admissions in 1949 stood at 31,000 the admissions in 1979 have more than doubled to 74,000. There is a daily average of 5,000 convicted and 5,000 unconvicted priso-

ners, but there has been no increase in the accomodation. The overflow from the Remand Prisons, which have not been increased in number for the last 50 years have had to be accomodated in Prisons for the convicted. There is inevitable contamination adding to increase of criminal minded persons in the country. The Commissioner bemoans the absence of even a single Psychiatrist working in the prisons. With regard to the money spent on teaching various crafts such as carpentry and tailoring etc. there is little evidence to show that the Prisoners follow the same trade after discharge. Who is to answer for the colossal sums spent thus? The amount paid as remuneration to prisoners is completely ineffective for the purpose intended. Even after 2 years of labour he is paid the insignificient sum of 50 cents a month. It is a relic of ancient times long since discarded in the countries of origin, Another piece of the inhuman treatment to a scion of a one time ancient glorious culture, has been to make him dress in a funny costume and carry a mug and a plate in one hand and an open chamber pot with foul smelling urine in the other. It will be plain that this sort of treatment will undo all the good that might be done otherwise. Added to all times the officers who are expected to correct him are recruited through the Job Bank. The Commissioner sees no reason why, like work, a prisoner should not compulsorily be made to participate in an educational programme. He advocates a system of daily instruction in the religion of the inmate in addition to the usual weekly religious service. Such service will then become more meaningful. suggests that in the organisation of Religious education the assistance of the department of Cultural Affairs and of bodies like the Y. M. B. A., the Y. M. C. A. and the Y. M. M. A. should be sought. Finally the Committee winds up the topic with the comment that in Sri Lanka with its centuries old cultural and religious heritage it would be most appropriate for the policy of the Prison Service to be one of correction and rehabilitation in a spirit of compassion and understanding. Will it be a repeat of the old story of appointting a Committee of Inquiry whenever a grave situaion has arisen and forgetting the matter till another event occurs?

"AID" FRAUD

Profit in Millions

By Prometheus

A REPORT from Sam Burke (Vide TRIBUNE of 26.9.81) of the International Communications Agency (ICA) of the U.S. could even have been passed over as puerile for the simple mindness of its single-track approach to the subject of Aid, if not for the fact that it appears under the caption "Soviet Aid Meagre" in a widely read and respected journal. First of all, to deal with fundamentals: Aid is neither a mindless give-away nor an act of generosity. Even the Soviet

Union does not consider it an act of charity but a mode of assistance—only one mode to a developing country. But here the similarity ends. In the case of the United States it has in operation three modes of resource flows to developing countries, FOREIGN INVESTMENT through Multinational (mainly MILITARY AID (both as Corporations—MNCs), credits and as grants) and BILATERAL (through Official Development Assistance—O.D.A. via the O.E.C.D.) In the case of the Soviet Union, it has two types-military aid and bilateral aid: the former to strengthen defence capabilities and the latter for economic development, mostly industrial development, which in Mr. Burke's language are "highly visible" heavy industrial projects. This is quite true. It is also true (again taking Mr. Burke at his word) that the Soviet Government, quite rightly takes no responsibility for the underdevelopment of the former British, French, Dutch and Portugese colonies. At the time of the Revolution in 1917 Russia was itself a congerie of many nationalities rightly described as the prison house of peoples. In 1905 Czarist Russia was beaten to its knees in the Russo-Japa nese war. If the Czars exploited, they exploited many nations who today are part of the Soviet workers and peasants bore no responsibility. worth recalling perhaps that in the very first days of its existence Soviet Russia annulled all the treaties and agreements which the Tsarist government and western powers had forced upon Turkey, Iran Afghanistan and China. The Soviet country returned, for instance, about 600 million gold roubles to the Iranian people, that is all that had been plundered by Tsarism in Iran. At that time, the early 1920s, the Soviet country itself was in a sorry plight; its economy was civil war and imperialist ruined due to the intervention and its population was starving. point follows Now the important that is this. The Soviet Union neither has had nor has large-scale investments in the Third World from which it draws dividends or repatriates capital. On the other hand, US MNCs derive enormous profits from their direct investments in Asian, African and Latin American countries. Between 1970 and 1977 they made additional investments to the sum of 14.6 billion dollars, out of which 7.7 billion or 40 per cent came from developing countries, though only 25 per cent of US investments are lodged there. (Survey of Current Business, Vol. 58, No. 8, August 1978, p.25).

COMPARISON OF NET EARNINGS OF US INDUSTRIAL CORPORATIONS FROM FOREIGN INVESTMENTS IN DEVELOPING COUNTRIES

	Service Cons	YEARS				
PROFITS	1950	1957	1966	1974	1975	1976
Net Earnings on foreign investments in developing countries (in billion of dollars)	0.99	2.15	3.02	13.3@	10.0@	14.0@
Total Corporate profits before taxes (in billion of dollars)	42.6	47.2	84.2	141.4	141.5	148.0
Foreign earnings as a per- centage of total profits	2.3	4.6	3.6	9.4@	8.7@	9.4@

@ Estimated.

1B. I Cohen, The Question of Imperialism. The Political Economy of Dominance and Dependance Survey of Current Business, March 1975, February 1977.

Union. The Czarist rulers were far too, weak to extend their exploitative tentacles beyond the borders of Holy Russia. So, unlike the western countries no "historic debts" are owed by the U.S.S.R, as a developed State to Asian, African and Latin American countries, for the simple reason that the Soviet Union never had any coionies or semi-colonies.

However, the Soviet Union set a good example by returning the 'historic debts' owed by Tasrist Russia for the actions of which the new state of DATA for 1977 indicates that there were more than 2,540 branches of US monopolies in developing countries at that time—characteristic feature of their expansion is the prevalence of DIRECT investments. Altogether, direct investments of the USA in countries of Asia, Africa and Latin-America increased from 13.8 billion dollars in 1966 to 33.7 billion dollars in 1977. (Survey of Current Business, Aug. 1978). The profits of US Corporations from foreign investments took a spectacular jump in 1978, surpassing 24 billion dollars, an increase of more than 4 billion dollars over the 19.9 billion dollars of 1977. This was by

far the biggest increase in history. Here's how the rate of increase in profits on foreign investments has accentuated. In 1950, total profits on foreign investments were 1,766 million dollars. In 1960. they were 3,621 million dollars, a doubling in ten years. In 1970, they were 8,168 million dollars an increase of 2.25 times in 10 years. In 1978, they were 24,024 million dollars tripling in only 8 years. During the 1950's, the increase was 7.4% per year. in the 1960s it was 8.5% per year: and during the 70s it was 14.4 % per year. (These figures are incomplete, of course, since they exclude billions of dollars in fees and royalties and other type of hidden profits). IS IT ANY WONDER THEN THAT THE O.E.C.D. COUNTRIES HAVE GIVEN 3.991 billion dollars annually, when seeing the U.S. record of profits from MNCs private investment? This is bagatelle compared to the profits they extract in the form of dividend and capital repatriated. Since the Soviet Union has no dividends or capital to repatriate, it does not matter in the least whether the grant element of her loans is 50 per cent or less - it is genuine aid (capital goods - not consumption goods or commodities and expects nothing back from investments)-The USSR also allows repayment in local currency which means the recipient can export their products and manufacturers to the USSR. Equally, it makes not the slighest difference whether the U.S. aid grant element is 60% or 99%. She gets it all back with the other hand-the grasping claws of the MNCs. It is relevant here to note the observations of the wellknown American scholars R. J. Barnet and R. E. Muller in Global Reach: The Power of the Multinational Corporations-"only 17% of the total finance capital used by MNCs in their gross investments came from non-local savings". Raul Prebisch further elaborates: "... adding to the outflow of savings through repatriated profits and capital flight is the increasing debt repayments to bilateral (e.g. U.S. AID) and multi-lateral e.g. (World Bank) aid agencies on loans granted in the 60s. Taken together, the magnitude of these flows has led a number of writers to comment that, in aggregate terms, the poor countries of the world are now ironically helping to finance the rich countries, that is the financial outflows from LDCs far exceed the inflows". The essential difference in the 2 approaches (the USSR and USA) could be evidenced from the case of India-The following Table indicates the US aid pattern in India.

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF AMERICAN AID

Mark 1	Sector Per	centage
1.	Railways	. 3.8
	Power and Irrigation	7.0
	Steel & Iron Ore	1.8
	Transport & Communication	1.1
	Industrial Development	25.0
	Wheat Loan	55.9
	Heath, Agriculture, Social Education	on etc. 5.3

Source: T. Nagi Reddy, India Mortgaged, 1978.

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THIS INDICATED that more than one half of the aid is given to the non-priority sectors and only 38.7% to priority sectors. Furthermore, American aid has been rather costly to India.-Apart from the high prices paid for goods purchased from the US under aid programmes, extremely high transportation charger too have to be paid. Recent investigations have shown that prices paid for commodities aid have been as high as 40 to under tied international market per cent above the Freight on US ships under tied credits is 43 to 113% above the lowest quotations by international Although, as far as quantity shipping agencies. of aid is concerned, the US tops the list of foreign lenders to India, most of the terms and conditions are more favourable to the US than tolndia. The major share of the aid, unfortunately, has not been in the shape of heavy industry equipment such as machine tools, steel mills, hydro-electric projects, etc., Had it been so, India would have received a powerful impetus to her economic development. The cooperation with the USSR, on the other hand, has resulted in India being able to a great extent to build up a sound economic base by strengthening key industries. The basic industries seen in India today are primarily the result of this cooperation. Development of industries in vital areas such as ferrous and non-ferrous metallurgy, machine-building power, oil and natural gas production and processing, coal mining and other fields is the result of Indo -Soviet economic and industrial co-operation. The Bokaro and Bhilai steel plants, the Barauni and Koyali refineries, the Heavy Machine Building plant at Ranchi are outstanding examples of the economic results of USSR-India relations. Assistance to such basic industries such as steel, power, oil, engineeing, etc. have been of tremendous help in its fight for economic independence and self-reliance.

PATTERN OF SOVIET ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE (as on March 31, 1976)

Contract to the contract of	Percentage
Iron and Steel	52.3
Oil	16.2
Power	14.6
Coal-Mining	2.3
Industry	12.0
Drug Projects	1.5
Others	1.1

THE VIRTUE of Soviet economic assistance lies more in its qualitative than its quantitative feature and has been designed to do away with dependence on aid and instead support the building up of a self-reliant economy. K. N. Raj points out that in the case of western aid of India, they are tied to exports to India, but the repayment must be made in foreign currencies. In the case of loans from the USSR'

aid is tied to imports, but the repayment is through exports. Due to the exigencies of both time and space, I will not take up Mr. Burke's statement that much of USSR aid has gone in the past to "targets of opportunity". I will merely refer him to the US "Military Posture" statement to Congress, in 1978, by the then Chairman of the joint Chiefs of Staff, General George S. Brown: "... The role of resources particularly energy resources, in foreign policy remain crucial 'The African continent warrants attention as an increased important partner for industrialised nations. 6 of the most essential commodities required by modern technological societies are found in Southern Africa: Chromium, Cobalt, industrial diamonds, platinum group metals, and vanadium. The United States currently depends on this source for a major portion of its industrial requirements. US military interests focus principally on the littoral states of Africa. Of particular concern to defence and planning are access to airfield and port facilities and lines of communication through and around Africa." After all, in the 1950s, did not U.S. President Eisenhower list the tin and rubber of Southeast Asia as justification for the invasion of Indo-China?

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STORY BEHIND

LAHORE HIJACKING

From the Blitz

New Delhi, October 10: There is more than meets the eye in the drama that was enacted in Lahore following the hijak of the Indian Airlines Boeing by five Dal Khalsa novices. Old hands at hijacking discern too much of fun and buffoonery in the otherwise grim affair, involving 117 human lives. Boeing 737 was flying from Delhi to Srinagar via Amritsar in the forenoon of September 29. According to the report in Pakistan newspapers at 12.35 p.m. (when the plane was about to land in Amritsar) the pilot called at the Central Control Tower of Lahore airport, seeking permission to land there. The pilot said that he was running short of fue!. The Lahore Control Tower asked "Why not Amritsar?" Amritsar is pretty close to Lahore. However, the pilot replied that the Amritsar airport was closed. After that message, according to the Pakistani newspaper reports, the pilot was silent. Meanwhile, the Lahore Control Tower saw the plane appearing over the airport in a bid to land. And then came a voice saying "I am Gajendra Singh belonging to the Khalsa movement and bringing the plane to Lahore." He also said that he was hijacking the aircraft because the Indian Government had killed a 100 men belonging to the Sikh movement, and placed their leader Sant Jarnail Singh Bhindranwale under detention. The Boeing, piloted by S. N. Damle, landed at Lahore at 12.50. After the landing, the hijackers fixed 10 a.m. next day (September 30) as the deadline for the acceptance of their three demands: (1) Establishment of Khalistan as an autonomous Sikh State; (2) Release of Sant Jarnail Singh Bhindranwale and other Sikh detenus; and (3) Permission to hold a press conference at Lahore airport. Then on there was constant movement between the airport building and the hijacked plane, which was parked at the north-eastern tip of the airfield with the cockpit facing the Control Tower. Again, according to Pakistani reports, the 20-hour drama ended at 7.45 a.m. on September 30, after Pakistani Army commandos struck with "lightning speed" to overwhelm the hijackers. The hijacked plane flew back to Delhi in the evening with the freed passengers. Earlier, they were taken round the city for sight-seeing and served food and refreshments. Later, Pakistan's Information Minister Raja Zafarul Haq told newsmen that Pakistan had shown a gesture of goodwill to the Government and people of India by releasing the Indian airliner, and not made it a political issue for exploitation. This, he said, was in strange contrast to the attitude adopted by certain powers when the Pakistani International Airliner was hijacked to Kabul and from there to Damascus in March last. Raja Zafarul Haq added that Pakistan could have prolonged the detention of the plane by describing it as an International problem of another country. But it did nothing of the sort. Instead, it chose to release the plane in the interest of International obligations and preservation of innocent lives. So far so good. There was a great sigh of relief in India accompanied by popular expressions of gratitude to the Pakistani authorities. President Sanjiva Reddy and many political leaders expressed profuse thanks to President Zia and his men.

One person, who expressed concern when the plane was hijacked to Lahore but did not say a word of thanks after the plane was back in Delhi with all passengers safe, was Mrs. Gandhi. She was in Melbourne at the time of hijack. And what's more, the Prime Minister did not relent a wee bit, at the Commonwealth Conference in her biting criticism of the feverish arming of Pakistan by the United States, nor did she retract from her position that Pakistan was interested in keeping the Afghan pot boiling. There are far too many intriguing features which show up the hijack drama more as a comedy than the usual tragedy. Some of these are: Three of the five skyjackers were accompanied by their wives, who were taking a very active part when the commotion started. This is something absolutely new in the annals of international terrorism. Barring kirpans and the traditional small knives, none carried any hand grenade or explosive, which is a must for blowing up the aircraft in the event of the "enemy" being totally unyielding. Instead, Singh, the hijack leader, on landing, at Lahore, demanded a sten-gun and half-a-million dollars to boot. He also requested a discussion on Khalistan

with President Zia. The next thing that the leader did was to leave the plane and go over to the airport lounge to hold discussions with the representative of the Indian Ambassador, Natwar Singh and Katpalia, Indian Director-General of Civil Aviation and Indian Airlines staff. The very boss of the gang deserting the aircraft even for a minute, especially when he is conscious that his co-hijackers on board are literally unarmed except for kirpans was thoroughly inexplicable. The well known practice, at least in the initial stages is for the hijack chief to position himself in cockpit and use the microphone to talk to the opposite party at the airport's Control Tower. Meanwhile a heavyweight of a Pakistan Airline mechanic in overalls boards the hijacked plane and persuades the remaining hijackers to let the women, children and foreign nationals barring Russians, if any go out. The suggestion was promptly accepted without any argument. The next day (September 30) Gajendra Singh was still arguing with the opposite party. The Pakistanis were under the command of Corps Commander Lt. Gen Lodi. In the midst of the conversations, Gajendra Singh was persuaded to go and have a nice bath at the terminal, which he gladly did. Two of the other hijackers followed suit, for a not so badly needed Needless to say all these perambulations are antithetical to hijack culture. In other the hijackers and the Pakistanis seemed to have established a kind of report at the very outset. In the circumstances, as Pakistani officials claimed, "A 45-second stunning operation" could free the remaining passengers.

The postscript too carries some intriguing elements which are being looked into by the Indian Intelligence agencies, both domestic and foreign. Two passengers (Muhammed Khalid Khan and Sikander Parvez) on the hijacked plane were detained and questioned by the Intelligence Bureau and, later, by the Delhi CID. The interrogation is continuing. Khalid and Parvez are said to be relations. Khalid was travelling with three passports, one Indian and two Dutch. He destroyed one of the two Dutch passports before he came to India in August. He had hopped in from Karachi. Before coming to India, Khalid had applied for an identity card (as a Pak national) to the Director General of Registration (interior) at Karachi. Interestingly enough, Khalid seemed to have decided to go back to Pakistan suddenly so much so that he secured a Pakistani visa in a jiffy, that is so to say, on his way to Palam airport, on September 29. He had been in Delhi and around for weeks. Why didn't he obtain a visa earlier? And how did he manage to get the Pakistani visa in a couple of minutes? It will take time to obtain correct answers to these questions There are certain other oddities about Khalid. This 33-year-old business chap is shown bearded! the Dutch passport whereas he has only a moustache in the Indian passport. And lo and behold în Just before boarding the hijacked plane he was said to be clean shaven! And more surprising was the scene

Khalid created when the plane taxied to a halt at Lahore. Like a long lost brother, Khalid embraced Gajendra Singh to the utter shock of the already uneasy passengers. And then Khalid got off the plane, with nobody restraining him, and went off to the airport lounge and telephoned a former Pakistani Army officer. What made Indian Intelligence detain Khalid-and also Parvez-for questioning was the former's coziness, not only with the Pakistanis, but also with Gajendra Singh who, no globe-trotter, had been fed exclusively on a diet of gurbani all 27 years of his life. According to Indian Intelligence sources, the Khalistan movement is being heavily financed by Pakistani's military regime. Zia would love to have a theocratic State in his immediate neighbourhood. It is no secret, that Ganga Singh Dhillon, the US citizen who for the first time raised the slogan of Khalistan with associate status at the United Nations, is the President of the Nankana Sahib Foundation of Pakistan and a great friend of Zia. So also is Jagjit Singh, one time Punjab Minister, and "President" of the National Council of Khalistan. These two johnnies have planned a World Sikh Conference at Nankana Sahib some time next month. Some Khalsa enthusiasts have also been spreading the word that Zia-ul-Haq might give Nankana Sahib Vatican status. Materially, the military Dictator would lose hardly anything by offering such a bonanza. If it materialises, Jagjit Singh's dream of installing a powerful transmitter for a worldwide broadcast of gurbani will have been fulfilled much to the discomfiture of the Indian Government. On all counts, New Delhi has reasons to keep its fingers crossed.

Our Correspondent in Delhi adds: "The hijacking of the Indian airplane was worked out by the US in close collaboration with representatives of the Sikh organisation in the USA and the Pakistan special service. This action is one of the propaganda measures of the Reagan administration to demonstrate to India the peace-loving aspirations of Pakistan and justify supply of modern weapons to that country. The aim of this action also was to stage release of hostages by Pakistan commandos after the hijacking and thus to demonstrate to world public opinion Pakistan's 'good will' with respect to India. Pakistan's side refuses to extradiate to India 5 Sikhs, who hijacked the airplane, although it was returned to India on the same day (20.9.81). This betrays a collusion that cannot fool anyone."

AN EGYPTIAN FABLE

Experts and A Plan

(This fable, by an unknown author, is offered here for the benefit of planners everywhere).

IN THE THIRD YEAR of the reign of the Magnanimous and Bountiful Amenophis III of the IV Dynasty, it came to pass that the Nile swelled in a tremendous

flood and began to overflow its dikes. Upstream a great multitude of peasants drowned, and countless farms were swept away by the raging waters. But in Thebes, the capital, the palace of Pharaoh Amenophis III was protected by an enormous dike and retaining walls, so that the court and courtesans were not overly concerned about the flood. On one of the many days of feast, a palace guard rushed into the presence of the Pharoah and announced that the dike had started yielding and that its collapse was imminent. The Pharoah, following custom, immediately ordered him beheaded for being bearer of bad news, and summoned the "Superior Council for Organic Unified National Development and for Restoration of Egypitan Liberty and Sovereignty" (SCOUNDRELS). "Scoundrels", said Amenophis, "we face a grave emergency; the palace dike is in danger and threatens to collapse: you must urgently prepare a project for its rehabilitation. Certainly you cannot contain the Nile by declaring it an arid zone, so you must develop a plan for concrete and effective action. If you succeed I shall reward you generously, but if you fail I shall tie you with my own hands to a tree, and watch the expressions on your faces as the water rises and covers you!" These words said, the sovereign turned to his lyre, his lotus brandy and his tall dark-haired dancing girls, natives of the Second Cataract of the Upper Nile. The members of SCOUNDRELS rented a spacious luxury suite, where the following Commissions were established: (1) Commission of Sociology; (2) Commission of Statistics and Infor-(3) Commission of Anthropology; (4) Commission of Town Planning and Architecture: (5) Commission for the Investigation of Errors Commited; (6) Coordinating Commission and (7) a modest Engineering office.

Furthermore, SCOUNDRELS set up Regional Consultants in the remotest provinces of Egypt, assembling an extensive Technical Staff of distinguished professors, and providing them with sufficient quantities of papyrus sheets; these started to formulate an intensive study program. "Our first necessity", declared the Grand Vizier, "is to base the study on an adequate store of basic data; we cannot plan without data. Thus, the different commission should dedicate their efforts to the compilation of all existing The Commission of Errors should analyze the information provided by each commission in order to eliminate the errors committed in the past, as it would be unpardonable to commit them again and submit the purified information to the Commission of Statistics. I advice you that it is necessary to possess accurate basic data in order to develop a harmonious integral plan for the utilization of the Nile". The Office of Engineering requested, in all humility, the Grand Officer's authorisation to repair the dike. The vizier, annoyed by the interruption, replied, "don't divert me with points of detail; send word immediately to the field investigators to question the oldest farmers on the banks of the Nile regarding

its characteristics, its changes through time, the frequency of its floods and the maximum levels of the recorded high-water marks". The engineers assembled the information rapid,y (as always happens, the date was contradictory and inaccurate) and forwarded it to the Statistical Commission, as had been commanded by the Grand Vizier this Commission, started working as soon as the errors committed by the investigators were eliminated, and succeeded in making the data consistent through the application of a "deviation factor" multiplied by the square root of pi, this obtaining a "correction index" The other Commission worked eagerly, as was ordered by the Grand Vizier organizing various study groups to focus on the economical, social, fiscal and also the technical aspects; a Commission of Sociology and Anthropology was also established in order to investigate communal life in a Planned Monarchy.

AT THIS STAGE, the engineers informed the various commissions that the dike was in serious danger owing to the rapid deterioration of its defective stonework, which had to be repaired urgently, and to infiltrations which were increasing at an alarming rate and had to be sealed. Nobody paid much attention to these 'pedestrian tinkers' who obviously had the limited and exhausted vision typical of an executive agency; everybody concentrated on the reports of the other Commissions, which awakened a great interest in planning circles. The Commission of Sociologists informed the Council that there was not sufficient recreational space on the crown of the dike for the handicapped children inhabiting the nearby marshes; that four out of every seven families spent less than 20 drachmas capita per yearon vegetables; and that the dike itself constituted a social barrier between the river boatmen and the inhabitants of the marshes. The Commission recommended an exhaustive investigation of the activities of the welfare Service Department, which was judged not to be carrying out its duties. The Commission of Fiscal Aspects brought to light the fact that the construction cost of the dike had not yet been amortized, and that at the current rates 20 years would be necessary for complete reimbursement. It discovered also that the dike was state property, and consequently tax-exempt, but nevertheless paid taxes in four overlapping fiscal districts: the Kingdom of Egypt, the County of Thebes, the City of Thebes and the Lower Nile Conservation District. The Commission recommended a drastic reorganisation of the antiquated fiscal systems, and the creation of new organisms which would assist them in their functions. The Nile waters ignoring the profound studies of the distinguished experts and consultants of the various Commissions, continued rising; the Pharoah, as a precaution, moved to the second floor of the palace with his lyre, his lotus brandy and his tall dancing-girls from the Second Cataract.

MEANWHILE, the members of SCOUNDRELS come pleted a voluminous pre-preliminary report and submitted it to the Grand Vizier, who in turn brought it for approval to his Gracious and Magnanimous Majesty Amenopholis III. The Pharoah passed it to the Royal General Coordinator, while he tunes his instrument for the nightly feast. The voluminous pre-preliminary report pointed out that there existed a need for more basic information in order to encompass the problem intelligently in a socio-economicpolitico-urbanistic conceptional framework, and for more coordination efforts at the highest levels of the administration so as to assure the success of the "Comprehensive Plan" which envisioned the development of the Nile from Lake Tana to the Delta. It was a plan which comprised all the physical and social aspects for intelligent utilization and prudent conservation of all the natural and human resources of the Nile Basin. At the last moment, one of the engineers succeeded in convincing SCOUNDRELS to include in the Plan a recommendation for repairing the dike which surrounded the Palace and protected the city of Thebes, a matter which they would have preferred to omit, considering that it was a minor detail which could be filled in later in accordance with the global perspectives and objectives courageously delineated by the Comprehensive Plan. Having bravely outlined the Plan, it was subjected to various modifications which omitted anything which would infringe on the water rights of landowners upstream and downstream, or which could not be assured of approval by the "Operating Agencies" or might offend the aesthetic taste of the Masters of Ceremony of the Palace. The Plan was printed on coloured leaves, bound with fireproof papyrus, and widely distributed among the most notable scholars and high dignitaries of the Kingdom, while the Commission took a short and well-deserved vacation to relax from the arduous hardships of their work, by sailing up the turbulent Nile in a luxurious pleasure yacht.

THE PHAROAH reminded them, before departure, of the punishment which lay in store for them if their report "did not see the wood for the trees". They were not worried by this admonishment, being certain that their Comprehensive Plan would meet the unanimous approval of all critics, scholars, and experts. They ordered their delegates to take care of any new matters which might come up during their absence, and to erect a grandiose, monolythic obelisk in the most prominent place in Thebes, with the necessary inscriptions and lithergical hieroglyphs, to commemorate the date of termination of the Comprehensive Plan. They sailed the yacht upstream, loaded with the necessary supplies and provisions, in the company of another "commission" of tall dancing-girls from the First Cataract, who cooperated in every way to make their well-deserved vacation more agreeable. On the day following their departure the Nile did overflow the dike, sweeping away Thebes, the Pharoah, his court and courtesans; an event which generated

confusion among present day Egyptologists, who found empty the Pyramid constructed to preserve the mummified body of Amenophis III, who, not having been recovered from the waters, could not enjoy the pleasures which the god Anubis bestows on his high priests once they are converted into dried sausage and conserved inside a pyramid. On return from their vacation the members of SCOUNDRELS desirours of knowing the verdict of the "Commission for Revision of the Plan", found that all had been swept away. Only the monolythic obelisk which commemorated the completion of the Comprehensive Plan remained standing, with some hungry fellahin wandering around it as a mute witness to the wisdom of the Comprehensive Plan. Confronted by the crushing solution given by the catastrophe to the technicosocio-economico-political problems of SCOUNDRELS, they were amazed not to find their plan in operation. They reacted immediately when they saw the solution to the problem in the trace of the Maximum Extraordinary Water Level which was neatly marked on the monumental obelisk, exclaiming ."now we do have the fundamental basic controlling data for elaborating another Comprehensive Plan"

MORAL: This historic event fully confirms, among scholars and experts, the existence of "The Egyptain Curse".

CONCLUSION: The Experts and Planners are always right, and never lose out. The end of this story proves that they liberate themselves from the threats of the Pharoah, had the opportunity to produce a new and more ambitious plan, and to re-populate Egypt.

* * * *

PRAYER OF A WORKING WOMAN

Travelling in a Bus

Give me a seat, O Lord I pray,
To ease my weary limbs today;
Let me not be jostled or trampled Lord,
Till my work-place I reach, 'ere long.

The bus O Lord, how it speeds, it creaks, It stutters, it splutters, and then it streaks; Clutching my bag tight on to my waist Grinning and bearing I patiently wait.

Scanning the bus for an empty place, Dear Lcrd, isn't there just a little space, If You were here today my Lord, How will you treat this selfish throng?

There; at last my work-place I see,
The portals of the 'Centre' welcome me,
My prayer O Lord is unanswered yet,
But I'll worry You again tomorrow, You bet;

-the I Carlo as a rational paster to the scale to

Mrs. Angela K. Navaratnarajah

AND MORESHOOD BUILDING

Why Not Termites?

IS IT NOT A FACT that there is a fresh interest in Dambala? That there appears to be new rethinking about the dambala project? That international funds have been poured into make Sri Lanka the World Dambala (winged bean) Centre? That incidentally it has enabled some bright laboratory hounds in this country and elsewhere to take wing to attend seminars in different countries and get funded scholarships to receive higher qualifications in foreign universities? That in the meantime honest scientists in Sri Lanka have begun to talk about the truth about Dambala which many perceptive laymen had sensed all alongthat it was only a jet-winged gimmick? That the Ceylon Daily Mirror of September 30, 1981 had a front-page report under the heading DAMBALA NOT GOOD, SAYS DOCTOR that read: "The tender Dambala which is suitable for cooking contains only a little over one percent protein said Dr. Dinasiri Fernando, the Deputy Director in charge of the Agriculture Research Centre, Mahaillupallama, addressing a group of farmers in the Dompe electorate. 'The matured Dambala contains about 40 per cent protein but it's not possible to eat this unless one's mouth is a mortar, and Sri Lanka has no facilities for processing the matured Dambala seeds' Fernando said. He said Dambala has become popular in this country as a result of the wide publicity given through the media". That whilst it is true that Dambala had a big boost owing to media publicity, there has not been any increased use of dambala in the dietary of ordinary prople in the island? That much was made of 40% protein in the mature (and inedible) Dambala That if the 40% protein is reason for the hullabaloo about dambala then there are other items of easily and cheaply obtainable food with the same high protein content?

THAT IN THE EXCELLENT TV SERIES entitled Survival (on wildlife conservation) it was revealed that termites had 40% protein and 40% fat and that they constituted a nutritious item of food? That many animals thrived on termites? That to humans, in parts of Africa, termites were a rare and succulent delicacy? That with the 40% protein and 40% fat, all international organisations having funds for developing underutilised food items (like dambala) should also devote time and energy on research on breeding termites for food for the fast growing human pupulation? That the millions now spent on pesticides for killing termites can be saved and the pollution of our atmosphere decreased? That it will not be difficult to popularise special dishes and recipes (as in the case of dambala and soya to bring termites on to the five star hotel menu in the form of attractive dishes? That if humans also take to eating termites (repeat 40% protein and 40% fat), several species in the animal kingdom which now eat termites would be deprived of their food? That on this account more money can be spent to enable some scientists to conduct seminars on how the problem in the animal kingdom, that will arise when humans start eating termites, can be met? That scientists in Sri Lanka and abroad should also be given funds to see how termite colonies could be multiplied and fattened and also to determine the best "age" of the termites for eating? That a special investigative survey (more travel and more funds) should be carried out into the lives and loves of the African tribes that eat termites? That an effort should also be made to find out why they like "young" termites whilst they still have wings and fly about?

THAT A WORLD TERMITE INSTITUTE should be organised and institutionalised? That Sri Lanka should offer to be the World Centre for Reserach on Termite Breeding? That another Institute should also be set up to experiment how best to cook termites for eating? That the World Institute for Termite Breeding and Eating should be able to attract funds from many sources? That opposition can be expected from multinationals which now manufacture poisonous chemicals to "eradicate the termite menace"? That if termites are to be made part of the dietary of humans the business of these multinationals will naturally be adversely affected? That there is however a way out? That the World Termite Institute should have an expensive media campaign to educate the multinationals that there would be more money in making chemicals, hormones etc. etc., to make termites breed faster with more weight and protein content than in killing them? That there are many scientists memerised by jettravel who will be willing to go round the world to Investigate the protein and fat content of termites in different countries? That the Institute can easily find the money to send these scientists to the dark and dangerous jungles in different countries where termites abound? That with the winged beans and flying termites, malnutrition will soon become a thing of the past? That this suggestion of a World Institute For Termite Breeding and Eating should not be taken in a jocular spirit? That it is not a joke? That it is as serious a project as dambala or winged bean project? That we should get a few African friends, who enjoy roasted termites, to come on our National TV and some local export should question them as some venerable scientists were quizzed on dambala? That mdeia propaganda can easily condition consumers here to switch to the excellent food of termites with 40% protein and 40% fat?

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