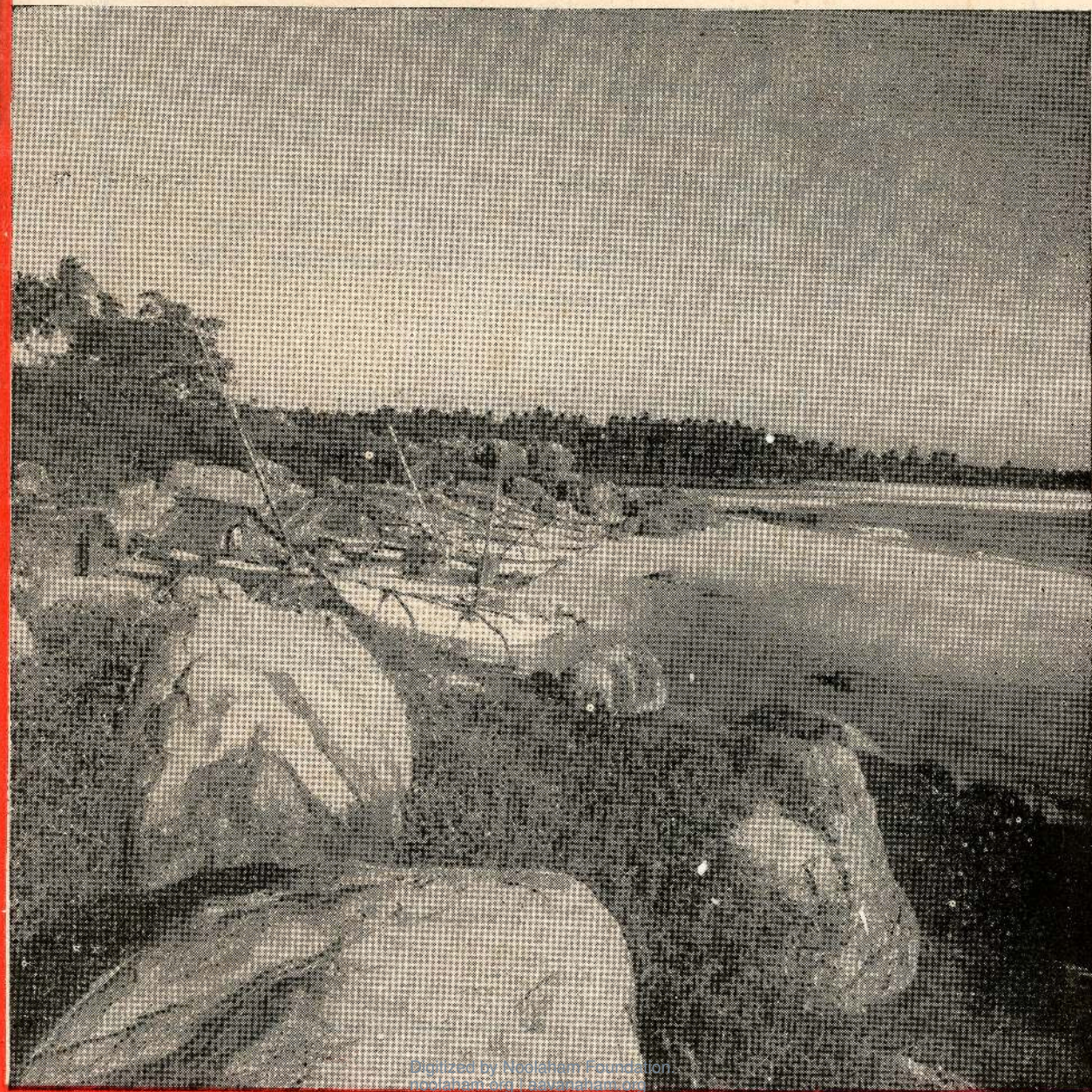


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TRIBUNE



26TH YEAR OF PUBLICATION



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Letter From The Editor

THE EBULLIENT SPEECH made by the Minister of Agricultural Development and Research in Parliament last week during the Budget debate made it out that our non-plantation agriculture was so much on the up and up that this country was not only overflowing with paddy but will soon be brimming over with all the subsidiary food crops. This speech was broadcast and re-broadcast over the SLBC. Minister E. L. Senanayake took the maximum credit from the increase of paddy production and promised not only self-sufficiency (almost immediately) but also increasing exportability (he spoke with childish glee about the 2,000 tons he had exported some time ago, with temple bells and newspaper supplements). He did not tell his audience, however, that Sri Lanka will import 150,000 tons of rice in 1981—whether for consumption or for a buffer stock it does not matter! All those who know admit that Sri Lanka has still a long way to go to make this country self-sufficient in paddy. It is only when paddy production has increased to the point that a year or two of bad weather cannot affect our buffer stocks that this country can talk of self-sufficiency and think of exports. There is no doubt that Sri Lanka has the potential to export rice (and all other agricultural produce), but it is foolish to indulge in categorical proclamations that everything was already hunky-dory. Such futile rhetoric only detracts from the tasks and challenges ahead. Minister E. L. Senanayake indulging in the typical Sri Lankan pastime of talking big in superlatives bragged about several world "firsts" that "our agriculture" had achieved; the BG 90/2 paddy variety that had produced a world-shaking yield per hectare; a type of 100-day Sri Lankan maize that could transform the world, and so on and so forth. Minister Senanayake also spoke glowingly about the increased PMB paddy price of Rs. 50 a bushel. But the fact is that today even Rs. 50 a bushel has little meaning. In the open market the price had already touched Rs. 70 a bushel. A tractor costs Rs. 195,000 and bulls or buffaloes trained for ploughing cost over Rs. 7000 to Rs. 8000 a pair. Tractor owners in recent months charge Rs. 700 to 750 to plough an acre of paddy land—and with the coming fuel ration it will cost more. Labour costs have doubled. And what is even funnier to rural folk is that the price increase has been announced when all the paddy stocks are either in the hands of the PMB or the traders—the announcement would have benefitted producers only if it was made just before the Maha crop was harvested. The Minister spoke with even greater enthusiasm about the floor price scheme. The simple fact is that the floor prices are unrealistic and they have been determined by the urban consumer lobby. But apart from the fact that floor prices are too low, there is no governmental agency that is capable of even buying even a fraction of the crop in order to tone up the market and keep the trader alert. What is even more tragic is that imported items are sold (not merely during off-season periods) at prices far lower than the floor prices. The Minister went into panegyrics about the Extension Services with its army of 4,000 Cultivation Officers. These officers are rarely seen in the dry-zone heartland of our agriculture. Further, most of these officials are permanently in attendance in conferences, seminars, workshops and other contemporary administrative gimmicks with the result that the farmers they are expected to serve never see them except during ministerial visits. The proof of the pudding is in the eating. The reports of the Central Bank and the Ministry of Plan Implementation show the steady decline of our subsidiary food crops in 1978, 1979 and in the first half of 1980. The report entitled *Subsidiary Food Crops—a Worsening Situation* issued by the Ministry of Plan Implementation on May 15, 1980 reveals that in the majority of the 17 items (chillies, red onions, bombay onions, ulundu, cowpea, soya beans, green gram, dhal, maize, sorghum, kurakkan, maize, potatoes, sweet potatoes, manioc, groundnuts and gingelly), the decrease recorded in 1978 had worsened in 1979. The report stated that "green gram, potatoes and gingelly are notable exceptions in that 1979 became the peak performance for these three crops. All other crops have declined by figures ranging from 99.3% to 16.6% compared with their peak years of performance and by figures ranging from 80.4% to 13.2% when compared with 1978 performance. Acreage under these crops have also contracted except in the case of cowpea and potatoes.

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The Fisheries Example

IN THE MIDST OF THE GENERAL GLOOM in the country among the salaried, the self-employed, the underemployed and the unemployed, because of the sudden and unexpected increase of Milk Board prices and Transport Board fares, there is growing resentment and anger that nothing is being done to eliminate waste, graft, theft and redundant labour in these two organisations.

Ordinary people want to know why Minister Thondaman and Minister Mohamed could not long ago (even before Minister Festus Perera) launch a campaign to clean up the institutions under their care. On several occasions the corruption, waste and open-handed robbery in the Milk Board, the CTB and the CGR have been spotlighted in Parliament and in the newspapers (including government-owned papers of the *Lake House* and the *Times* groups). But nothing was done except to issue platitudinous statements that "action was being taken."

People's patience has already come very near bursting point. The President and the Government would be well advised to compel clean-up operations in the Milk Board and the Transport services without delay.

We have on the cover this week a peaceful scene from a remote fishing village. We have chosen this picture to pay homage to the Minister of Fisheries who has set an example that other Ministers will do well to follow. As a first step twenty or thirty of the top brass the Fishing Corporation were suspended from work and sent on compulsory leave. The corrupt and guilty will be punished and others will probably be sent to work in places where they cannot do any further damage. The redundant labour has been paid off according to our labour laws. How the Fisheries Corporation is to be run is another matter, but there is nothing more disastrous for the public sector than have an organisation which is both corrupt and inefficient. People have now become so disgusted with public sector organisations that they would not mind the private sector being entrusted with greater responsibilities, but care must be taken to see that they do not exploit the producers and consumers as they did in the past—and which had compelled the State to step in.

The Fisheries Corporation and the CTB had been set up because of the exploitative greed of the fish mudalalis and bus magnates. Nobody wants to go back completely to the days of the free-booting private owners. At the present juncture in the development of Sri Lanka a judicious mix of public sector trading and private enterprise competition would probably ensure a square deal to the producer and the consumer. In Transport, private operators have already come in to tone up the service. On the Milk front, Nestles may be a useful private enterprise to set the pace in the condensary, but it will be a tragedy if the major part of dairy development is handed over to a multi-

national whose international reputation does not rank very high.

The Fisheries Ministry has set up a joint venture for off-shore and deep sea operations for particular types of sea food like cuttle fish etc. with a foreign collaborator on 51:49 basis in favour of Sri Lanka. The Milk Board has agreed, according to reports, to set up a powdered milk plant with Nestles on 60:40 basis in favour of the foreign collaborator. This is a sell-out, and the people of this country will not take it. Such foreign collaboration only sows the seed for popular unrest and revolt.

In the past, there have been occasions when we criticised some programmes of the Ministry of Fisheries. But Minister Festus Perera was responsive to criticism and remedied matters that had to be corrected. He took his time to start on the clean up of the Fisheries Corporation, but the fact that he has done so is a tribute to his determination to get things done.



JOURNEY TO INDIA — 3

The Magic Door

By S. P. Amarasingam

AT THE KATUNAYAKE INTERNATIONAL AIRPORT everything appeared to be part of a New Order—all except the air-conditioning system which was certainly not functioning as it should. Those departing had a section all to themselves with newly polished Customs Examination Benches and chromium-fitted airline ticketing stalls. One entered through a magic door which opened when one stepped on a panel sunk on the floor and it closed after you. Why a poor developing country like Sri Lanka should want expensive gadgetry of this kind is hard to know. A similar door has not (yet) been installed at the gateway out of the Arrivals section. In fact, this automatic electronic door would have been more appropriate at the Arrivals sector to impress foreign visitors that Sri Lanka had everything that the genie from Aladdin's lamp could provide. Perhaps, the Airport Authority wanted tourists to carry away memories of this magic door to remember to come back to this island paradise to spend a few more shekels from their treasure trove of hard currency.

There is not the slightest doubt that the airport, like so many things in Sri Lanka today, is geared only for the foreign visitor—tourist or otherwise. Natives appear to be second class or even third class categories in this place. No sooner a foreigner—even one in a bedraggled costume—crosses the magic door he and his luggage are wadded away as if on a magic carpet over the Customs Examination counters to the airline ticketing points. But a native has patiently to suffer the travails of comparatively rough weather. I saw many Sri Lankan passengers being given the works for no apparent reason—forgetting that a foreigner could easily carry gems or narcotics as which are today the Custom's top priority allergies.

I crossed the magic door on this bright and sunny morning on the 2nd of September 1980 with a porter trailing beside me with my suitcase and a rather heavy cardboard box with copies of my book *Havana To Kabul*. Whilst I was wondering at which counter to present myself, a young self-conscious Customs official ordered the porter to put my luggage on the bench before him. Without asking me where I was going or for my passport (which he should have done in the first instance if he had received basic rudimentary training for his job), he said "open.....open". I offered him my passport and the declaration form, but he waved them aside and rudely said, "open.....open.....quick!" in accents that betrayed that his knowledge of the English language was even more uncertain than any familiarity with good manners.

I did as I was told. The young officer with a hard glint in his eye looked as if he meant business. I opened my suitcase first. He waved his hand—it was more eloquent than the words he lacked—and wanted me to unpack the cardboard box. I told him first in English and then in my faltering Sinhala that the box contained only books and that it would be a job to undo and repack. But he insisted, and the box I undid. He pulled out all the books one by one, and seemed disappointed that he did not detect gems hidden in hashish packs. He asked me "no tea"? I said, "no tea". It looked as if he had expected me to carry packets of tea embedded with star sapphires.

Whilst the kindly and amused porter struggled to repack the box with the books, the officer turned his attention to the suitcase. In my time, I have crossed Customs barriers many times in Sri Lanka and elsewhere, but never before has any suitcase I carried received such intensive care treatment. Everything, literally everything in it, was thrown on to the counter and some fell on the ground. My protests that I had only my personal belonging did not impress him. I bore everything patiently wondering how I was going to put back the clothes and other personal knickknacks, expertly packed by others, into my bag again in a way that would enable the lid to be shut. Then, after getting everything out of the bag, the officer started scattering the Aspirin tablets I had in a little vial and began unscrewing the ball point pens I had in my writing kit. He was probably looking for deadly heroin or may be even uranium or plutonium. This was the last straw. I raised my voice and wanted to know his name. I also told him what I thought of his conduct.

AT THIS STAGE, a senior Customs Officer, no doubt hearing the noise I was making, walked up and wanted to know why I was making a fuss. Before I could answer he asked the junior officer where I was travelling to, and I butted and said "Madras". He told me "this is the counter for the Middle East.....you should have gone to that counter.....". Then he turned on the officer, ".....haven't I told you to ask a passenger first where he was going etc. etc.....".

"I am sorry, Sir, this mistake was made.....", the senior officer pacified me. He asked for my passport

and my Customs declaration form, helped me to put my belongings back into my suit case, and after sticking yellow tags on my luggage with the ward "customed" printed on them asked the porter to take them to the ticketing counter.

Then I heard him inflict a sermon in the official language on the young officer who stood pertified at the turn of events. I felt sorry for him. The dressing down he got from me and the senior officer should have been really administered to those responsible for such bad recruitment and even for the more serious default of not providing basic training before such recruits were let loose on passengers.

Incidentally, the word "customed" intrigued me. I had not seen or heard of this word. When I had the opportunity, I looked up the biggest Oxford Dictionary I could get. I found that the word "custom" is not used as a verb in the way Sri Lanka Customs now insists on doing. "Customed" is no doubt a Sri Lankan contribution to English vocabulary.

The ticketing and the Immigration provided no excitement. The Security Check officers were the supreme perscnification of courtesy.

Whilst sweating in the noon-day heat in the departure lounge with inadequate airconditioning I turned to some papers I had received about the MacBride Commission Report and the new Information Order. Before the call to board came on the loudspeakers, which worked even more unevenly than the air conditioning, I was able to glance through a PTI report that pointed out that the Third World should not copy western media.

The report was chiefly concerned with *Media Councils*. It said: "Media councils or press councils in third world countries cannot be just 'carbon copies' of those in the developed world, according to an UNESCO report on mass media codes of ethics and councils. Media councils were first conceived in developed countries and have been functioning there for a long period. Most of them made mistakes to begin with and have changed and evolved over the years. However, because the 'pattern and philosophy of mass communication in third world countries are not the same as that in many of the developed countries, the media councils in those countries cannot and should not be just carbon copies of those in the developed world; the report, which is sub-titled 'A comparative international study on professional standards', cautions....."

"Giving a history of the development of press councils in the world, the report says there are now some 50 media councils or similar organisations throughout the world. Most of them are press councils concerned with the printed word, though a few include broadcasting as well. The common denominator, despite considerable variation among them as to their constitution and application, is that where press councils have been set up primarily on the initiative of the media themselves, the guiding principle has been that they shall form a self-disciplinary court of honour with

the chief sanction against 'offenders being condemned by colleagues in public.'

"Some of the roles which were fulfilled in the early days of media council are less applicable to third world countries than in developed countries, but some of their functions are transferable or adaptable to third world situations. Media councils in third world countries can help constructively in the development of national media of mass communication. They can be a corporate voice against those who wish to use the media to manipulate opinion; they can help to preserve its fundamental purpose in terms of human rights and dignities, and they can encourage both corporate and individual self-determination.....

"The report says that the main consideration to be taken into account about media councils and codes of ethics, is the question how and by whom they are set up especially how they are financed and whose interests it is predominantly required that they serve. Media councils in third world countries should of course primarily be seen as organisations of mediation and support, and only secondarily, if at all, as organisations of control and regulation, the report says.

"In that way, according to the report, they will command more respect and authority, both inside their own country and in the larger world. The report says the fifth conference of heads of state of non-aligned countries held at Colombo from August 16 to 19 in 1976 noted with anxiety the increasing gap between the capacities of communication of the non-aligned and the developed countries, this being the inheritance of their colonial past. The conference said it has created a state of passive reception of tendentious information, which was often inadequate or distorted. According to the Colombo conference the 'most complete identification and assertion of their (developing countries) national and cultural identity require the rectification of this great lack of balance and urgent measures to ensure the largest possibilities of mutual co-operation in this new sphere.' The report says there are two important barriers, basic to third world countries, which have to be overcome before there can be adequate rectification of this great lack of balance.' The barriers are lack of indigenous expertise and finance, in the field of mass communication, the lack of indigenous expertise is coupled with the problem of inertia and the feeling that mass communication has not so far been a priority in development, and that indigenous communicators (journalists and broadcasters) are not as important to the future of their countries as are doctors, economists, agricultural scientists, lawyers and academics.

"Commentators, it says, must be given their rightful status particularly by governments. Media councils in third world countries, according to the report, could be an important aid in helping to solve the problem of inertia and failure to make mass communication a sufficiently important development priority. They cannot however, of themselves solve the problem of finance. The report raised the question whether in a few third

world countries the media can themselves afford to set up and run, even on modest lines, their own media councils. Where money comes only from within the newspaper industry (as in developed countries) the problem is most acute; where part of the money comes from this source and the balance is made up from government grants, there is the feeling that the integrity of the media council is compromised, the report adds. So far we have taken count only of the role of media councils in protecting and enlarging the scope of the mass media in terms of freedom of thought, freedom of expression, free flow of ideas and the encouragement of self-determination. There is another side to the functions which media councils can perform. 'We are today in the middle of a technological revolution in the field of mass communication. Third World countries need to ensure that they maximise the use of whatever technical resources are available. They need to ensure such facilities are not misused.' The report says that the public in these countries not only has the right to be informed, but it also has the right to know that these technical resources, national and international, which have been acquired at the expense of not buying some other development aid—drugs, fertilizers, agricultural or industrial machinery—are not being used for distortion manipulation, negligence and wilful omission by media and other personnel.

"Third World media councils, it says, have, if anything, a more important and a vital role than those established in developed countries. Their basic requirements are that they try to define the responsibilities of professionals towards the substance, the audience, the institutions and their own freedom....."

Why this summarised report on media or Press Councils should have been on top of the papers in my file, I do not know, but what I read confirmed the view I have always held that it was suicidal for Third World countries to want to copy the pattern and procedures of the Western media. For one thing developing countries could not afford the expensive paraphernalia and the highly paid correspondents with unlimited expense accounts that the Western media flaunted. The Western media's primary objective was to maintain the status quo of Western dominance whilst Third World media wanted a global transformation to usher in a new political, economic and information order.

Educating myself in this way about contemporary developments in the information sector, I was on my way to Madras on the first leg of the journey to the Indian capital.

(To Be Continued)



The Fifth Circuit

A burning issue that scorches the local cinematic scene today is the much discussed "Fifth Circuit". While some refer to it acidly as the "Favoured Circuit", others have titled it as the "Convenient Queue Crusher". As against these sarcasms, we have the word of the Chairman of the State Film Corporation, that this circuit is the best thing that has happened since 1978, and had been an added incentive, for the production of better quality films, which qualify for an earlier release. He has strengthened his statement with the fact that three films, **Palangetiyo**, **Vasanthe Dawasak** and **Handaya** reeled off this circuit for recognition when awards time came around, being cited for them more than once. I think the Chairman has a point there, but it must be admitted that a few films on this circuit did fail miserably, but only from a box office point of view, which rarely keeps pace with the "artistic".

This column is not all that interested in the "polemics" of this controversy which keeps bobbing now and then, although the whole debate boils down to one fact, and that is the need for more cinemas. As it is, it is difficult to keep pace with the number of local films—good and bad—that are being churned out and remaining bottle-necked in the notorious queue. Investing in a cinema construction today is not a sound proposition, when the millions that may go for this end, could rather rest easily in an attractive savings account, and multiply itself respectably without much human effort. To lay the blame on the State Film Corporation for this dilemma would be very unfair, as it keeps emphasising the need for new cinemas time and again, and has explored avenues to meet this need. A recent Indian Screen news item reads that "A consultant of the Sri Lanka Film Corporation had visited the open air cinema at Somangalam in South India, with an intention of putting up such projects in Sri Lanka. This Indian news weekly expatriates that such open air cinemas could be constructed at a cost of less than two lakhs, and it, would be economical to run them profitably. The article also stressed that if a film industry is to retain its position and establish the claim as an industry, the most urgent step would be the construction of adequate cinemas to satisfy the economic law of supply and demand, thus minimising the speculation aspect in film business. If this be so, I daresay that the immediate construction of such open air cinemas, would be the answer to this problem and it is indeed encouraging news that the SFC is actively alive to this need.

HANSA VILAK (Swan Lake) Sinhalese: The young and talented Dharmasiri Bandaranayake and his cameraman Andrew Jayamanne have combined adequately with a psychedelic approach of fantasy and fact, to turn out, what I thought was an unusual, but brilliant film. The film keeps wool gathering into unexplored fields of cinema and in doing so projects with purpose, a story

that tilts heavily on the wages of adulterous associations that do not merely end in the divorce courts, but on the contrary, continue to weigh with vengeance on the minds of the participants, in such extra martial interludes. A chance meeting, and a growing infatuation, steeped more in lust than in love, brings together two married persons in Nissanka (Dharmasiri) and Miranda (Swarna Mallowaratchchi), who in their orgiastic quest, break up two happy homes, leaving a loving middle-aged husband Douglas (Henry Jayasena) and a disillusioned doe-eyed Samantha (Vasanthi Chaturani) in helpless and utter despair. The children of these marriages become the flotsom and jetsom of the martial "wreck". The guilt ridden pair, in between their kicks and clinches, are eventually shadowed and haunted by their consciences, and of the pair Nissanka sets off on a pilgrimate of pain and fantasy to find a haven for his restless mind. Cinematically and critically viewed, a nascent exercise in technique and finesse envelopes the story at this stage, to confuse and delight the audience in turns. This attempt brings immense credit to the promising prowess of the young director, who perhaps conceived it all in his searching mind, to enrich cinema. As an actor however, Dharmasiri is getting into a groove that *Palangetiya* inflicted on him with glory, but could with repetition. Veteran actor Henry Jayasena rose bravely to the demands of his role, while Chaturani and Mallawaratchchi, did just what was expected of them. The camera persistently had its lens focussed on the innocent little ones who inevitably become the victims of parental folly. This film will certainly work its way up to the awards queue of 1980.

MAGE AMMA (Sinhalese): A box office warmer for those who have had their minds on the stretch, by the rather serious cinema around, this production of Yusoof Riffai directed by Venkat, projects the story of a Prodigal Son, who returns home, not to be received in the open arms of a tormented mother, but by her "tortured" finger on the trigger of a gun. Well within this confrontation, between the mother (Sriyani Amarasena) and son (Rex Kodipppy), there are stuffed in plenty the fun, frolics and fights that pack a strict formula film, directed mainly for escape and entertainment. A neat juggling act in a night-club, lively songs, and smuggling plots mask the sentimentality of the story, with comedian Freddy Silva keeping the tears at bay whenever the need arises. Judging by the Box Office and the long queues, this film is doing surprisingly well. A family film particularly for sons, who may pick back their dutiful values, jettisoned along the years.

SINBAD AND THE EYE OF THE TIGER (English): This Columbia Production crowds in a little over two hours, all the Arabian Tales of adventure, that could attain vibrancy, only when viewed through the eyes of children. Sinbad personifies the hero who wades through the danger from many pre-historic monsters, to restore a throne to its rightful ruler, with a wily witch Xenobia on his trail. While stopping down the years, I watched the ruggedly handsome Patrick, son

of John Wayne and the attractive Taryn, daughter of Tyrone Power who once swayed Hollywood films for many years by their dynamic presence. Do take your children along, for it is geared to their world all the way through, filling up their dreams and cups of joy to the brim. **RONALD REAGAN:** I too said it (*Tribune* 1.11.80), but be assured that "stars" had nothing to do with it.

James N. Benedict

SRI LANKA CHRONICLE

Nov. 6 - 11

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

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

THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 6: Finance Minister, Ronnie de Mel yesterday announced a Rs. 70 a month cost of living allowance for public servants and pensioners from January 1981 and an increase in the guaranteed price of paddy from Rs. 40 to Rs. 50 a bushel in the budget he presented in Parliament. The cost of living allowance will cost the government an additional Rs. 700 million a year, he said; the Finance Minister also increased Employers' Provident Fund contributions by employers from 9 to 12 per cent and by employees from 6 to 8 percent. Sri Lanka's celebrations of the 50th anniversary of adult franchise next year will centre round several main events spread over a year; among the highlights are a colourful exhibition to be held in London and a special commemorative meeting in Colombo in October chaired by Queen Elizabeth II of Great Britain; several heads of governments will also attend the meeting; Prime Minister R. Premadasa has proposed that the celebrations should centre round six main events; the February 4, 1981 independence celebrations will be held in Anuradhapura; the other events to be celebrated during this jubilee year would be the anniversary of the first Republican Constitution which falls on May 22; the opening of the Sri Lanka exhibition in London by Queen Elizabeth on June 20, 1981; a commemorative stamp will be issued to mark the setting up of the first State Council on July 7, 1931 and a special commemorative meeting will be held in October and the opening of the new Parliament at Sri Jayawardhanapura, Kotte on February 4, 1982. The Janata Party executive in India, in a lengthy resolution, last Monday, accused Mrs. Indira Gandhi of inte-

ference in the domestic affairs of other countries—CDN. The three cents increase on the price of a cigarette, announced by the Finance Minister Ronnie de Mel yesterday will put a cool million rupees into the pockets of traders who held stocks. Legislation was passed in Parliament on Tuesday that death sentence will not be imposed on person below the age of 18 years—DP.

FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 7: A wide cross section of the people contacted by the *Daily News* yesterday welcomed Finance Minister, Ronnie de Mel's, 1981 budget proposals, particularly the Rs. 70 cost of living allowance to State sector employees and pensioners, and the Rs. 10 increase in the guaranteed price of a bushel of paddy; doctors and housewives complimented the Minister for raising the prices of cigarettes and all kinds of liquor and beer; confronted with what amount to a severe financial crisis, the Finance Minister deserves to be congratulated for the way he had balanced the budget by bridging the huge deficit, a leading economist said—CDN. There was mixed reaction to the new budget while many expressed satisfaction that no heavy burdens were placed on the common man, yet there was dissatisfaction over the high-profit gem and tourist trades not being called upon to share the burdens by way of higher taxes. Representatives from SLFP branches in the Attanagalla electorate met yesterday to pick a nominee for the Attanagalla seat in Parliament rendered vacant by the expulsion of Mrs. Bandaranaike; the meeting was held behind closed doors; it is understood that the Deputy President of the SLFP Mr. Maithripala Senanayake and the three Vice Presidents, Mr. Stanley Tillekeratne, Mr. P. G. B. Kalugalla and Mr. T. B. Illangaratne were not present at the meeting; it is also understood that no decision on a nominee for the vacant seat was taken at the meeting—CDM. Government's fourth budget met with a mixed reaction yesterday, according to *Sun* survey; while some agree that it did not impose "visible hardships" on the people, the country's leading industrialists said it lacked incentives and left no means to create job opportunities; "what the country needs is increased job opportunities; no special attention has been paid to this aspect in the budget", lamented the National Chamber of Industries Chairman A.R.P. Wijesekera; the budget was a warning of difficult times ahead, cautioned the National Chamber of Commerce Chairman Stanley Jayewardene; however, the Federation of Chambers of Commerce and Industries Chairman Gilbert Jayasuriya called the budget "a realistic" one and said his organisation would shoulder the burdens of additional taxation. The agricultural sector in Sri Lanka showed poor performances in 1979 despite a record paddy harvest (92 million bushels), according to the Central Bank, "Review of the Economy" for 1979. The Police will come down hard on any attempts on November 11, Deputy Inspector-General Edward Gunawardene warned yesterday; November 11 is a "protest day" planned by Joint Trade Union Action Committee (JTUAC)—SU. Sri Lanka has suffered a tea production shortfall of 14.7 million kilos during the first nine months of this year, trade statistics reveal; India, the world's largest tea producer has

made substantial production gains in 1980 with a good North Indian crop, more than compensating for a South Indian deficit—VK.

SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 8: A senior Sri Lankan diplomat is relinquishing his job to work with Nobel Prize winner Mother Teresa among the sick, poor and the homeless in the Third World; the diplomat is our Deputy High Commissioner, in New Delhi, Ray Forbes, who is reported to have informed the Foreign Ministry about his decision; Mr. Forbes is expected to resign from the Sri Lanka Overseas Service soon. Ambassador for China Sun Shengwei and Sri Lanka's Foreign Minister, A. C. S. Hameed signed a Cultural Programme between China and Sri Lanka at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs yesterday; in terms of this programme there will be an exchange of cultural troupes, journalists, academics and educationalists; the Programme also provides for a Buddhist delegation to visit China; China will also afford Sri Lanka educational scholarships in several fields—CDN. "I want you to consider carefully and decide whether there is any 'democratic alternative' if the UNP is defeated at the next general election", so said the President Mr. J. R. Jayewardene, addressing a public meeting at Galigamuwa yesterday. A nation is like an individual; an individual who continually lives beyond his means will come to grief soon; a nation which lives beyond its own means and what it can reasonably borrow will soon face economic disaster; that is why this government had to prune the expenditure of several Ministries; we have to concentrate on quick yielding, highly productive, employment-creation projects; so said Mr. Ronnie de Mel, Minister of Finance and Planning when he opened a branch of the Bank of Ceylon at Milagiriya; Bambalapitiya yesterday. The Government has decided on a new system of recruitment for the Ceylon Transport Board; in future when a new depot is set up by the Sri Lanka Central Transport Board, 50 percent of recruits will be from the electorate in which the depot is situated the balance 50 percent of the jobs available will be distributed among the surrounding electorates in the district—CDM. A meeting of representatives of some 120 of the SLFP branches at Attanagalla had to be adjourned abruptly on Thursday; this came after the Party's General Secretary, Ratnasiri Wickremanayake, who presided at the meeting at Horagolla, told those attending it that it was not possible to continue due to the presence of "unauthorised persons"; he announced that another meeting would be arranged for them at SLFP headquarters at Darley Road; the meeting was held to seek the views of the SLFP branch representatives on who should be the MP-elect to succeed Mrs. Sirimavo Bandaranaike, who has been stripped of her civic rights and expelled from Parliament. The Kalawana by-election will be held shortly, President J. R. Jayewardene announced yesterday. Indian thinker J. Krishnamurti said yesterday the way to find the truth was to negate something which was false; "the idea of God is false and has to be abolished if one wants to understand the origin of life," he claimed at a press conference at Auckland House—SU. The Commission inquiring

into the citizenship problems of persons of Indian origin is expected to submit its report to the President shortly—VK.

SUNDAY, NOVEMBER 9: Christmas will soon be over for foreigners paying low rents on old leases for high value houses they began to occupy before the current rent boom hit the property market; a decision to abolish existing leases on foreigner occupied premises enabling the recovery of realistic rents under present conditions has been written in to a new law which will come into force very shortly; current thinking is that both the Municipality and Inland Revenue should benefit from the very high rents now obtainable for foreigner occupied houses in the better residential areas of Colombo—SO. A multi-million dollar ganja racket with international connections was smashed last week by the Sri Lanka Police; prominent businessmen in the export-import trade are likely to be questioned regarding the operations of their business organisations; sources said the Sri Lanka Police were working closely with Police in Australia, Britain, Holland and Interpol to track down the foreign connections; the local king pins have been identified; the ganja, according to informed police sources, was compressed into slabs and conveniently slipped into packets of tea, tea chests or any other containers carrying the exports from the country—ST. Sri Lanka has now emerged in the league of the top exporters of cannabis (ganja) in the world. The Armed Forces will stand by, and the Police will be on a countrywide alert tomorrow in preparation for Tuesday's "day of protest" organised by the Joint Trade Union Action Committee (JTUAC); the security precautions are being taken despite a decision by the five opposition party group comprising the SLFP, TULF, LSSP, CP (Maoist) and MEP to refrain from joining in the proposed protests; this decision was conveyed to JTUAC leaders yesterday; government banned all demonstrations on this day, after Police recommended that no protests be allowed, fearing a serious breach of the peace. Massive losses due to fraud and wastage have been discovered at the National Milk Board; these losses were found by auditors who went through the accounts of the board recently; the auditors are learnt to have found that many of the vehicles that were bought by the Board are not adhering to the tender procedures and also that they were unsuitable for the use of the Milk Board; Many of the bowsers that the Board had purchased in order to collect the milk from its centres all over the country were unfit for the rough use that they are subjected to and also that they were not suitable for the upcountry running that they have had to do since they were bought; also while engineers were available locally for the fitting and setting up of equipment brought into the country from Australia and New Zealand, the Board had given the fitting and installation contract to a foreign firm, which had cost a massive amount of money—WK.

MONDAY, NOVEMBER 10: The Sri Lanka Freedom Party Lawyers' Association has decided that the Attanagalla Parliament Seat from which Mrs. Sirima Bandara-

naike, the Freedom Party President was expelled last month must not be filled by any member of the Bandaranaike family; the decision was taken by the association at a meeting during the weekend, a party spokesman said. A massive 50 to 90 per cent under-utilisation of foreign aid by most of the Ministries came to light in a recent survey conducted by the Plan Implementation Ministry, Ministry sources said yesterday—CDN. The Ceylon Fisheries Corporation will float a joint Sri Lanka-Japan fisheries venture in association with the Nakagawa Fisheries Company of Japan; the Minister of Fisheries, Mr. Festus Perera recently obtained Cabinet approval on this project; the new combine will indulge in fishing for cuttle fish and squid between five miles and 25 miles from the shores of Sri Lanka using boats, canoes or crafts fitted with specially designed fishing gear and manned solely by Sri Lankans; the Company will be a private limited liability company; its authorised share capital will be Rs. 3,950,000 divided into 395,000 shares of Rs. 10 each; the Fisheries Corporation will hold 55 per cent of the issued capital while the balance 45 per cent will be held by the Japanese company—CDM. Safeguards and incentives are to be provided by Government to induce the return of over 70,000 non-citizens who have left the plantation sector within the last decade; the movement of this massive work force over a period of seven years has caused a serious labour shortage in the estate sector resulting in serious constraints towards the development of the plantation industry—the country's major export earner; these workers with their families had begun moving to predominantly Tamil speaking areas since the commencement of labour lay offs in 1973 and during the communal disturbances in the country in 1977; these persons have now created problems for the administration through their encroachment on state land. Official figures have revealed that 10,156 persons had encroached on state land in Jaffna 5,337 in Mannar, 20,750 in Vavuniya, 25,000 in Batticaloa and 11,301 in Mullaitivu. The rupee value against foreign currencies dropped in the month of September according to the Central Bank's bulletin for September 1980. The Tamil United Liberation Front (TULF) yesterday decided to expel K. Eelavendan from the party; Mr. Eelavendan, a former Central Bank employee had been earlier removed from the general council and other committees of the party—SU. The number of Sri Lankans travelling abroad has stabilised after a near 75 per cent increase which resulted after the removal of travel restrictions in 1977; according to the annual report of the Ceylon Tourist Board, the number of Sri Lankans going abroad rose from 67,000 in 1977 to 117,000 in 1978; the numbers going abroad appear to have stabilised for, in 1979 the figure that went out rose by only 2.3 per cent to about 120,000; the report says that the growth rate had returned to normal after an initial surge caused by the relaxation of travel restrictions; the foreign exchange expenditure as a result of increased numbers going abroad rose tenfold to Rs. 457.7 but the money earned from the increased number of tourists coming here has resulted in a surplus in the travel account balance of payment—CO.

TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 11: President J. R. Jayewardene said in Kandy yesterday the people had many problems to occupy their minds and they need not therefore worry their heads too much about what their opponents were saying; he said that he could tell the people with confidence that in 1983 too the UNP would be returned to power by the people. Mr. C. Rajadurai, Sri Lanka Minister for Regional Development, Tamil Affairs, Hindu Religion and Culture, who is on a visit to Tamil Nadu, told a press Conference here that the Sri Lanka Government would hold a world Hindu conference at Colombo in June 1981 in which delegates from about 60 countries would participate. Twenty-one consumers who were overcharged on their electricity bills have had the excess amounts refunded following the intervention of the Commissioner of Internal Trade Mr. Ramalingam; these 31 consumers had been overcharged Rs. 18,285.72 by the SLEB. Inspector-General of Police, Ana Seveniratne has told police officers that they should exercise great care in the matter of implementing the Criminal Procedure (Special Provisions) Law No. 15 of 1978, which restricts bail for those involved in serious crime; the IGP has told them that they should not in any way misuse the wide powers given them under this law; they should not in any way involve innocent persons in a case of serious crime and get them remanded—CDN. In 1983 whatever party wins J. R. Jayewardene will be the President, and he will choose the Cabinet; the UNP however, will definitely win at the elections; this was said by President J. R. Jayewardene at Market Square, Kandy yesterday. A preliminary objection that the Supreme Court had no authority to inquire into the applications of Mrs. Sirima Bandaranaike, former Prime Minister and former MP for Attanagalla and Mr. Felix R. Dias Bandaranaike, a Minister in her government was raised yesterday by the Attorney-General Mr. Shiva Pasupathy when the two applications for Writs, of Certiorari to quash the recommendations and findings of the Special Presidential Commission were taken up for inquiry before a three-Judge Bench of the Supreme Court—CDM. There is a strong possibility that some of the capital spending cuts imposed by Finance Minister Ronnie de Mel in his budget last week will be restored in those electorates where the necessary savings can be made by adjustments to the food stamps schemes. Police have taken all precautions to maintain law and order in the city today in view of the protest day organised by a section of the Opposition political parties.

INDONESIA: NO TO BASES

Jakarta, 12th November,

"Indonesia will never grant the United States a territory for a military base", said Foreign Minister Mochtar Kusumaatmadja. Addressing the Parliament Commission for Foreign Affairs, Defence and Security, he stressed that such a step would contradict the basic principles of the country's foreign policy.

A Timely Publication

AGRICULTURE AND SOCIETY IN THE LOW COUNTRY — SRI LANKA by M. P. Moore and G. Wickramasinghe. Published by The Agrarian Research and Training Institute Colombo in association with the Institute of Development Studies, Sussex. U.K. Rs. 35/-

THE SOCIAL, economic, cultural and political changes in the recent times have been the subject of depth studies by Western and a few dedicated Sri Lankan scholars. These studies tend to emphasize various factors that promote change rather than factors maintaining or reinforcing the existing traditional social and eco-political system. Amongst the subjects studied are the "Disintegrating Village" (*Sakar and Thambiah* 1957, Moore 1980), the "Caste System" (*Ryan Bryce* 1953, *Nur Yalman*, 1971, *M. Banks*, 1960, *M. Gluckman*, 1950) the "System In Transition" (*Ryan Bryce*, 1953) "The Land Tenure In Village Ceylon" (*Codrington A. W...*, 1938, *J. de Lanerolle*, 1938, *G. Obeysekera*, 1966, *E. R. Leach*, 1961, *Staffan Ohrling*, 1977 *Ariya Abeyasinghe*, 1979), "The Development Of A Modern Political System And "The Newly Emerging Elite" (*Singer*, 1964, *Michel Roberts*, 1975, *P. E. Pieris*, 1950, *H. W. Wriggins*, 1960 *A. J. Wilson*, 1975), "The Impact Of Industrialization And Economic Development And The Emerge Of A Class Of Industrial Entrepreneurs" (*Evers*, 1964), "Traditional Buddhism" (*Richard P. Gombrich*, 1971, *R. A. L. H. Gunawardena*, 1979) and the "Changing Village (*Staffan Ohrling*, 1977, *Guy Hunter*, 1969, *Marguerite S. Robinson*, 1975, *P. G. Punchihewa*, 1979). All these valuable booklength written in English, most not yet translated into Sinhalese language, studied traditional Sinhalese socio-economic institutions and values in the background of "disintegration" under various factors of change. Limited attention was given to institutions which effectively counteract Westernization, modernization and possibly change. That is the renaissance of monasticism and the emergence of a strong Buddhist Sinhala nationalism (*Ernst Benz* 1965, *Heins Bechert* 1966, *Hans-Dieter Evers* 1963, *Max-Weber* 1958, *R. A. L. A. Gunawardena*, 1979 *Walpola Rahula*, 1956). These varied studies spotlighted one aspect that most interested them within their resources.

SINHALESE, living in the villages were inextricably involved with agriculture especially paddy cultivation, since the dawn of the hydraulic civilization. Sinhalese were an unified race. Geographical or climatic barriers did not divide them, although they had their own social stratifications based on caste which too is fast disintegrating. The divide and rule policy of the colonials introduced distinctions between the Kandyans, Low Country and the Dry Zone Sinhalese. Today, Sinhalese people are divided, apart from social, economic

and political distinctions, into Low Country Sinhalese (Southerners) the Kandyans (Udarata). Geographically and historically, the Kandyans lived in the Mid-Country, Hill Country and the Low Country Sinhalese lived in the low lying maritime provinces subjecting themselves to foreign domination since the Portuguese, Dutch and later the Britishers. The Kandyans were subjected to only British domination after 1815 when their Kingdom was captured through craft British strategies due to power craziness and disunity among the Kandyan chieftains. The Low-country Sinhalese got the flavour of commercialism in agriculture with the foreign demand for spices, arecanut and other commodities. The Kandyans evolved a self reliant integrated home garden system known as the "Kandyan forest gardens farms" (*D. J. Mc Connell and K. A. E. Dharmapala*, 1973) which was the mixed forest gardening system offering a highly diversified and economically viable form of land use. This system got destroyed with the influx of the commercial plantations which was imposed on the Kandyan self reliant agrarian structure with the aid of the Waste Lands Ordinance. There were no studies on the agriculture and society in the Low Country of Sri Lanka to spotlight the patterns and changes in this geographical region. The ARTI/IDS study of this sector by M. P. Moore and G. Wickramasinghe fills in this lacuna to some extent and fulfils the timely needs.

The Director of ARTI Mr. T. B. Subasinghe in the Foreward says that "this is the first publication of ARTI which is to be issued in the form of a printed treatise." Compared to the quality of ARTI's publications in the recent past, this is a "quality" publication worth being published as a printed treatise.

The 176 paged printed treatise consists of thirteen chapters, four appendix with a glossary explaining the jargon used. Subjects handled includes the regional impact of agricultural development, poverty in the low country, social environment, employment, unemployment and labour market, education and employment, the paddy, tea, cinnamon economy in the low country. Wattagama, Weligalagoda and Polpitiya in the Galle and Matara districts have been selected for study in depth. In short, this book is concerned with "the future livelihoods of the rural poor in the wet zone." It is the "product of a two year research project." The perspectives which initiated this research study included that the major push in agricultural development in the post-independence Sri Lanka were in the non-estate sector, small farm peasantry sector where there was no large scale emigration out of the densely populated wet zone into other sectors nor to the Dry Zone. Thus, population growth within the already densely populated wet zone resulting in an imbalance in the land man ratio requires the creation of employment within the wet zone small farm sector. This is the core analysis of this invaluable study.

THE PURPOSE of the study as the two authors expounds was "not to test or examine in detail the basis scenario of wet zone—dry zone differential." Most of the research effort was put into the more specific

question of employment generation in the rural wet zone. Chapter one and two have been used to elaborate on the regional issues. In Chapter one the spatial impact of the pattern of agricultural development is discussed. The authors ascribes five reasons why wet zone villagers in spite of poverty have been reluctant to migrate. They include the lack of an integrated social entity in the dry zone colonies in times of crisis of life. In the wet zone low country villagers are socially integrated by kinship, patronage and neighbourhood which exist even in remotest Kandyan villages. Unlike in the Kandyan villages where lack of land, social stratifications, and persistent poverty due to plantations with immigrant labour who prevents employment generation opportunities; in the wet zone low land villages in spite of poverty there is ample land due to the different land use pattern and the peculiar social cohesion which the Kandyan areas lacks. The wet zone being the politico-cultural core of the country offering public sector job opportunities to the children prevents interzone migration to the Dry Zone. The lack of infra-structure facilities in the Dry Zone and the growing disillusion among the second generation of the existing dry zone colonists due to inadequate opportunities to get the small holding irrigated paddy land divided economically plus the few non-agricultural job opportunities prevents Wet Zone—Dry Zone immigration. Further the lack of knowledge and opportunities for migration also prevents migration.

These five reasons given by the authors may be useful guidelines to the authorities in the Mahaveli Development Authority which plans to shift population into the Dry Zone from the Wet Zone and the Hill Country. Apart from this the lack of irrigation facilities when required due to the neglect and disrepair of the multitude of village irrigation tanks and anicuts numbering over 40,000 may be an added reason. It is very necessary to rehabilitate the minor tanks and anicuts which has a present command area of 660,000 acres (but with a potential incremental acreage of another 300,000 acres) to create new employment opportunities. Wherever, possible instead of parasitically dependent on rains alone, the tanks and anicuts could be linked to major tanks and perennial rivers for the supply of water. The employment creation as a result of the tank rehabilitation would be quickly visible. Similarly, in the Wet Zone with proper drainage scheme large areas could be brought under the plough and create new employment avenues.

The author says that the Dry Zone could act only as a safe valve for the population pressures of the Wet Zone. It can have only a marginal effect or the problems of poverty, landlessness and joblessness which are all too characteristics of the rural Wet Zone. Therefore, they believe that a massive population transfers from the Wet to Dry Zones are not at all likely. If poverty in the rural Wet Zone is not to be substantially solved by migration possibilities of economic growth in the Wet Zone itself has to be found in industry, estate production and the small holder agriculture. Industrial opportunities concentrated in the suburbs and satellite

towns like Ratmalana, Moratuwa, Ja-ela, Wattala, Homagama—Maharagama, Kelaniya—Gampaha areas plus the Free Trade Zones in the Katunayake and Biyagama areas will only provide limited job opportunities. In the plantation Sector there is little scope for increased employment as they are now. In the long run the opportunities for increased jobs are both dim and uncertain. There is scope in the Dry Zone for employment creation with a commercialized field crop sector. In the Wet Zone only tea fits the bill of employment creation which too has its limitations. The Mahaveli Scheme is unlikely to have any very substantial impact on the rural poor of the Wet Zone low lands especially the Galle and Matara district.

WATEGAMA in the Galle District is a typical goigama village embedded within the tea estates with problems of land tenure in paddy specially resulting from the *thatumar* and *kattimaru* system of rotational tenure. Land reform and estate nationalization has opened the way for village—estate integration providing employment to the villagers. The two most critical economic resources are government jobs and estate jobs. The role of politics and the political catchers in the job market are discussed. Weligaloda in the Galle District about five miles inland from Ambalangoda is a typical karava dominated cinnamon village with people mostly engaged in casual labour including cinnamon peeling handloom weaving timber sewing, construction work, labour in paddy fields, and casual estate work. Polpitiya in the Matara district is a multi-caste durava village where coconut play a dominant role in economic life. Here urban and government jobs and paddy provide main income sources. It is a pity that a typical rubber estate village from the Kalutara and a citronella Village from Hambantota districts could not be included in this study to depict the low country village structure. If this was done it would have given a complete picture.

POVERTY in the low country villages is to some extent hidden by the spatial arrangements of house sites, its incidence, and that of families dependent on casual labour, is greater than the casual observer may suspect. The poor are considerably under employed, and need more work.

An important dimension of poverty is lack of access to extra-village resources, a result of lack of information, of useful social and political contacts, and very importantly, the ability to extract services from agencies of government. It has been concluded that employment creation through formal large scale organisations, especially there in the public sector, will tend not to go to the poorest, especially if they are attractive to people other than the poorest. The poorest who travel less and have relatively few sources of information, will stand best chance of obtaining jobs which are created in their home villages. They also conclude that there is a close correspondence between educational achievement and family income levels that the problem of unemployment among the educated youth can be considered irrelevant to the task of alleviating poverty. It is also concluded that the poorest own

little land and an increase in the profitability of cultivation would not in itself help the poor very much. It would however do so if followed by an increase in the demand for agricultural labour. In chapter eight and nine the paddy economy is examined in relation to use of labour, financial costs and returns per time farming, factors affecting yields quality, fertilizer, labour power, timing of cultivation cycle; factors affecting cultivation practices like share-cropping, rotational tenure, and land holding size. Shifts in technology in paddy is also examined in detail. The authors conclude that there is a need to prevent jobs destruction by the spread of the practice of tilling with two-wheeled tractors; a more efficient pattern of resource combination in order to increase the output obtained from existing resources and the need to spread the practice of transplanting in order to create additional productive employment, especially for female labourers. The analysis throws certain suggestion with policy implications in the paddy economy which calls for better performance of public sector agencies at village level. Lack of environmental engineering, input availabilities, group extension approach and the lack of tenurial reform in paddy involving a very low ceiling on holdings hinder growth in paddy economy in the low country. A case to eradicate the thattamaru and kattimaru system of rotational cultivation is also spotlighted in the study. Thus, in order to have any impact in the paddy economy of the Wet Zone there is a grave need to introduce tenurial and land reform to bring some balance.

TEA IN THE WET ZONE as in other areas is highly concentrated among the richer village households. The central paradox revealed in the analysis small holder tea is that while various factors combine to concentrate tea in the hands of the richer village strata, the poorer and smaller tea producers appear to be more efficient. There is a case to fragment large estate in the Wet Zone both tea, rubber and coconut on an equitable basis to achieve better yields and to make tea a more efficient industry. This would call for the state ownership of manufacturing factories only as in Kenya where by better quality control of bought leaf and use of quality leaf in manufacture, the state could benefit much more than owning and managing large acreage of tea, rubber and coconut. The scope for employment from inter cropping in the tea with clove, nutmeg, pepper etc. as shade crops, inter cropping in rubber at replanting stage with selected crops and later with cocoa, coffee, etc. are not examined. The scope for employment generation through inter cropping in coconut and livestock breeding have been neglected in this study.

Cinnamon which is the largest single minor export crop in Sri Lanka and a major cash crop in the low country has come under the study. Weligaloda a typical cinnamon village has been used for micro-analysis. The scope for employment generation seems limited because the problems of the cinnamon industry are essentially at the level of the international market.

It is a pity that this study has neglected study of rubber villages in the low country as well.

The study concludes that the poverty society and agricultural development in the Wet Zone lowlands can be solved by the creation of income earning opportunities by creating jobs for unskilled middle aged females, jobs in the villages especially women's jobs and jobs which are acquired other than by possession of formal educational qualifications or mobilisation of social and political contracts.

The potential for creating new jobs in the small holder agriculture is limited. There is however scope for land reform and tenurial changes for increased employment in the wet zone. Industrialization cannot itself create jobs and solve unemployment problem. Commodity procurement, processing at village level for agro-industries located in villages, industrialization of even the major sector like tea, rubber and coconut at estate-level manufacturing unit offers much scope. The dry zone will continue to make the running in agricultural development. There too, some day, even in the Mahaweli belt, a similar situation as existing at present in the wet zone, could arise if perspective planners do not establish agro industries in those areas without permitting exploitation and transfer of surplus value from villages to urban centres within Sri Lanka or from industrial centres in developed countries. There is much scope for creation of new villages from large estates and making them small holder units supplying crops to state owned factories. Land Reform or Agrarian reform cannot have any impact if it is not going to help the rural poor.

The "Udagama" concept of rehabilitation of villages must extend to all villages whether they are down trodden or not if rural poverty is to be eradicated. This will need an integration of rural, estate, urban, and coastal housing programmes with the agricultural development programme. It cannot exist away from one another. Wider rural participation through the rejuvenation of the rural institutions which can be properly co-ordinated at the electoral level through agriculture whether they be plantation or peasant sector, could do a lot to the rural poor. If not it will be a mere eye-wash. This needs integrated agricultural planning at village level which needs linkages to district and national plans. The scope for more employment is in agriculture and agriculture alone. In the words of the Jamaican economist George L. Beckford "persistent poverty will prevail in the rural sector as long as plantations exists."

In conclusion, whilst thanking ARTI for publishing a timely publication on rural poverty on lowlands it is necessary to stress the need to continue similar studies in the Kandyan areas, Jaffna Peninsula, in the old colonization schemes and in the dry zone new colonies especially in the Mahaweli zone after few years of operation. It is then that a proper evaluation of the agriculture and society in Sri Lanka could be done. It is a pity that ARTI has not thought of yet publishing these invaluable studies for the benefit of the Sinhala readership as well. Whilst, congratulating ARTI for quality workmanship in research it should think of

the local Sinhala and Tamil readership too when publishing these books.

Ariya Abeysinghe

Deputy Director, Agrarian Development,
Ministry of Agricultural Development Research.

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ANALYSIS

BUDGET '81

By Sigiri (A Sri Lankan Economist)

RONNIE, who was one time a good disciple of the late Mr. Phillip Gunawardane, the then Minister of Agriculture and Food, later a blue-eyed stalwart in the SLFP has now turned a good green Finance Minister of the Jayewardene Government. The Budget he introduced on November 5, 1980 was his fourth Budget. Some call the Budget "a development oriented budget, braving the gloomy international atmosphere". Some call it a "reasonable budget". Yet others call it "an empty" budget depending on foreign aid. Whatever anyone calls it, let us examine it for whatever it is worth.

The Budget at a glance is summarized below:

Recurrent Expenditure (Rs. million)	—	15,083
Revenue (including Rs. 675m Advance Account)	+	16,620
Current Account Surplus	+	538
Capital expenditure	—	13,341
Loan Repayments and Sinking Fund contributions	—	1,620
Overall Budget Deficit	—	14,923
Add: Rs. 70 allowance to Public Servants	+	700
	—	15,623
Less: Under-expenditure on recurrent votes	—	450
Overall deficit	—	15,173
Less: Proposals:		
* Additional Revenue	—	605
** Domestic borrowings	—	3,750
*** Foreign aid	—	8,100
**** Reduction in expenditure	—	2,722
	—	15,177
Budget balance		04

Ministry

1. Ministry of Agr. Dev. & Research
2. Ministry of Plantation Industry and Public Administration
3. Ministry of Coconut
4. Ministry of Janawasama
5. Ministry of State Plantations
6. Ministry of Regional Development
7. Ministry of Kural Industries
8. Ministry of Land and Land Development
9. Ministry of Mahaweli Development

Additional Revenue

1. Surcharge on Income Tax—Rs. 150 million;
2. Liabilities of Small companies Maximum Revenue Duty on Capital gains, BTT on contractors—Rs. 180 million;
3. BTT on Banking operations—35 million;
4. BTT on local Cement—50 million;
5. BTT on Ship Chandlers and Airline Caterers—25 million;
6. Duty increase on cigarettes—110 million;
7. Excise duty on liquor—85 million;
8. Increase in Postal/Communication rates—160 million;
9. Export duties—10 million;

Non-inflationary domestic sources—Rs. 3,750 million;
Foreign Commercial Borrowings—Rs. 2,550 million;
Foreign Loans/Aid—Rs. 5,550 million.

Economies in Capital Expenditure in Ministries—Rs. 2,722 million from a total of Rs. 11,725 million and permitting the following: Ministry of Defence 346 million; Ministry of Plan Implementation 647m; Ministry of Mahaweli Development 3,000m; Ministry of Lands 552m; Ministry of Education 125m; Ministry of Higher Education 167m; Ministry of Power and Energy Rs. 501 million; Ministry of Local Government, Housing and Construction 1,880 million; Ministry of Agr. Dev. Research 741 million; Ministry of Fisheries 200 million; Ministry of Rural Industries 132 million; Ministry of Post & Telecommunications 317 million; Ministry of Health 150 million; Ministry of Regional Development 20 million; Ministry of Highways 195 million; Ministry of Cultural Affairs 30 million.

Apart from these taxes and revenue there are several ways to conserve expenditure and these will be dealt with when sectorwise analysis of the economy is made.

THE PRODUCTION SECTORS. Whatever anyone says both the domestic and export agriculture will remain the main source of growth in Sri Lanka for many years to come. The performance of the export agricultural sector has been disappointing especially the plantations sector. Today, there are thirteen Ministries dealing in agriculture when there should have been one Ministry. What is amusing is in spite of a project ministry for a commodity like coconut, the sector has shown a poor performance. Today, these are the following Ministries directly or indirectly involved with agriculture:

Agricultural Sector

Paddy, Subsidiary Food crops, Sugar, Fertilizer, Agrochemicals, Rural institutions, minor crops, land reforms Tea Small Holders, Rubber Small Holders, Cashew, Sericulture.

Coconut, BCC Ltd.

Tea, coconut, rubber plantations, Fertilizer mixing.

— do —

Palmyrah

Livestock, Milk, Provender industry

Land Development, Settlement, Irrigation

Land and Agricultural Development in the Mahaweli area

10. Ministry of Trade
11. Ministry of Food and Co-ops.
12. Ministry of Plan Implementation
13. Ministry of Textiles

Agricultural marketing

Food imports, distribution and agricultural marketing
Regional Development including Agricultural Development.
Cotton.

HOW CAN the Ministry of Agricultural Development be responsible for the contrary policies pursued by other Ministries which are contrary to the domestic agricultural policies? For instance, how can the domestic producers of food be looked after when the Ministry is importing the very same items to look after the consumers? Is the development meant to launch a self-sustained agrarian economy or fill the stomach of urban consumers? Nearly 60% of the people employed are in agriculture and 80% of the voters are from agricultural sector.

Why then look after only the consumers who are ready to pay Rs. 3500 to Rs. 25,000 for a TV set but grumble to pay 5 cents more for Pathola? Is this what a just society should aim at? Excuses will flow just to defend the policies but the masses are silently suffering without purchasing power to buy. They just look and worry. How many eat two meals a day? Why just look after the minority of the rich? Poverty is rampant in the low, upcountry and the dry zones. Recent studies by the Nutrition Division of the Ministry of Plan Implementation, the ARTI and the Marga published as reports, monographs and articles reveal the actual picture. Putting up skyscrapers is not growth. Buildings roads are not going to fill people's stomachs.

There is a case for rationalization of the various Ministries to bring better co-ordination, efficiency, reduce waste and exhibit results. This will achieve what the Finance Minister expects by not subsidizing corporations. The Budget '81 is unique in that it emphasised a "business management" approach towards public corporations by publicising that they will not be given any subsidies by the government but will have to be self-financing like the private firms. The public corporations have so far been so well-spooned by the government and they ignore all aspects of business cost consciousness and yet tend to be inefficient highly subsidised employment creating agencies just to satisfy their political "bosses" and not the public who finance through the State.

The most unfortunate feature of this Budget is that it does not insist on rationalisation of functional areas for greater economy and efficiency, but only emphasises a "business approach". This is where the Budget 81 is going to fail. The Finance Minister will have to gazette against his will higher prices in 1981 if rationalisation is not done.

Unlike in the past, today there are an innumerable number of full time Chairmen and one or two working directors. Some of them are retired men who are there

because of "side support" given to the politicians in power. Corruption is rampant. They enrich themselves by commissions, foreign trips and other means. Public funds are burnt in the name of work. Have they shown any results better than the past? There are incompetent men on most Board of Directors. They do not solve problems but make them complex. There are some Directors who come for Rs. 100 paid for each sitting, take subsistence and even travelling, have a good feed and go back. What do they serve? This is why the late Dr. N. M. Perera recommended scrapping of Boards and having competent professional managers to run corporations but directly responsible to the Minister. This is one way, the Minister of Finance could bring in great saving and economy.

ANOTHER METHOD BY which economy and saving could be done is by rationalising corporations. Since agriculture is the most vital area of development of any country it is necessary to bring in rationalisation in this sector. Although there is only one Ministry of Agriculture, as shown earlier, there are others involved in agriculture. Lands and Irrigation are divorced from agriculture and this is one reason why agriculture sector has to suffer most every year.

Why have a Plantation Ministry without estates? Why have it for cashew, sericulture and for tea and rubber small holders? Coconut which is not a plantation crop but a small holder peasant sector is not within the purview of the domestic agriculture ministry. The Land Reform Commission owning all lands vested through the Land Reform laws are outside the Lands Ministry.

Hence there is a case for rationalisation on the following lines:

Cabinet Sub-Committee on Agriculture

Chairman—H.E. the President Minister of Agr. Development & Research Minister of Foreign Agriculture; Minister of Lands Land Development and Mahaweli Development; Minister of Rural Industries; Minister of Finance; S/Agricultural Dev. and Research.

Secretary and Convenor: Ministry of Domestic Agriculture and Research.

The Sub Committee should co-ordinate the work of: 1. Department of Agriculture; 2. Department of Agrarian services; 3. Minor Export Development Board (link minor export crops Dept. with cashew and sericulture authorities, scrap cashe and sericulture boards); 4. National Grain Board (P.M.B. link Food Dept. Scrap Food Dept); 5. Sugar Corporation; 6. Irrigation Authority (link Irrigation, Dept. Minor Irrigation works, Free dom From Hunger Campaign Board, Water Resources Board); 7. Agricultural Development Authority; 8. National Research Council (link Central Agricultural

Research Institute, Coconut, Tea and Rubber Research Institutes; 9. Sri Lanka Coconut Board (scrap the coconut board and the ministry); 10. Agricultural Insurance Board (link it to Agrarian services); 11. Sri Lanka Fertilizer Authority (link Fertilizer Corporation with CCC and JEDB Fertilizer units); 12. Agrarian Research Training Institute; 13. National Agricultural Diversification and settlement authority; 14. Agricultural Insurance Board could be scrapped and its functions could be linked to the Agrarian Services Department.

The Ministry of Plantation Industries needs to be renamed the Ministry of Foreign Agriculture and could be operated under a similar sector committee:

Cabinet Sub-Committee on Export Agriculture: H. E. The President (Chairman); Minister of Agr. Development and Research; Minister of Plantation-Industry (Foreign Agriculture); Minister of Rural Industries; Minister of Finance; Minister of Trade and Shipping; Minister of Land and Land Development.

Secretary of Foreign Agriculture should be its convenor. The suggested institutions under the Ministry are: 1. Sri Lanka Tea Board (include Tea Commissioners, Tea Small Holders Authority); 2. Sri Lanka Rubber Authority (include the State Rubber Manufacturing Corporation, the Rubber Control Department, the Ceylon Tyre Corpn). 3. Sri Lanka Plantation Development Board (link JEDB and SLSPC) with

Six agencies operating as independent units under a Manager. Originally plantations were managed by 35 agency house who managed the cultivation, production and marketing of estate produce. Their functions were: Estate Management: Budgetary control in relation to revenue and capital; 2. Cultivation advice; 3. Manufacturing advice; 4. Recruitment and disciplinary control of staff; 5. Including estate management.

Secretarial and Accounting Services: 1. Maintenance of records; 2. Financial control and banking service; 4. Credit services; 4. Procurement of estate supplies; 5. Tax advice; 6. Exchange control matters; 7. Insurance service; 8. Shipping agency services; 9. Transport, storage and produce sale services; 15. Engineering and Legal Consultancy services; 11. Miscellaneous services.

The Director of each Agency House handled 20-30 estates and covered all aspects. Today, all estates are under two state agency—JEDB and SLSPC without a proper organisation. There are regional Boards with a Regional Board and a Chairman with a super chairman at the head office. Unlike in the past there is lot of thefts, neglect, waste, inefficiency at estate levels. Most planters are not in the estates but on the road attending conferences or after conferences or even doing their private work.

Why cannot the government consider the plan recommended by the first Minister of Plantation Industries, Dr. Colvin R. de Silva at the time public company estates were nationalised. I quote from the publication entitled *Ancient Land Tenure to Modern Land Reform in Sri Lanka* (Vol. II (page 52) wherein the author says

that there was a Cabinet Memorandum entitled "Nationalisation of Estates of Public Companies" which was never circulated in the Cabinet due to reasons given in the book. I quote:

"I propose that a sub-committee of the Cabinet, chaired by the Prime Minister, and including the Minister of Foreign and Internal Trade, Agriculture and Lands, and Finance as well as myself as the Minister of Plantation Industry be set up to oversee the operations connected with the nationalisation of Public company estates and their future working and management by the agencies responsible for this. The Minister of Plantation Industry will regularly report progress to the Sub-Committee. The Committee will also consider what company estates lands should be transferred for settlement schemes etc."

The Ministry connected with estates needs to regularly monitor COP, Net sale, Average of each estate and examine why one estate loses whilst others make profits. Such micro-analysis is necessary. One cannot put the blame on weather, drought, world prices. This has made way for ready made answers. The coconut sector has added cyclone as a reason. This reminds me the saying "you cannot fool all the time." Every government has listened to these explanations and lost. This is a historical lesson the government has to keep in mind.

I remember Dr. Colvin R. de Silva calling his young Ministry officials and examining estate by estate and consulting officials of the P.A. and Agency Houses. Some of these officials are sent to work estates and VA reports are studied. This dialogue is no more. The officials are no more in the Ministry. Some are in the Ministries, some in the private sector, leaving only the unwanted. I remember how Dr. Colvin used to consult the present Secretary, Agriculture when he was the PA Chairman, as an unofficial advisor. Agency house men walked to the Ministry with their problems and the officials found a solution at once in consultation with their "boss."

Some planters yet remember the good old days with the Colvin's officials. Even under Ratnasiri's period when regionalism was launched similar policies were pursued. Today H.E. as the Minister of JEDB and SLSP cannot do that. He has two Deputies but are they doing that? Therefore, with a rationalisation of functions there is a case to transfer JEDB and SLSPC to the proposed Ministry of Foreign Agriculture. Failing this at least give one agency to Ranjan S/AD & R who could put things right even at this late hour.

Another area that needs rationalizing is the Lands sector. The Land Ministry could include: 1. Land Commissioners Department; 3. Land Development Department; 3. Land Settlement Department; 4. Land Acquisition Board of Review; 5. Land Reform Commission; 6. Land Registry, Registrar General's; 7. Survey Department; 8. Geological Department; 9. Forest Department; 10. Low Lying Area Reclamation Board; 11. R.V.D.B. 12. State Timber Corporation (including the Plywood Corporation).

The Food and Co-operative Minister could be given the functions of domestic marketing and distribution and hence, be called the Ministry of Domestic Trade with the following: 1. Department of Co-operative Development; 2. Department of Marketing Development; 3. Department of Commodity Purchase; 4. Markfed; 5. Co-operative Employees Commission; 6. Co-operative Management Services Centre; 7. Co-operative Wholesale Establishment; 8. B.C.C.

In the Field of Construction too there is a need for reallocation. The Building Materials Manufacturing Corporation (BMMC) must be functionally brought together with the following corporations under the Prime Minister: 1. Ceylon Cement Corporation; 2. Ceylon Hardware Corporation; 3. Ceylon Steel Corporation; 4. Ceylon Ceramic Corporation; 5. C.C. (Engineering) Ltd., (Government owned); 6. C.M.M. Ltd., (Government owned).

Another area of rationalisation possibility is in the field of Regional Development. The Rural Integration Projects of the Regional Development Division of the Ministry of Plan Implementation needs to be transferred to the Ministry of Regional Development. Similarly, in the case of Ministry of Industries there is a case for rationalising from its large size to a viable unit. The Ceylon Petroleum Corporation could be transferred to the Ministry of Power and Energy. Atomic Energy Authority too could be transferred to that Ministry. This it is seen rationalisation of public institutions are a must for any economizing and savings in the public sector.

(To Be Concluded)



AIR FORCE MYSTIQUE

Misuse Of Power?

By Tribune Investigator

Tribune, in its issue of September 27 had a small piece entitled SOMETHING QUEER—IN OUR AIR FORCE. As this item has led to very interesting repercussions we publish the story once again to enable readers to better understand the developments that have taken place:

"Helipads and Air Force stations are places generally outside the *Tribune* beat. But a reader who recently had occasion to go to a couple of Air Force outposts (one in which a helipad is situated) was surprised to see in the guard room at the entrance a photograph of an air force officer with the legend that he was "*persona non grata*" and that he should not be admitted (without, we presume a special dispensation). Our informant was surprised to see this—it was like the picture of an IRC (Island Reconvicted Criminal) displayed at police stations and other public places. But what baffled him and has staggered us is how a person becomes *persona non grata* to the Sri Lanka Air Force

(SLAF). Only a sovereign government can exercise any disciplinary or punitive action after declaring a person *persona non grata*—and conventions in international law have grown up as to how this concept is brought into force. This unique SLAF order about a '*persona non grata*' being refused entry is something new and funny. A sentry guard has the right to refuse admission to anyone whose face he does not like, but as he was unlikely to refuse admission to an officer or a retired officer, this ridiculous precaution of hanging up the picture for identification was evidently hit upon.

"The more we pondered about this the more puzzled we became. It was not merely a laughable matter to be dismissed with a smile and a shrug. There was evidently more to it than met the eye. Firstly, has the SLAF hierarchy the right to declare any person—even a retired officer—*persona non grata* and to hang up his picture (like that of a common criminal) at every place where the SLAF High Command exercised jurisdiction? Secondly, even if the Czars in the SLAF had this right according to their Book of Rules, was the action in this case taken on just and fair grounds? And, even if the SLAF had the right to use the international law concept of *persona non grata* can the SLAF marshal good reasons to convince ordinary people that this action did not savour of malice and blackmail? So intrigued has *Tribune* become about this *persona non grata* photograph at SLAF stations that we have asked a Special Investigator to probe this matter. We will also welcome information and comments from readers who may be able to throw light on this queer business in the SLAF which savours of a grotesque but comic mock-drama."

THIS ITEM in the *Tribune* had evidently prompted either the Ministry of Defence or the President's Secretariat to ask for comments from the Commander of the Air Force, Air Vice-Marshal W. D. H. S. W. Goonetilleke, who submitted a report to His Excellency the President through Secretary, Defence. Normally a communication addressed to the President enjoys a certain privilege, but in this case copies were sent to Commanding Officers of all Air Force Formations (Info. List AZ, as set out at the bottom of this letter). There are over a dozen such Formations and this letter to the President virtually became public property. *Tribune* was sent copies of this epistle, if it can be called that, from three or four of the Air Force Formations—many of them read the *Tribune* regularly!

We publish below extracts from this letter sent by the Commander of the Air Force to His Excellency the President dated 16th October 1980 (Ref. SLAF/C. 201/F/D60)—but only the extracts which are printable and publishable. We have left out the libellous and defamatory portions.

This is how the letter goes: "Reference Secretary's letter U. 23/233 dated 30th Sep. 80, my report is as follows: (a) Wg. Cdr. P. N. S. Fernando (retired) was suspended from the exercise of duties on 8th October 1944 with your concurrence. He was retired on 6th November 1979. As you are fully aware of the details of this episode, I will not go into this any further....."

Paragraphs (b) and (c) refer to a private affair of the officer concerned which is a personal matter outside the purview of official notice. The contents, wording and language of the two paragraphs preclude publication.

Then in paragraph 1 (d) the Air Vice Marshall goes on: "If one of my serving officers had behaved in this scandalous manner, I would most certainly have suspended him forthwith from the exercise of his duties. This would be in conformity with service discipline and the unwritten code of conduct laid down for Officers. You will agree with me that the image of the Officer Corps must be maintained at all times....."

And then on to (e) (in which two we have to leave out the libellous portions): "As Mr. P. N. S. Fernando is no longer subject to service discipline the only option to me was to debar him entry to Air Force Establishments.....". And (f): "It was incumbent on me to take due cognizance of this incident as otherwise, the Officer Corps my other servicemen and their wives would have assumed that I condone such conduct....."

OUR INQUIRIES show that the "scandalous" incident referred to occurred long after the officer concerned had been allowed to retire from the Air Force. And that it had nothing to do with his official duties.

To meet this objection that it was a personal matter outside the purview of the Air Force Commander, the Air Vice Marshall Goonetilleke went on in paragraphs 2 and 3: "This was mentioned at the Air Force Board of Management, and my Director of Administration was directed to intimate all Air Force Formations accordingly..... The usual practice at Air Force Formations when personnel are debarred entry to camp is for their photographs to be displayed on a board specifically meant for this purpose. In this context it should be borne in mind that most of my policemen who man Air Force entry points are recent recruits who were not in the Air Force when this retired officer was serving with us. The photograph is displayed with others, merely for purposes of identification, at a location which is not accessible or exposed to the general public or even servicemen not working in the guard room."

But Tribune's informant was able to see this picture without his attention being drawn to it. After this, the Air Vice Marshall had a swipe at the Editor of Tribune in his letter (although it was not the Editor who had spotted the picture at the Air Force Station).

Paragraph 4 reads: "As for any comments from me on the 'photograph of an Air Force Officer like that of an IRC' perhaps the editor of the Tribune is well acquainted with both types and saw some similarities here. Neither the Editor nor others connected with Tribune are acquainted with 'Air Force Officers or IRCs' but they can identify a person is not qualified to hold a high office like that of the Air Force Commander."

IF ANY ONE entertains any hopes that a person holding the rank of Air Force Commander would exercise a

certain degree of circumspection, the final paragraph of this much circulated letter will dispel such hopes. This is how the paragraph reads: "In my opinion, Mr. P. N. S. Fernando is a scoundrel and an opportunist, to say the least, and I am of the view that he is being given more attention than he deserves, by the Ministry of Defence. In this connection, even if the contents of the preceding paragraphs of this letter were to be disregarded, please see my letters to the Ministry with regard to queries from the Public Accounts Committee during his tenure of office as Officer-in-Charge Helitours, and his conduct in connection with his French Language Course prior to the Non-aligned Conference in 1976."

What Wg. Cdr. Fernando proposes to do about this onslaught on his character is his business, but since Tribune has been dragged into this polemical epistle with aspersions about connections with IRCs we instituted a little investigation on our own about Vice Marshall Goonetilleke's action on this matter. It is also not for us to say anything about the Air Force Commander's side-shot at the Ministry of Defence for giving the Wing Commander "more attention than he deserves."

The Air Force Commander is obviously uncertain of himself when he says that, "even if the contents of the preceding paragraphs of this letter were to be disregarded"—he must surely know that no one in his senses will pay heed to his libellous effusions. He refers to two matters as conclusive evidence to justify his actions. First, he refers to queries from the Public Accounts Committee "during his tenure of office as Officer-in-Charge, Helitours" and second "his conduct in connection with his French Language Course prior to the Non-aligned Conference in 1976."

When did the Public Accounts Committee raise these queries? Was any action taken at that time or within a reasonable time thereafter? If not, why not?

Tribune's investigations into the whole affair established the following facts:

1. Wg. Cdr. Fernando joined the Air Force in June 1957.
2. Any officer in our armed services can opt to retire after 20 years' service and Wg. Cdr. Fernando sent in his papers for retirement in June 1977 as he was offered employment in the private sector. It was pointed out to him then that he had gone on a eight-month French-language course in 1976 to Paris and that it would be only proper to refund the money expended on him if he wanted to retire—and he did so paying Rs. 14,000 into the Treasury.
3. In spite of this, the Air Force Commander refused him permission to retire and put him on three months leave "pending inquiries". No information is available as to what these "inquiries" were about.
4. Then on October 6, 1977, the Air Force Commander interdicted and suspended him—again no one seems to know why. (The Air Force Commander is free to give us his reasons and we shall publish whatever is printable.

5. On November 7, 1979, the Ministry of Defence, after due inquiries no doubt, permitted Wg. Cdr. Fernando to retire and instructed the Air Force Commander to pay him his dues—full pay and allowances during the period of interdiction, and all other entitlements.

6. But Air Force Commander Goonetilleke stayed these payments stating that there were "queries" pending.

IMMEDIATELY, it was known that Wg. Cdr. Fernando's retirement was being sanctioned, the Air Vice Marshal is believed to have sent Wg. Cdr. Fernando a kind of charge sheet with a number of queries regarding some matters connected with Helitours etc., and called for an explanation within 21 days. The explanations were submitted within 10 days and after several months the Air Force Commander sent a reply to Wg. Cdr. Fernando that the explanations were "unsatisfactory". All payments due shall continue to be "stayed."

7. After this, in 1980, the Air Vice Marshall ordered the display of the Wg. Cdr.'s picture in the Air Force Rogues' Gallery.

These are the only facts our investigator has been able to gather. We will be happy to publish other printable, non-libellous information (relevant to the matter) sent to us.

In the meantime, a prestigious overseas private sector firm had employed Wg. Cdr. Fernando and from all reports the firm is so satisfied with his performance that he is paid one of the highest ex-patriate salaries (with perks) any Sri Lankan gets. (This is by the way).

On the available evidence, we find it hard to understand how the Air Force Commander can justify his actions. We are also surprised at the language and contents of his letter to the President (with copies to List Az).

Should the Ministry of Defence not find out why Wg. Cdr. Fernando's pay and allowances continued to be withheld and whether the Air Force Commander has the right to raise the queries he did in October/November 1979 without having done so from June 1977 Can he also on his unilateral decision hold that the explanations were "unsatisfactory" and withhold Wg. Cdr. Fernando's pay and allowances with total disregard for the instructions of the Ministry of Defence?

It is true that our information may be sketchy and incomplete and we would therefore invite the Air Force Commander to furnish all the information—as he knows and sees them—for the benefit of our readers and the public. But we must say that we feel that not even an Air Force Commander can be a law unto himself. We live in an era where Prime Ministers have been punished for the misuse of power.

Have Air Force Commanders any special immunity?

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TALKING POINT

SLFP Vs UNP

—Family Bandyism And Appointment Of Friends And Relations To Public Posts—

By Veritas

RECENTLY at a public meeting at Galigamuwa (the electorate of the fair Minister for Rural Development, Mrs. Wimala Kannangara) the President, Mr. J. R. Jayewardene, had compared the present composition of the United National Party with the Sri Lanka Freedom Party. Of all the political leaders and speakers that Sri Lanka has today, none can out-do the President when it comes to tracing political history and events and explaining simple principles of ethics, policy or conduct. The President explains policy with facts and figures in simple language that a villager or common man can understand. In his speeches he throws in anecdotes which few can equal and his speeches are also full of humour—some of them quite mischievous—so that if you were in the audience and looked around, you could see many an elderly village woman or man blush a little in good spirit. Not even the Prime Minister Mr. Premadasa or Mr. Gamini Dissanayake can excel or equal the President in this respect.

Coming back to the issue we were on, the President said at Galigamuwa that the United National Party had swept away all traces of family bandyism from it. The UNP was formerly known as the Uncle Nephew Party and also *Unde Nadayange Paksaya* (Their Relations Party). It was for this reason, he said, that Mr. S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike, the founder of the SLFP had left the UNP in 1951.

MR. JAYEWARDENE went on to say that after the death of Mr. Dudley Senanayake, he had cleansed the UNP of family bandyism and that Relationship and Friendship were no longer the criteria of selection or success in the UNP. He cited the case of Rukman Senanayake (the nephew of Mr. Dudley Senanayake and former M.P. for Dedigama) who was expelled from the UNP for flouting party discipline. Mr. Jayewardene claimed (and perhaps quite rightly) that Family Bandyism was now the hallmark and distinguishing feature of the SLFP and not the UNP. He charged that "the SLFP now consisted of the Mother, the Son and the Daughters"—referring no doubt to Mrs. Sirima Bandaranaike, her son Anura Bandaranaike and daughters Sunethra and Chandrika—the former married and divorced, and the latter married to a Film Actor.

"The UNP", said the President, "no longer belongs to a Senanayake, Kotalawela or even a Jayewardene," (though neither Dudley Senanayake or Sir John Kotalawela had children) "but the SLFP now belongs only to the Bandaranaikes." He challenged Mrs. Sirima Bandaranaike to hand over the leadership to another in their Party and stressed "I would like to see a strong Opposition in the Political System of Sri Lanka."

It is quite true that the UNP under J. R. Jayewardene has NOT built up or nurtured a FAMILY TREE as did Mrs. Bandaranaike. It was the Bandaranaike Family Tree (so well depicted in that Cartoon book that came out at election time in 1977) that was one of the main causes for the SLFP defeat. A few members of the President's and the Prime Minister's family are holding public sector appointments. (e.g. Chairman Pharmaceutical Corporation, Chairman National Science Council, Chairman Sri Lanka Foundation Institute Ambassador to Sweden etc.) but these appointments are so few that there are not enough Branches to speak of a Tree.

BUT ON THE OTHER HAND, there are a number of public sector appointments and deviations from accepted Jayewardene policy and practice that is causing concern and anxiety. An informed and intelligent member of the audience at the Galigamuwa meeting could have very well thought of the following matters and appointments when the President lectured to him about the absence of family bandyism in the UNP.

Question 1. There have been recent appointments in the Foreign Service that "stink". We refer to the following appointments:—

(i) One Mrs. Amaratunga as First Secretary Sri Lanka Embassy in London; (ii) Mrs. Wijeratne (wife of Ranjan Wijeratne, Secretary, Ministry of Agriculture and related to the President's family) as First Secretary, Washington; (iii) Miss Menikdiwela (S.S.C. qualified (?) daughter of Mr. W. M. P. B. Menikdiwela who is the Secretary to the President) as Second Secretary Sri Lanka Embassy in Canada and now at the Sri Lanka Mission in New York, (iv) Mrs. Ranatunga (daughter of Agriculture Minister E. L. Senanayake) as Second Secretary Sri Lanka Embassy in Canberra, Australia and (v) One Mr. Ginige (supposed to be a friend of Foreign Minister, Hameed) as First Secretary in France.

None of the above five persons came from the regular Foreign Service. No applications were called for advertising these vacancies and no interviews were held. Mr. Ginige, who is in France, we are told is an ex-Air Ceylon man. Mrs. Ranatunga in Canberra is an Attorney-at-Law and appears to be qualified but the same cannot be said for Mrs. Amaratunga in London, Mrs. Wijeratne in Washington and Miss Menikdiwela in New York. These three appointments in particular have demoralised the foreign service. It is an open secret that both Mrs. Amaratunga and Mrs. Wijeratne wanted to educate their respective sons in London and Washington and their appointments helped them to get across with their respective children at public expense. Miss Menikdiwela, on the other hand, wishes to do further studies but why at state expense and is it correct for foreign service staff to be full of part time students.

What if all foreign service staff ask permission to do further studies quoting Miss Menikdiwela's precedent. Here the issue is not whether the President should have approved Miss Menikdiwela's appointment

but whether Mr. Menikdiwela (being the President's Secretary) should have sought such an appointment abroad for his daughter. The same goes for Ranjan Wijeratne. Should he (while holding a high public post) have pursued his wife's appointment in Washington to further his son's education there. A very dangerous precedent has been set. It is no different from Family Bandyism. It appears that Mrs. Amaratunga is no relation of any "top people" but a Friend of the "top People" and her son for whose education she went at state expense, is an avowed student of politics and an admirer of the UNP.

It is in the Public INTEREST that these Five appointments should be reviewed. The President should do this and not pass the Buck to Mr. Hameed and say it is his business as the Minister for Foreign Affairs. These are appointments which are a complete departure and breach of accepted practice and convention—quite apart from the qualifications and the ability and experience of these Five persons to hold these Senior or plum jobs.

Question 2. A cardinal principle established by President Jayewardene (which had been totally ignored by the SLFP) was ONE MAN—ONE JOB. But now after 3 years, this principle is in tatters. It is observed more in the Breach. If one takes all the top Public Sector jobs including the 160 odd State Corporations and Statutory bodies, you will find that several of the top men (the Daily News calls them "The Men who Matter") are holding more than One job. Just to cite a few quick examples, Mr. G. V. P. Samarasinghe, Secretary, Cabinet, is also additional Secretary Defence (Many say he runs the Ministry). Mr. Bradman Weerakoon, Secretary P.M. is also Secretary Highways. Wickrema Weerasooriya, Secretary, Plan implementation is also Secretary, Regional Development. Justin Dias, the new Secretary of Industries continues in his full-time job as Chairman Tyre Corporation. Paskaralingam Secretary, Local Government & Housing is Chairman Urban Development Authority.

Several Chairman and Directors of State-sponsored corporations and institutions are holding more than one job—some of them several jobs. Several Ministers are also holding more than one portfolio. For example, the President has Five portfolios, the P.M. two. Others also holding two portfolios are (i) Gamini Dissanayake, (ii) Montague Jayawickrema (iii) D. B. Wijetunge (iv) Ranil Wickremasinghe.

Individuals may be efficient, but they are not Supermen. We can well remember how Felix Dias Bandaranaike hung on to Five portfolios at the time the SLFP was defeated. The President must stop this trend and re-establish his good principle—One Man, One Job.

Over the past 3 years President Jayewardene has genuinely attempted to bring about a Reformation in the political life of this country. The Code of Conduct, Presidential Commission, Select Committees for

High appointments, Discipline in Parliament and among the Parliamentary Group Restriction of Trips abroad, Cabinet approval for large Tenders, the removal of Ministers for offending the rule of cabinet responsibility, sacking of M.P.s for alleged bribery—all these and more have truly established a High Sense of Credibility in President Jayewardene.

The People believe in him and what he says and does. He must maintain this Credibility. Without it, no amount of economic development will bring the UNP back in 1983. It is in that background that we ask that the President must review the matters and issues raised in this article for the Public Good.

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PLAN IMPLEMENTATION — 5

Population Division

POPULATION POLICY. Though successive Government's since independence have recognised the implications of rapid population growth and national development and have admitted that economic development had not kept phase with population growth, there was for a long time no official policy on the subject. It was in 1965 that the then Government adopted family planning as a National Policy to moderate the rate of population growth. In view of this the present Government which came to power in July 1977 introduced the following significant population policies for implementation. (i) "The Government is concerned with the rate of population growth and its policy is to take all meaningful steps to curb unplanned growth of population." (ii) "Enhanced family planning services will be provided by the state and financial incentives with a view to controlling the population explosion will be given to individuals who practice family planning." (iii) "In the field of family planning emphasis of the Government will be in the field of service oriented programmes to enable motivated couples and individuals to receive family planning services and to undergo vasectomies or sterilization."

The Hon. Minister of Finance in his Budget Speech 1979 proposed to grant a flat allowance of Rs. 12,000/- to each tax payer irrespective of the number of children with a view to providing appropriate disincentives to large families. In addition he stated that: "Population growth must be curbed if we are to achieve our objectives of eliminating unemployment, shortage of food and housing and the depletion of our natural resources. Tax policy will be geared to this end." *Extracy from Budget Speech 1979.* This is the first time a Sri Lankan Finance Minister has proposed tax disincentives to large families.

(b) POPULATION PROJECTS. In pursuance of these policies the following programmes have been implemented during the 3 year period ending 30 June 1980. 1. 12 Population Projects have been implemented in collaboration with Ministries such as Health, Colombo Group of Hospitals and Family Health, State, Labour,

Education. Higher Education, voluntary organisations such as the Sri Lanka Family Planning Association, the Community Development Services and Mahila Samities etc. and with funding from the United Nations Fund for Population Activities. These programmes have been effectively co-ordinated and monitored by the Ministry of Plan Implementation.

2. **District Population Committees**—District Population Committees have been established in the 24 administrative districts of the country. These committees which are chaired by the respective Government Agents comprise representatives of relevant line Ministries and representatives of relevant line Ministries and representatives of voluntary organisations who are involved in the field of family planning. These District Population Committees are responsible for providing education motivational services to the members of the public in the respective locations and for the organisation of contraceptive services including the distribution of contraceptives and the organisation of sterilization programmes. These committee are at various stages of development and action has been taken to obtain funding from the UNFPA for the further development of these committees. The organisation of the District Population Committees has enabled the Ministry of Plan Implementation to decentralise the population programmes to the rural areas in order to provide the necessary services to those who need such services.

6. **Population Information Centre**—A Population Information Centre and a Clearing House has also been established by the Ministry of Plan Implementation for the collection, processing and dissemination of population related information to those who are actively interested and engaged in population activities. This Centre has regularly produced several newsletters and other publicity material for distribution to the public. Its library and other resources are being utilised by the members of the public. It is to be further developed with funding from UNFPA.

4. **International Conference of Parliamentarians on Population and Development**—The Inter Parliamentary Union in collaboration with the Parliament of Sri Lanka organised an International Conference of Parliamentarians on Population and Development at the BMICH in August 1979. The Ministry of Plan Implementation provided several supporting services to the organisation of this conference. These services included the publication of two booklets, namely, Population and Family Planning Activities in Sri Lanka, Report of Seminars on Population and Development, in addition to organising briefing sessions to the local delegation as well as to the foreign delegates. An exhibition on population and development was also organised on this occasion with the participation of relevant Ministries and voluntary organisations.

5. **Incentive Payment Scheme**—The Ministry of Plan Implementation also introduced an "incentive" payment scheme to medical personnel who carry out sterilizations commencing May 1979. An "incentive"

payment scheme of Rs. 100/- each was also introduced by the Ministry to cover employed, unemployed and self employed people who voluntarily undergo sterilizations. This scheme came into effect from 1st January 1980 and is being implemented through the Kachcheries, Medical Institutions and the Ministry of Plan Implementation. A system of leave "incentives" was also introduced to cover employees of public corporation sector who undergo sterilizations. A female employee who undergoes a tubectomy is entitled to 7 days full pay leave while a male employee who undergoes a vasectomy is entitled to 3 days full pay leave. This leave would be provided in addition to the normal leave entitlements to these employees.

6. *Seminars and Training Programmes*—Several seminars and training programmes were organised during the period for Parliamentarians, journalists, medical officers, Government Agents and Ayurvedic practitioners in order to provide them with an opportunity of understanding the population issues and their effects on development. These were organised with funding from the UNFPA. In addition several such programmes have been organised by the Ministries of Labour, State and voluntary organisations like the Family Planning Association and the Community Development Services.

7. *Population and Family Planning activities in the major development areas*—Several educational/motivational programmes on population and service delivery programmes were arranged in the Mahaweli Development area and the Export Processing Zone area in collaboration with the Ministry of Labour and the Family Planning Association of Sri Lanka.

8. *Estate Sector Programmes*—Special population and family planning programmes were arranged during the period in the estate areas in collaboration with the Ministries of Labour, Health and voluntary organisations.

9. *Training Programme abroad*—A number of officials activity engaged in population activities in the country from various departments have been provided with opportunities for training abroad in the field of population and development. These opportunities for training abroad were also provided to employees of voluntary organisations concerned with family planning activities. The trainees selected range from medical officers to management personnel of family planning activities of various Ministries.

10. *Research Studies*—The Ministry of Plan Implementation has organised research studies in the field of population and development with collaboration from voluntary organisations and the Demographic Training and Research Unit of the Colombo University.

11. *UNFPA Needs Assessment Mission*—On the request of the Government a UNFPA Needs Assessment Mission visited Sri Lanka in March 1980 with a view to evaluating the on going population programmes and for identifying major areas of population activity for future priority consideration. The Ministry of Plan Implementation

organised the activities of the Mission in close collaboration with the UNFPA Co-ordinator in Colombo. This Mission report has highlighted certain areas which require priority attention by the Government and has also made specific recommendations for implementation. His Excellency the President has directed that these recommendations be implemented by all the Ministries and organisations concerned with immediate effect. This is being followed up by the Ministry of Plan Implementation.

12. *UNICEF Assisted Country Programmes*—The Population Division of the Ministry of Plan Implementation also co-ordinates 12 UNICEF assisted country projects covering the period 1979 to 1983. These projects are aimed at providing basic services such as Health, Education and communication etc. to children and expectant mothers with a view to improving their general living conditions. These projects are being implemented by various Ministries such as Health Education, Local Government, Mahaweli, Land and Land Development, Plantation Industries, etc. A Steering Committee chaired by Secretary, Ministry of Plan Implementation of these projects which are being funded by the UNICE. This Steering Committee meets once every quarter in order to identify the various problems encountered in implementation and to formulate appropriate programmes of remedial action for implementation.

13. *UNDP Country Projects*—The Implementation of the UNDP country projects by the various Ministries are also periodically monitored by the Population Division of the Ministry of Plan Implementation. The problems encountered in the implementation of these projects are identified and are periodically reported to the Committee on Development Secretaries.

14. *Asia Foundation Projects*—The Population Division of the Ministry of Plan Implementation is also responsible for the co-ordination of the implementation of Asia Foundation funded projects. The Asia Foundation Office in Colombo was established in early 1980 with a view to providing support and assistance to certain fields of development activity in the country. Particularly they have carried out a project to evaluate the teaching of English as a second language in the country. They are also exploring the possibility of providing library books, periodicals and other publications to appropriate Agencies in the Government.

(To Be Concluded)



Picking Nuts

By Bwana Rafiki

THE PICK started with four pickers and this time I shall have to leave the staff to get on with the job. After it had got into its stride the man I sold the bamboos too arrived to take them away. I thought the superintendent and the watcher had best attend to the pick leaving me to count the bamboos. Two hundred and fifty were loaded on to the lorry, and there were only thirty instead of fifty bamboos left. Reading an old Nguyu article made me realise that I had counted three hundred bamboos when they were cut, in fact more, and therefore it is quite on the cards that twenty have been stolen. Those twenty were worth Rs. 100 to me, a neat round figure as you see.

A *pol-pitti*, the stout end of a coconut branch, falling on a watcher's head rendered him *hors-de-combat* for the night and someone had to replace him. I visited him late at night when all my work was done hoping so to leave the estate some hours before dawn and leave it with an easy mind about the man. This I did and had a really full day, a Labour Tribunal case, and then examining books in the custody of the Labour Tribunal for evidence in regard to that case, but I am skipping a day. Yesterday, it was a question of seeing an Advocate, and then seeing an Attorney for Advocates will not normally appear without one. I am nearly falling asleep over this.

A friend from New Zealand has arrived. An English boy, he and his brother travelled out from England with me for the summer holidays in 1939, the year that Pius XII became Pope. This lad was to go to my English school, one several hundred years old, that Michaelmas term. The ship we were to travel back to England was commandeered as a troop ship and our respective fathers refused to send us back on the ship that followed. War broke out and that following ship was sunk in the Atlantic. Of the two people who had embarked from Colombo, one was drowned and the other saved. We went to different schools in Colombo for two years and we finished up at the same school in Kandy. We had seen more of each other in Colombo in a way than we did at school. When back in England our lives continued to intertwine and we were at Oxford about the same time. He has twelve children of his own.

My friend went off to Mount Lavinia for a drive and for all the early night I had I might have gone with him for I fell asleep for two hours in a chair and forgot all about writing this. So I again have to cast my mind back two days. The pick was progressing interrupted by rain and an interlude caused by our Tamil friend, the milker, leaving the cattle tied up in the milking shed ready for milking, so I was told, and going off to the police and then sneaking off the estate after dusk with his family and possessions and chickens and his house key, and the door locked. Fortunately, we have a spare. There was an increase of coconuts in three

fields over the corresponding period last year, at least with those that were picked, but there appears to have been an overall decrease with the fallen nuts.

My New Zealand friend called in at the estate while I was away and had a good look round it with the Tamil friend in whose car he was travelling and he told me he had had a good look at my books. He was surprised at the height of the roof and wondered how I could manage without a ceiling. His friend he said, had been more interested in the cattle. The head of the pickers had, while I was on the estate, given me the clearest account yet of the circumstances leading to my Tamil milker suddenly downing tools, as it were, leaving the cattle tied up prior to milking and suddenly going off and not returning to milk them. He explained the remark of his son's that had lead up to the whole chain of events.

Two races lost, but I was very lucky to have any races at all. In one case the rules were stretched to allow me to have a new partner, and in the other an entirely new race was constituted to take the place in the programme of the one which it was not possible to hold. I had to leave soon after it was all over to attend a party to which invitations had gone out in my name, and since one of my sisters really hosted it, I can say it was one of the best I have attended. With my nieces and nephew running round with the eats, diminutive, waiters, I was almost a guest myself. There was a link, each of different order, that bound the guests



PRESS CONFERENCE

Reagan's First

President-elect Ronald Reagan held his first press conference at Los Angeles on November 7. His Vice-Presidential running mate George Bush was also present. The following are relevant extracts mainly on foreign affairs issues from the transcript of the Press Conference.

We have published in *extenso* from the text sent to us by the USICA to help our readers know the man Reagan is For better or worse, will guide the destinies of the richest nation the world has known, presently with an accumulation of arms intended to over-awe all other nations especially the smaller and lesser ones. There is universal apprehension that Reagan means war. Will he dispel these fears whilst in office? Or will the 1980's witness the Armageddon the Bible speaks about?—Ed.

Mr. Reagan: Ladies and Gentlemen, thank you for being here. Good morning. I have a statement that you will be given but I will read for the sound media. George and I are glad to be here today especially under the current circumstances and since this news conference is live, I think this is a good time to thank again, all of those who worked and voted on our behalf. You all gave us a great victory and I can assure all of those I'm speaking to now that we won't disappoint you.

Before we begin taking questions, I know that you are interested in the transition and what its status is. We've already begun to work putting together an administration and we will begin immediately on the problem of translating campaign promises into reality. I'm turning again to Bill Casey to head up the latter effort as chairman of the Transition Executive Committee. Bill will also serve as Chairman of the Interim Foreign Policy Advisory Board.....The Director of the Transition team will be Ed Meese, who was campaign chief of staff.....I'm appreciative that President Carter has moved swiftly to make this transition both easy and effective.....in a separate area, that of the Interim Foreign Policy Board, I am most grateful that three prominent democrats have agreed to work with us. They are Senator Henry M. Jackson, Senator Richard Stone and Edward Bennett Williams and as I promised during the campaign, I will work hard to rebuild a bipartisan base for American Foreign policy. The Board will receive recommendations from a group of 120 distinguished foreign policy and defense policy advisors before it reports to me in January. And I am requesting that it begin today its work of assessing the major foreign policy challenges that we must address....And now both of us are here and available to whatever your questions might be.

Question: During the campaign you spoke many times of the things that you would do immediately upon taking office. Can you, this morning, give us a specific agenda for your first week in office including such subjects as a federal hiring freeze and other which you discussed in the campaign?

Reagan: This is one I pledged to do and I will not retreat from that pledge. It was done before and it was successful and I think you start that immediately. As to everything else, I think that is going to be in a sense a part of this whole transition process and working with the Congressional Committee under Senator Laxalt, as to how we proceed then on things that will require Congressional support.

Question: I wonder what your reaction is to the statement yesterday by Paul Warwick of the Committee for Survival of a Free Congress, that you didn't need George Bush to win, that in effect he'd better hew carefully to the conservative line or there will be trouble for him. And you can both react.

Reagan: Well, I'll let George speak for himself, but I will speak for myself. I think that we have had throughout the campaign, and I look forward to these next four years having the same relationship that has not only been one of a team but it has been one of a growing friendship and we have not found ourselves in disagreement. And my own intention is, and he's going to find this out as we get planning details, I want to make use of what I think is a very valuable asset and so he will have a number of things to do. George, do you want to speak to this?

Bush: No.

Question: As you go about forming your new government and selecting the people who are going to

head the Cabinet, be in your Cabinet and run the government, how much consideration are you going to give the advice of these new conservative organizations, the moral majority and the people like the reverend, Jerry Falwell.

Reagan: I have told the people who supported us in this campaign that I'm going to do as I did when I was governor of California, that I am going to be open to these people. You are President of all the people, and I am going to want to seek advice. Were I think I can get advice, from those who are familiar with a particular problem, ask their help. And I don't know any other way to say it than that. In other words, I'm not going to separate myself from the people who elected us and sent us there.

Question: In the foreign policy section of your speech on Television Monday night, you said Americans do not shirk from history's duty to stand by those who are persecuted. And you specifically said that you speak for those who seek the right to self-determination without interference from foreign powers. I wonder whether you could tell us what this means and specifically whether you think it applies to the situation in Poland now where an independent Workers' Movement is growing up in a country that's on the border of the Soviet Union in which there are a couple of Soviet divisions stationed?

Reagan: I think what it means—I know what it means or I wouldn't have said it. It means that I think all of these problems and the policies of aggression of the Soviet Union, that all of these must be a part of discussions and negotiations that go forward. I don't think you simply sit down at the table with the Soviet Union to discuss arms limitations, for example, but you discuss the whole attitude, world attitude as to whether we are going to have a world of peace or whether we are simply going to talk about weaponry and not bring up these other subjects. In other words, I believe in linkage.

Question: Yesterday, Mr Bush said that the hostage crisis is President Carter's problem and that you and he did not want to butt into it. You said you have had ideas about how to secure the release of the hostages. Is there any role that you now intend to play in any kind of plan to secure the release of the hostages and have you discussed it with President Carter?

Reagan: No. And let me make plain, when I have said I've had ideas, I had to be honest. I think you will all agree that anyone who was seeking this position couldn't help but say if this problem confronted me, you'd have some thoughts about how you would deal with it. That does not mean that at this point, this is our problem. Let me make it plain. It is our problem as Americans, but the President is still the President and I think what George was saying is that anything in which we could be helpful, if he wanted, it we will be because, like everyone else, we want the hostages to be returned. But at the same time, we want to make it perfectly plain that we are not going to intrude, and we are going to recognize the fact that

this administration is still in office and foreign leaders must be aware that the President is still the President.

Question: During the campaign, you said you'd like to begin the SALT III process immediately, negotiating with the Russians. Do you plan to communicate with the Soviets during the transition to start this process?

Reagan: No, I don't. We have received a number of messages and I know that the Ambassador has because he is personally acquainted with many of these people. And these have been contradictory messages and so forth, but again, I don't think either one of us wants to do anything that indicates to them that we are not a unified country and that we are in any way trying to speak with a different voice than the Administration. George, do you want to speak to that, since you were involved in the question?

Bush: I couldn't agree more. And I know that there will be requests from leaders around the world to see, clearly Governor Reagan, and some to see me. And whatever we do in that regard, we will make clear that we are not trying to set foreign policy or in any way negotiate and that President Carter has that responsibility until the day President Reagan is sworn in. And that is all I have to add to it.

Question: Would you consider Henry Kissinger as Secretary of State? There's a report that he might be recommended.

Reagan: Well, we are here today to announce a transition team and we have given you the personnel that is involved in that and beyond that, we will not go—there will be no discussion of names until we're ready to announce the actual appointment of someone.....

Question: I speak for the South American Press. I would like to ask you if you regard your government to be an expression of the National unity of the United States or is it the result of groups, minorities or entrepreneurs? What is your position? Is it a national government unified for the first time in years? And why are South American journalists absent from the press room in the White House? Will you remedy that situation? That you president.

Reagan: To answer your first question, I have only one concept, if I understand the question correctly, I have only one concept of this job. I think the President and the Vice President are the only two people in Washington who have been elected to represent all the people. Others there have a responsibility for districts, for states, as well as the good of the country too. But there are two people that are there who are chosen by all the people to represent all of them.

With regard to the countries of South America, Central America and here on the North American continent, our two neighbours, I repeatedly made it plain that I think over the years we have let relationships deteriorate, and this should not be. And we are going to make every effort to bring together by way of bilateral agreements, and so forth, the peoples of the Ameri-

cas, so that North and Central and South America can be united in their determination to be free.....

Question: What is your evaluation about the commitment of Turkey as a NATO ally to western security, and are you going to increase economic and military aid to that country when you take office?

Reagan: Well, again, now you are getting me into positions that I think are going to be the result of more thought and consultation than we have been able to do in a campaign. But I think all of us have to recognize that Turkey and Greece, and I would hope that the problems between them—will be eased, because that is the southern flank of our NATO line and therefore is most important to our own national security.

Question: In light of the Reagan steamroller effect, you said a little bit earlier that you would seek a bipartisan base for foreign policy. Would that indicate that you might consider putting a democrat on your Cabinet, staff or in the cabinet, a cabinet level democrat?

Reagan: That could very well be. I've made no decision on that and this again would be getting into discussing individuals. We have not done that as yet. But I very definitely want, in foreign policy particularly, I want the world to know that there is no political division that affects our foreign policy.

Question: Concerning American hostages again, do you expect to reveal your specific ideas to President Carter during this transition period and offer them as suggestions to ending the crisis?

Reagan: Well, the President has very graciously offered us both briefings, which we think we will take advantage of naturally. And I think if there is any opportunity and if out of those briefings comes any thought on our part that we could suggest anything that would be helpful, we certainly would do that. On the other hand, as I've said before, we don't want to seem to be trying to invade the province of the President, who is still President. And I hope in the news reports that we have seen that the Iranians will not have any ideas that there will be profit to them in waiting any period of time. We want those people home.

Question: Sir, if your ideas are vastly different from President Carter's, will you prefer to hold off and hold back until you take office?

Reagan: No, not if I thought for one minute that it could, by one minute, move up their release.

Question: There seems to be bit a concern of how US foreign policy will change. What can you tell America's allies in western Europe about America's foreign policy now that you've taken over? And are there certain misconceptions you feel about yourself among the people of Western Europe?

Reagan: I think that's very possible. I think in a campaign when they have to have translated into their own language the campaign rhetoric and so forth, there's got to be a certain element of confusion about the participants in the game over here. But I want

them to know that, and we will make it plain to them when it is our opportunity to do so, that we intend to consult, we intend to confer with them on major decisions. We believe in the importance of the NATO alliance and we'll do everything we can to reassure them that we are not going to be alone. We want to restore (their) confidence in us and that they can have trust in our word and that we do consider that alliance very important to the United States.

Question: (Inaudible) Do you think George Bush might have a specific job to do in that direction, in talking to foreign powers?

Reagan: Well, I know that George can be most helpful in that and will be.....

Question: Because of the relationship that France and the Soviet Union had until now, it seems to have bothered President Carter. Does the privileged relationship that Mr. Giscard d'Estaing has with Mr. Brezhnev bother you?

Reagan: No, but I also hope that the United States and President Giscard and our administration will be very close, and that they will recognize that we look upon them as a very close friend.

Question: Governor Reagan, the situation in Northern Ireland has been irritating on the relations between the United States and the United Kingdom. Can you tell me what your approach will be toward that situation, and can you specifically say if you will be reviewing the decision of the State Department to suspend the sale of US weapons to the Police force in Northern Ireland?

Reagan: Well, I can't answer specifically on something of that kind, again, until I've had an opportunity to look into it more. But I would say this—with the name of Reagan—that the United States cannot intervene or interfere, but the United States, I think, should make it plain that if there is any way that we can be helpful, we would be more than eager to do so because I think it's a very tragic situation.

Question: Do you plan to introduce any of your proposals to the lame duck session of Congress, such as a cut in Federal spending?

Reagan: I think that some of our own Congressmen—and now that we have a majority in one house, the Senate—I think that there are proposals that I was talking about and had many times referred to, that were already in discussion or in legislative form, and I'm quite sure that as the Congress reconvenes that they'll go forward with those, and I'll be delighted to see them do it.

Question: Governor Reagan, now that you hold the Presidential office at an older age than any other President in history, are you prepared to say today whether you intend to be a one term president or have you not ruled out seeking re-election in four years?

Reagan: No, I haven't thought beyond the term to which I have been elected. And any question—I feel just fine (exclamation).

Question: Sir, you staked much of your campaign on your economic prescription for the country. Now that you've been elected, can you tell us how quickly you expect to move on your economic program and how quickly the American people can expect some results from it?

Reagan: I expect to move as swiftly as possible. I think this is the most important thing; I think it was the issue of the campaign. I think it is what the American people told us with their votes they wanted, and so we'll move instantly on that. And if the Congress, I know there are measures before the Congress with regard to some of the features—tax cuts and so forth—it'll be just fine with me if they don't wait, if they go forward with those in this interim period.

Question: Governor Reagan, you were obviously, elected with millions of democratic and independent votes. Do you still feel totally wedded to the Republican Party platform, and will you specifically push for passage of an anti-abortion amendment to the constitution?

Reagan: I ran on the platform. The people voted for me on the platform. I do believe in that platform, and I think it will be very cynical and callous of me now to suggest that I'm going to turn away from it. Evidently, those people who voted for me, of the other party or of independents, must have agreed with the platform also.

Question: Governor, if I can ask a follow up to that question if I may—given the size of your victory, there are a number of people who are saying that it's being interpreted as a mandate for considerable change. Is there anything that you would say to those Democrats or Republicans, liberals and moderates, who feel potentially disenfranchised by your political views—is there anything you would say to reassure them?

Reagan: Well, I don't think that anyone is politically disenfranchised by my views. I know that, for example, through the campaign, the issue of the equal rights amendment constantly came up. And I tried to make it plain at every instance that if you will read the Republican platform, it has never spoken more strongly with regard to equal rights for women. And I feel that way myself. The only difference of opinion was whether an amendment that, in over eight years, has not been able to secure ratification of the states, or even if it could—if the amendment was.....and the most practical way of achieving these equal rights. And I pointed to my own record here in this state of what we did by statute. Now, I am going to aggressively pursue the subject of equal rights for women. It's significant, I think, that 13 of the 15 states who haven't ratified that amendment have Democratic majorities in their legislatures, and with a Democratic majority in Congress and with a Democratic President, they still were not able to get those states to ratify that amendment. So, those who chose to believe that my feeling about the amendment during this campaign meant opposition to equal rights for women were absolutely wrong, and I think, in some instances, many of them knew that because my record is clear, and I've made my assertion to you of what we're going to do.

Question: There are some reports out of Washington this morning quoting senior administration officials as saying that President Carter might be prepared to take unpopular actions to free the hostages. Is there any concern on your part that, as a lame duck President, Mr. Carter might be ready to knuckle under to Iranian demands, and would you counsel him not to?

Reagan: Well, he several times has made the statement that he would not do anything that violated the honour of our country or our interests. And we have to accept those statements that he will do that. And so I don't think there's any place for me to intervene in that regard.

Question: Governor, do you intend to pursue the Camp David peace process, and would you still characterize the PLO as you did about a year ago as a Terrorist Organisation?

Reagan: Yes. I think the PLO has proven that it is a Terrorist Organisation. As I have said repeatedly, I separate the PLO from the Palestinian refugees. No one ever elected the PLO, and yes, I intend to do again, and it's like the other situation we discussed earlier—whatever the United States can do, we don't intend to mandate or dictate a settlement, or whatever we can do to promote peace in the Middle East, that we are going to do.

Question: Governor Reagan, will you meet with Prime Minister Begin when he comes to the United States within the next couple of weeks, as he plans to do? Would you invite him up to your ranch, for instance?

Reagan: I think here is a question that has to await some of our transition process. I would not—there's a delicate point here as to whether you see, to be again putting yourself in the place that is not yet mine, the Presidency, and I wouldn't want to do anything in any way that would give that impression. And yet I recognize the necessity for contact, but deciding when that is proper and right, we haven't settled on.

Question: This is your last one?

Reagan: It is?

Question: Governor, at the beginning of President Carter's term, he gave human rights a very high priority, and he said he did this because of his belief in the Bible. Does your belief in the Bible compel you to make Human rights a similar high priority, especially in the Third and Fourth world countries?

Reagan: Yes. I think that all of us in this country are dedicated to the belief in human rights, but I think it must be a consistent policy. I don't think that you can turn away from some country because here and there they do not totally agree with our concept of human rights, and then at the same time, maintain relations

with other countries, or try to develop them where human rights are virtually non-existent. This is what I think I meant earlier about that. That subject, as well as others, should be part of any negotiations on the foreign scene, any relationship that we have with other countries. But I don't think that our record of turning away from countries that were basically friendly to us, because of some disagreement on some facet of human rights and then finding that the result was that they have lost all human rights in that country—that isn't a practical way to go about that.

—USICA.



BLANK VERSE

Let's Kill Jesus

Isn't that Jesus
He is in rags
Almost look mad
Look at the company he keeps
The poor, the sinners, the outcasts
They look misery personified

Let's call him
Counsel him
Ask him not to leave us
His home is with us
Not with the riff-raff
Let's don him with robes
Elect him President
At least appoint him a vicar
Give him power
And keep him aloof
From the masses and the poor

If he shuns our plans
Let's take him
Forcibly convert him
Show him the light
The right path to trod
Failing, we'll kill him
and bury him in secret
Build him a monument
And name him the Ruler
Christ the President
The King of the Universe

London,
20.10.80

D. F. Madiwela



West's Armada

New Delhi, November 1,

Recently the *Washington Post* reported that the unprecedented concentration of the western, including American, naval might in the Indian Ocean area has taken place through 'co-ordinated actions' of the United States and its allies. Thus, the British Defence Ministry ordered the missile frigate *Alacrity* to leave Singapore and join the missile destroyer *Coventry* which is now already in the Gulf of Oman. France ordered transfer to the Indian Ocean of the missile *Suffrain* bringing the number of its ships to 20 in that area. Besides, Australia, an American partner in the ANZUS military bloc, keeps in the northern part of the Indian Ocean a task force of warships with the aircraft-carrier *Melbourne* at the head. All this shows that the United States and its allies have concentrated by now at least 60 ships in the northern part of the Indian Ocean, in areas directly adjacent to the Strait of Hormuz.

According to the official version, which is advanced in Washington and other western capitals, latest actions were undertaken to ensure 'free navigation' through the Strait of Hormuz and uninterrupted deliveries to western countries of oil which is extracted in the Persian Gulf zone. But to any sober-minded person, even if he is far from military science, it is clear that the Pentagon and its allies concentrated on a comparatively small area such a powerful 'mailed fist', not for that purpose.

The militaristic circles in the United States hope to warm hands on the flame of the Iranian-Iraqi armed conflict and, using as a pretext 'the threat to free navigation' in the Strait of Hormuz, 'to put things in order' in that area laying hands on its huge oil wealth. These plans of the United States are well publicised. Here it is pertinent to mention the U.S. thesis, which was drawn up yet a few years ago, on the possibility of using military force by the United States against oil producing countries and of seizure of oil-bearing areas in 'extraordinary circumstances.'

Above all, the United States thesis on 'spreading NATO's responsibility' to the Indian Ocean basin is assuming a concrete shape. The leaders of that aggressive bloc snatch at any pretext in order to legalise or at least 'substantiate' the NATO's permanent military presence in that area of the world. Majority of countries of the Indian Ocean basin believe that the Pentagon's military ambitions are fraught with the threat of direct interference in their internal affairs. There is no doubt that such a threat becomes even more real now that the NATO has joined the American military ventures in the area of the Indian Ocean.

—National Herald

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Who Benefits?

London, November 3,

Looking over old files of *Tribune* here, we came across an interesting item in Vol. 18 No. 13. It refers to the evidence two American Professors gave before a subcommittee of the US Congress in 1973. They had identified the problems of the Persian Gulf area as follows: "There are at least six conflicts of relevance to the Persian Gulf area. First is the Intra-Arab conflict... second is the Arab-Israeli conflict; third, most particularly, the Iraq-Iranian conflict; fourth is the Sino-Soviet conflict and sixth the Soviet-American conflict..." The only significant changes that have taken place since the above comments were made is the revolution in Iran and the Camp David Accord taking Egypt out of the Arab Camp against Israel and Zionism. Further, the Soviet involvement in Afghanistan has also brought a major change in the area.

The simple fact is that one cannot hope to solve the Iran-Iraq conflict without solving the problems of the Persian Gulf and the Middle East. The Iran-Iraq war is only a manifestation of these conflicts mentioned by the American Professors.

The Persian Gulf and the mouth of the Shatt-al-Arab River which flows into it look much like a dagger lodged between the Arabian Peninsula and Iran. Since both Persians and Arabs have lived on its shores for ages, it has been off and on called either the Persian or the Arabian Gulf. But the West has always considered the Gulf its own private domain. The reason is oil (50,000 million tons of oil, i.e. 65 percent of all the known oil deposits in the capitalist world).

The oil, financial, and military-strategic interests of the Western countries are more closely interlinked here than anywhere else in the world. This explains the attempts to turn the region—once the first bridge-head of British colonialism in the Arab East—into the principal location for the "deployment" of the forces of collective colonialism in the Middle East.

The pretext being used is the "extremely dangerous lack of stability" in the region caused by the Iraq-Iran conflict. But it is worth asking why this "instability" has come about. It has not been generated by the Arabs or by the Persians, or even less so by the "hand of Moscow". Its roots are in the policy conducted by the old and the new colonialists who are not much different at all. In essence, the only thing different is that once London considered the Persian Gulf its 'domain' while now it is Washington for whom it is "an area of vital interests." And like ten years ago when the British were "leaving" the area, it has again been declared a "vacuum" i.e., a pretext has been thought up for its direct subjugation to the West's *diktat*.

How is the "vacuum" being filled? The largest Western naval and air force armadas since World War II are now concentrated in the area. These are not simply elements of the "rapid deployment forces" currently

being organised in the United States, but the deployment of the joint police forces of collective neo-colonialism. Dozens of Americans, British and French warships and support vessels are in the Persian Gulf and the northern part of the Arabian Sea. An Australian aircraft-carrier group is heading there at full steam to help out. The American AWACS planes that were quickly dispatched to the Arabian Peninsula are patrolling the area round the clock. And additional war planes and marine units are being sent in.

Israel and Egypt have offered to be bridgeheads and stop-over points for the neo-colonialists' punitive forces. There are two pretexts for the latest collusion—"guaranteeing the security of the West's oil communications", and "disengaging the sides in the Iraq-Iran conflict" on the basis of "strict neutrality". However, the American press has made no effort to conceal that what is meant is a special kind of "neutrality" involving a demonstration of force, and whose objectives are equally bare. According to the *New York Times*, the United States intends, first, not to allow either Iran or Iraq to win, and, second, to use the conflict "to fill the military vacuum" in the Persian Gulf Zone. Washington no longer feels that the sending of warships, AWACS planes and "rapid deployment forces" to the area is adequate to do this; it is eager to capitalise on the Iraq-Iran conflict to create a regional alliance à la NATO. This alliance is to include, along with a few Western powers and Egypt, those Persian Gulf states which could be intimidated with the revolutionary changes in the region. This is what is meant by "neutrality". Preparations for armed intervention are obviously afoot behind the screen of "non-interference".

News reaching London from Arab sources allege that the US is now endeavouring to preserve its Middle-eastern allies—Saudi Arabia, Egypt, Jordan and Oman to induce Iraq to rush into further escalation of warfare against Iran. Under the US prompting these countries have given Iraq substantial financial aid for purchase of military arms and ammunition in the open market, and also promised to send in case of necessity their military contingents to fight against Iran. It has also been mentioned that the US very cleverly informed the Iraqi government about the low state of mobility of the Iranian army. Iran has alleged that the US overspace intelligence data to strike Iranian targets. Washington no doubt believes that the war will strengthen the positions of pro-Western groups in the Iranian government and the army, who favour immediate reconciliation with the US and renewal in full volume of the American-Iranian economic, political and military co-operation, and thus enable them to topple the Khomeini regime.

Who will benefit from this war?

Of course, neither Iran nor Iraq. History shows that territorial disputes cannot be resolved by force or by seizing the disputed areas. As far as law is concerned the title to land acquired in this way can never be legalised. Sooner or later the other side will lay counter-claims, and also use force. There is only one way out of this vicious circle—political settlement.

The UN Security Council has appealed to the two sides to take this path. The strife and bloodshed between Iran and Iraq can only benefit their common enemies—imperialism, zionism and reaction—which have formed a triple alliance against the liberation revolutions in the Middle East.

—Tribune Correspondent



UNITED STATES

Foreign Policy In Transition

by Chris Kern

Washington, November 15,

One of the most delicate aspects of the Presidential Transition that is taking place in the United States is the transition from Jimmy Carter's to Ronald Reagan's Foreign Policy. It will be more than two months until Ronald Reagan takes office, but the Reagan administration—still in the early stages of formation—is already exerting its influence on selected domestic issues. On Tax policy, for example, Reagan's aides are urging Congress to enact a Tax Reduction Bill even before the transfer of power takes place in January. Whether President Carter would sign the kind of tax cut bill that Reagan wants is problematical. But the Reagan administration is not being shy about making its desires known.

Not so where foreign policy is concerned. While Reagan was outspoken in his criticisms of Carter's foreign and military policy during the campaign for President, he and his advisors have been exceedingly circumspect in their comments since election day. Their purpose—reiterated by Reagan in virtually every meeting with the press since his election—is to avoid giving any impression of a change in US policy that would undermine the Carter administration's ability to represent the United States abroad. Three current cases in point:

On the American hostages in Iran—Regan has restated his support for the Carter Administration's effort to free the hostages. He has said that there would be no advantage to Iran in delaying their release until after he takes office. But other than that, he has indicated that he will not speak out about the hostages in public, although he has indicated that he might offer advice to Carter in private.

On the Middle East—Regan decided not to meet with Israeli Prime Minister Menachem Begin during Begin's current visit to the United States, apparently feeling that such a meeting might give the impression that he was trying to participate on behalf of the United States in the ongoing Middle East negotiations. This despite the fact that Israeli officials say that because of the Presidential transition, no negotiations are planned during Begin's stay here. As one of them put it, "I don't think, in the kind of situation that now exists in the US, that there would be any kind of substantive discussions."

On Poland—one of Mr. Reagan's top aides made an exception to the general policy of avoiding comment on foreign affairs before the latest Polish Labour dispute was settled. Asked what would happen in the event of a Soviet invasion of Poland, Reagan Chief-of-Staff Edwin Meese said that would be "a matter of great concern," and that there would be "a number of diplomatic and economic actions" that the United States could take in response. But Meese also stressed that Reagan would work with the outgoing Carter administration in dealing with such a crisis.

This cautious approach to foreign policy during the transition serves several purposes besides preventing misunderstanding among other governments about who speaks, diplomatically, for the United States. It gives the Carter Administration the maximum opportunity to resolve current foreign policy problems in areas where there are no real differences between the old and new administrations, as for example, in dealing with the hostages in Iran. It gives Reagan the time to those the foreign policy personnel for his administration, and it gives the men and women he chooses time to work out transition plans with their Carter administration counterparts.

And—perhaps most important from Reagan's standpoint after a year or more of continuous political campaigning—this brief respite before the pressures of office begin provides the President-elect with an opportunity to work out precisely what his administration's foreign policies will be and to figure out how to put them into effect.

—VOA/USICA

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METEOREOLOGICAL

Sun And Its Spots

By V. Buvanasunderam

EINSTEIN said, "If I am to worship anything I'll worship the Sun". Sun with a diameter of 865,000 miles and with a mass 333,000 times that of earth, contains 98% of the mass of the solar system. It is dragging the solar system away from the belt of Orion towards Hercules at a speed of 12 miles per second. We are 93 million miles away, spinning on our axis and going round it, in an elliptical orbit. It was thought that the intervening space between us was empty but now we know that solar gases fill up this space and our earth is actually immersed in this extremely tenuous outer reaches of the solar atmosphere and the solar particles make themselves known to us through magnetic storms, auroras, cosmic rays and weather phenomena.

Some may think that the Sun is burning like coal or wood fire, at least the primitive man thought so. The temperature of the Sun is so high, that it can reverse the process of ordinary combustion. Carbon dioxide the product of ordinary combustion would

separate into carbon and oxygen at that temperature. Such temperatures are possible only in nuclear "burning." When four atoms of hydrogen are fused together to form a single helium atom, 1% of the mass is left behind. This is converted to energy E in the form of Gamma rays, and short X-rays, which is absorbed by the surrounding gas and converted to heat energy. This conversion is according to the well known Einstein's formula $E=1/2NC^2$. This change of matter to energy releases such energy since C, the velocity of light, the fastest known to man is 186,000 miles per second and any matter speeding above this would disintegrate by itself. A 15 million degree temperature has to be maintained for the process of hydrogen "burning" and that is, what it is in the core of the Sun. Similarly in helium "burning", three helium atoms are fused together to form a single carbon atom and some mass is left behind but a temperature of 15 million is insufficient to maintain helium "burning."

THE SUN as seen by us is a shining disc, a little over half a degree in diameter, to be exact, $31'59.3''$. However, its invisible radiations in the ultraviolet emanating from its outer fringes give it the shape of an ellipsoid. A rugger ball in reality, a football in appearance. Rishis had known this. In the manthram of Sun, it is described as "Siva Roopaya", meaning the shape of an ellipsoid "Sivalingam". This manthram ends by calling Sun "Nithyan", an everlasting being. Burning for 4.5 billion years, the Sun has consumed half the available hydrogen in the core, while its diameter increased by 15% and its brightness by 30%. At present, the sun contains 70% hydrogen and 30% helium, however it is fifty-fifty in the core. When this hydrogen in the core is exhausted, it will shrink but the hydrogen rich outer portion will expand. The Rishis have said that the earth this time will be consumed by fire. They have said that previously, it was ended by flood, perhaps the same Noah's flood of the Old Testament.

The temperature at the centre of this circular disc is 6000 degrees Kelvin. At the edges, it is 4500C. (0C=273K) and at the core, it is 15 million. So it is with its density. At the surface, it is a millionth that of water and at the core, it is a hundred times that of water. At these high temperatures, all matter of the Sun, including the 2 or 3 percent of earthly metals like silver are all in a gaseous state. The Sun, therefore does not spin as a rigid body like our earth. It turns in the same anticlockwise direction as viewed from the north by different parts of it turn at different speeds. The equator turns once in 24.65 earth days. It is slowest near the poles and it takes 34 days for one turn. The average rate of rotation is once in 27 days, a lunar month. One of the many heavenly coincidences.

As the Sun rotates on its axis, its surface sloshes back and forth every 4 minutes, like water in a bath tub granules appear and disappear in a matter of 8 minutes. These corn grain like granules are areas of convection carrying heat from the interior of the Sun to its surface, like water in a kettle heated from below. These granules are thousands of kilometers across.

SUNSPOTS appear and fade away in a matter of days, weeks or months. They appear in different sizes, as small pores, a thousand kilometers wide or as giant craters, a hundred thousand kilometers in diameter. The larger ones can be seen by the naked eye through tinted glass, they last longer too and can be seen moving across Sun's disc from east to west, as the Sun rotates with us from west to east. We rotate faster. Sunspots possess strong magnetic fields, which suppress the transport of heat from the interior to the surface. They are, therefore cooler regions, whose temperatures are about 2000C less than the surrounding surface (photo sphere). This temperature difference makes the spots appear dark.

When the number of spots were increasing from 1974 to 77, the photospheric temperatures of the Sun fell by 6 degrees Kelvin and the northern hemisphere had its severest winter in 1977. It is the spotless Sun that gives out maximum heat. An expert from the UN discovered for us that the maximum air temperature ever recorded in Sri Lanka was 38.7C/101.6F, at Trincomalee on 25th May 1915. This same year, Anuradhapura 38.6/101.5F on March 1st and Colombo 36.3C on February 3rd recorded their highest ever. Mannar recorded its highest ever of 36.2C 21st April 1914 and Jaffna 36.7 on 25th April 1926. These are all in our handouts.

Our meteorological Foenander, Mr. K. S. T. Fernando insists that the highest ever in Lanka was recorded at Amparai, a few months before it was abandoned, 102.8F on 5th July 1965, followed by 102.6 on 8th July. Dr. Bamford, a Wrangler and a former Superintendent of the Observatory, seems to have carefully gone through our past records, perhaps for the study of plant pests. He had rejected many readings but accepted 103.7F on 12th May 1890 at Trincomalee as the highest ever. His second highest was 103.7 at Anuradhapura on 30th September 1887. He often called attention to these in his reports. This maximum air temperature of Lanka will be in doubt, till Dr. Bamford's temperatures are exceeded in the future, may be soon for after all the earth is to be consumed by fire. The maximum air temperature, ever recorded on earth is not in doubt —136.4F at San Luis, Mexico on August 11, 1933.

AS THE ATMOSPHERE is heated from below, the ground temperatures should therefore respond sooner and better to Sun's photospheric temperature than our air temperatures. 1964 was a sunspot minimum, it was only a year later, those temperatures were recorded at Amparai. In 1933, the sun had no spots for a number of months. Between 1887 and 1890, there was a three year period without a single spot. This period should really be called the "Bamford Minimum", after the most knowledgeable head to adorn this department.

Galileo discovered the telescope in 1610 and made regular sunspot observations. Before him, the Chinese had been making some irregular observations, for they thought that sunspots were some objects that darted across, between us and the sun. During those early

years of regular observations periods like the "Bamford Minimum" were fairly common. The longest of them was a 70 year period between 1645 and 1715. Not a single sunspot was seen during this period and when they started to appear in 1716, there was the dramatic appearance of the northern lights or Aurora and most of Europe saw it for the first time. Then, there started a little ice age in Europe and the Danes started to abandon their colonies in Greenland. This period of Toyears is called the "Maunder Minimum", after Mr. Maunder, who often called attention to this period. There was a similar period during the 15 century, called the "Spörer Minimum". In a past era, when ice started to melt on earth, our sun may not have had spots for thousands of years.

WHEN SPOTS START TO APPEAR in a brightly burning, quiet Sun, it is said to get active. The spots first appear between 30 and 40 degrees latitude of the Sun usually in pairs. If they grow and become large, they get surrounded by a number of smaller spots. The original pair and their retinue defined as a single group. For a period averaging 4 to 5 years, the spots get larger and larger, more numerous and occur closer to the equator but never below 5 degrees latitude of the Sun. After reaching a maximum, the number of spots begin to decrease, till they reach a minimum again, in about 6 to 7 years.

The sunspot status of the sun at anytime is represented on a scale devised by Wolfe, called "Wolfe's relative numbers—Number of individual spots at an instant plus ten times the number of spot groups, multiplied by an adjustment factor." Wolfe's sunspot number would indicate the trend in the changes of sun's flare activity, its magnetism and radio emission. When these numbers are graphically represented against time, the increase and decrease is not gradual. The variations are erratic like a diseased heartbeat but a smooth curve could be drawn through them, which shows an average interval of a little over 11 years, between two maximum and minima. This is the 11 year sunspot cycle.

Recently, there was some excitement in our land. A German astronomer had discovered a sunspot. A sunspot is no comet. Now that, we are at a sunspot maximum, they are there everyday and the large ones, about 100,000 Km wide, could be seen through smoked glass by the naked eye. We wondered why this excitement. Honest George, our versatile mechanic, now prematurely retired by the Credit Council showed the Sunday Observer correspondent the last eclipse on his "Silver Screen", while professionals fumbled with telescopes, watched by birds that forgot to roost out the eclipse, as forecast. He showed me the spots of excitement on that same "Silver Screen".

(To Be Continued)

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Grim Portents

THE FOURTH BUDGET of the UNP administration on Guy Fawke's Day was predictably the damp squib it turned out to be—with the senty rupee relief coming too little and too late to alleviate hunger or neutralise discontent. The staggering spurt in milk prices followed by the unprecedented acceleration in bus and rail fares have already eroded any benefits to the wage earner crushed under the vaulting tide of his basic cost of living.

The lack-lustre speech of the Minister of Finance merely acknowledged, to a jaded public grown weary of the yawning gap between glittering profession and meagre performance, the anticipated capitulation to the strictures of the IMF, and its baleful nostrums to offset the three-year profligacy and wanton expenditure with some resort to financial discipline and realism. The remedies adopted to achieve this result appear ad hoc, hasty, haphazard and even irresponsible, and are likely to make economic confusion worse founded. More unpalatable prescriptions lie ahead.

But it does appear that a spendthrift wave of squandermania is coming to an end, or, is at last being curbed temporarily. The new economic policies, in the first flush of victory, were based on laissez-faire import trade, exchange liberalisation, removal of subsidies and dilution of welfare programmes, unabashed foreign investment, a private enterprise free-for-all, a floating (now sinking!) rupee, and spectacular public works on borrowed and printed money. A conspicuous enclave of rich entrepreneurs and a parasitic local and foreign fringe fatten themselves at the expense of the poor, while national sovereignty has been imperilled, and generations unborn sacrificed on the altar of World Bank expedience.

A rampant neo-colonialist penetration threatens a deep-rooted indigenous self-reliance. If present UNP programmes are permitted unchecked or unrevised, the economy of this country will sooner or later be tied hand and foot to the transnational corporation empire—the future system of imperialist slavery. The coming year may well provide the breathing space to re-think these strategies in a sobering mood of self-knowledge. But the morals of a head-hunter and the rough-and-ready theologies of a mediaeval executioner seem to continue to possess the hearts and minds of those who rule the political roost.

The bloated expenditure on defence and internal security in the 1981 budget is the most telling indictment of the directions in which present policies have led. In the absence of an external threat, one can only presume that the enemy to be fought exists within the domestic perimeter—the scale of investment in armour and police preparedness are worthy of a large-scale insurrection or civil war. Is this the situation

then, which the government intends to provoke to ensure an artificial political stability, avert attention from economic disasters, postpone elections, or even to launch a pre-emptive strike against the gathering forces of an angry and humiliated people? The spate of opportunist, and sometimes desperate, legislation betrays the siege mentality on display. The auguries for the future are bleak and the omens grim. Do the lengthening lines of khaki in the streets presage the shortening path to a more repressive Sri Lankan autocracy?

In my previous musings I hinted that the editorial virility of the English press may have been castrated beyond repair. It was heartening to find, therefore the CRM statement on the Civic Disabilities issue reproduced in full in the *Tribune* of November 8th. All governments since 1948 have been tempted to "manage" the mass media in their interest, but the present UNP regime has carried this interference to blatant lengths so that the sanctity of news and freedom of comment have been seriously polluted.

The heroic and notable speech of Mrs. Bandaranaike on October 16th, in which both gauntlet and coming issues are plainly visible, has yet to be published entire in the local English press, outside her party paper. In the meantime, the SLFP leader, the major irritant in the rakes progress of the UNP, continues to criss-cross the island in her pilgrims passage. Bereft of her civic rights, and further muzzled the next day, the massive show of popular goodwill and support is a public rejoinder to legislative intimidation and a chastening pointer to the future.

There is something of a moral in all this. Power is not inherently corrupt, nor is its exercise necessarily evil. "Abuse of power" is also not to be discovered through reference to a dictionary, and it is always subject to a crucial degree of value judgement. But no sooner absolute power involves manipulation it becomes evil.

What is sadly, though clearly, evident in Sri Lanka today is the abundance of the various techniques of manipulatory politics: deliberate falsehoods, rhetorical sophistries, the laying of demagogic traps, improvised rewards, and the contrived and arm-twisting solutions to pressing problems. These ploys are no longer deceptive, and have long lost their capacity to deceive in a democratic society which remains too vibrant for suffocation.

Richard Lee

November 8, 1980



How Many Countries?

Washington, Oct. 5,

How many countries are there really? There are 141 represented at the current meeting here of the International Monetary Fund. But the Population Reference Bureau, a non-profit organisation that studies population problems, says the total number of countries in the world is 212.

There is a good deal of variation in ideas of what constitutes a country. No one much doubts that France is a country and so is Thailand. But how about the Vatican and New Caledonia? An article in the Bureau's monthly "Intercom" says the United States has diplomatic relations with 146 countries, which the US State Department confirms. The State Department geographer counts 164 independent countries in the world though the United States does not have relations with all of them.

The Bureau's own definition is broader. It concludes any area that acts like a country "in most ways" even if it is officially a colony-like Hong Kong. The Vatican, which it calls a "monarchical-cerodotal State" and New Caledonia, a French overseas territory, are also included. The Canary Islands, for example are 16,000 km from Spain but are still a Spanish province, so they do not qualify. The isle of Man, though virtually surrounded by British Territory, has a lot of autonomy. So it makes the list.

Though Greenland is legally part of Denmark, it is considered as separate, while Easter Island much further from the mainland ranks as part of Chile. Areas not inhabited the year round have been left out, like the US island of Navassa in the Caribbean, which is occupied mainly by a lighthouse.

The situation is always changing. The Bureau notes that East Timor is still considered separately in many reference works as it was when it belonged to Portugal. Now Indonesia claims it. Tibet has disappeared into China as Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania disappeared into the Soviet Union. The smallest place the bureau lists separately as a "non-sovereign" country is Pitcairn Island with a total population of 70—AP.



HELD OVER

FOR NEXT WEEK

EDITOR'S NOTEBOOK

— Budget —

Govt.



Notices

The Land Acquisition Act (Chapter 460) As Amended By The Land Acquisition (Amendment) Act No. 28 Of 1964.
Notice Under Section 7(I)

Reference No. LD/E 306

It is intended to acquire the land described in the Schedule below for a public purpose. For further particulars please see Government Gazette of the Republic of Sri Lanka No. 115 of 14-11-1980 Part III

G. G. A. Malalagama
 District Land Officer,
 Kandy District.

The Kachcheri,
 Kandy. 28th October, 1980

Schedule

Situation: Polgaha Anga villaga, Gangapalata Korale (Udunuwara) Minor Division, Udunuwara D.R.O's Division, Kandy District.

<i>Name of land</i>	<i>Plan and lot Nos.</i>
Kurahankotuwe	Lot I in P.P. Maha 1982

Notice Under Section 7 Of The Land Acquisition Act, (Cap. 460) As Amended By Land Acquisition (Amendment) Act. N . 28 Of 1964.

Reference No. 3/2/1/7/121

It is intended to acquire the land described in the schedule below. For further particulars, please see Government Gazette No. 115 (Part III) of 14-11-1980.

Schedule

<i>A.G.A.'s Division</i>	: Negombo
<i>Village</i>	: Echthukala
<i>Name of Land</i>	: Davatagahawatta and Piyarugahawatta
<i>Lot Nos.</i>	: One
<i>Plan No. P.P. Co.</i>	: 5100

A. L. S. Malwenna
 District Land Officer of Gampaha District
 The Kachcheri,
 Gampaha,
 Date: 27.10.1980

Confidentially

Below The Belt—2

IS IT ANY WONDER that even the most vociferous protagonists of the Government are understandably apologetic about the two crumbs thrown out in the Parliament last week viz., the payment of Rs. 70 a month allowance to be effective from November 1 and that the CTB and CGR would increase rebates on season tickets from 35% to 60%? That no crumbs have so far been thrown in regard to milk products? That with these little mercies all those who do not come within the magic circle of the upper ten percent still feel that the recent price hikes continue to hit them well below the belt? That it is no longer a question of trying to make both ends meet? That it is today simply a question of what to forego (and starve) and the rate of interest at which the local money lender will grant short-term loans or the boutique mudalali will extend credit for weekly purchases? That for the vast majority in the nation the problem of living has become a nightmarish horror? That what seems to worry them is that nobody seems to care about the waste, corruption and theft in the Milk Board or the CTB/CGR outfits? That people want to know what if Minister Festus Perera and his Secretary Anura Weeraratne can clean up the Fisheries Corporation why other ministers cannot do the same?

That even the usually dormant Government-owned media, the *Ceylon Daily News*, in an editorial on November 4 (shortly after the CTB/CGR fare increases were announced) had a welcome editorial entitled, "Why Take it Out of The Commuters?" That for the record, it is useful to cite a few extracts: "But whenever world prices rise, must the entire burden be thrust on an already overburdened commuter? It should not necessarily be so, for there are other factors that should be taken into consideration..... Must the commuter be made to pay more? There is another side to the coin. Why not tune the CTB's own mighty engine to the new load? Why not bring down operating costs first? Mr. Mohamed himself has said that to operate efficient and effective bus service, the CTB would have to reduce its fleet, the number of its employees, in order to curtail some of its heavy losses. Reducing the number of buses, when the present fleet cannot even now provide efficient accommodation, would not be in the best interests of the commuter. Why not make a start by reducing the number of redundant employees? Politics should have nothing to do with it. Quite a lot of money could be saved by a long overdue use of the axe..... Perhaps there are depots which could be amalgamated or done away with, thus reducing a expenditure on maintenance and cutting down extra staff. Besides, there are other savings that can be made—such as, for instance by eliminating the colossal losses incurred yearly on fuel wastage, on the theft of bus spares and railway fittings, on vandalism in buses and

railway coaches, on the frauds committed daily by bus conductors and those committed daily by ticketless travellers in buses and trains. Whenever ticket checkers make surprise swoops they get rich bauls. They did so recently on the Railway. But why cannot ticket checking be done on a regular basis? And why is it confined to the day-light hours? It is at night—especially on the suburban routes—that bus conductors and joyriders by bus and train make merry. This is well known, but nothing appears to have been done about it. Why? Why cannot the Sri Lanka Transport Board and the Ceylon Government Railway take concrete steps to stop waste and fraud in their organisations which amount to a sizeable portion of their annual losses? It is not too late to make a start even now. It might help to reduce—perhaps appreciably—the extra amount the commuter is to be called upon to pay."

That Transport VIPs speak of the operational cost of Rs. 4.74 per kilometre (compared to the Rs. 2 odd of revenue per km), but not one of them speaks about essential economies to reduce costs? That not one of them even makes a reference to eliminating the waste, graft and robbery in the CTB/CGR? That to make matters worse, a further fortune is being spent on a TV filmlet in an attempt to convince TV audiences that the CTB's operational cost was Rs. 4.74 per km? That the audience reaction was immediate? That they felt their instead of wasting money on stupid propaganda it would be better to save this money and to take steps to reduce waste, theft and corruption? That it is an open secret that CTB petrol, diesel, engine oil and spares could be bought at certain places (well known in the transport underground)? That when a *Tribune* Investigator had asked a CTB operator who was selling such fuel whether it was not "anti-national", he burst out in anger, "Why not stop the commissions collected at the top in lakhs and millions? Those commissions increase the operational costs....."? That this lowly CTB employee then rattled off the names of agencies, companies and the like set up after 1977 to service the purchase of equipment for the CTB and CGR and he also alleged that the purchase prices were inflated in order to pay increased commissions and kickbacks? That he further asserted that if these top-level graft had been prevented the operational costs would never have gone up so high? That he concluded his remarks with a rhetorical query, "why chase little fry like us... we only want a little to buy milk for our children....."? That it was difficult, reported the *Tribune* Investigator, to meet the logic of this vendor of CTB fuels? That if it is to be a clean up it must be from top downwards? That another area where great saving can be effected is in Accidents! That it is for this reason that *Tribune* had suggested last week that a *Ministry of Accidents* should be set up as an adjunct to the two already in the Transport Sector? That a reader has suggested that the *Ministry of Accidents* should be two—one to look after the compensations for the dead, maimed and the injured and also the damage to property and another *Ministry* to monitor the amount spent on repairs to damaged CTB and CGR vehicles?

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