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# Letter From The Editor

AFTER MANY YEARS, the Editor had an opportunity of paying a visit to India early this month. The urge to go to New Delhi was prompted by the vast and sweeping changes that the last Lok Sabha Election had brought in its wake. Our first visit to India and Delhi was in April 1942 to cover the Cripps Mission for a now defunct weekly paper called the *Kesari* started and run by Jaffna Youth Congress stalwarts like Handy Perimpenayagam. Thirty five years later in 1977, once again in early April, we were in New Delhi. The meeting of the Non-aligned Co-ordinating Bureau at Ministerial Level was scheduled to meet from April 6 to 11, but this was not the main attraction that took us to New Delhi. Even from as far away as Colombo—starved as it is of the enormous plentitude of newspapers, periodicals, booklets, pamphlets and books published in India owing to narrow unimaginative and unrealistic exchange regulations by an odurate administration which refuses to recognise the importance of political and other literature from our neighbour—it was obvious the Lok Sabha election, which had brought to an end the thirty years of unbroken Congress rule since Independence, had a touch of "epic grandeur" that had to be studied at first hand to know even a little of the true realities of one of the most momentous changes in this region (nay, in the world) in contemporary times. What we saw, what we heard, what we were told, what we read and, above all, what we sensed, cannot be conveyed in a few words. We will no doubt write about these changes in the *Tribune* for a long time to come. The cataclysm that has overtaken India will (and must) have a profound impact on the political thinking and logic not only in the subcontinent but also elsewhere—and this will, no doubt, be overwhelmingly reflected in what we write and publish in the *Tribune* about Indian and Sri Lanka politics. Values, assumptions and formulations, held valid and sacred in the political life of the subcontinent of India during the last fifty years, have been swept away. During the last decade or two, there have been indications that fundamental changes in the existing order were in the offing—with naxalites, telegenists, insurgents and others making the existing order creak at every seam and joint—but nobody had thought that the Congress and Indira Gandhi would be toppled in the manner they have been. The *Mainstream*, of 26/3/77, summed up one aspect of the Congress debacle in the following terms: "*Indira Gandhi herself chose to go to the poll, having had the advantage of timing it according to her convenience. And yet as in a crashing avalanche, her whole power structure was swept off, with herself left without a seat in the new Lok Sabha. The classic heartland of the Congress returned not a single Congress candidate: in fact, the entire Indo-Gangetic plain whose preponderance on the Congress benches had almost become a permanent feature of the Lok Sabha, spared only five seats for it. What is remarkable about this election is that nobody, not even those who claim to know the mass mind could anticipate its outcome when the election campaign reached the climax. Many observers of the Emergency scene—like the present journal—were fairly clear that the Congress would this time be bereft of the majority, but not even the wildest calculation could imagine that its strength would be nowhere near one-third of the House. The Indian voter has shown that he is wide awake of his own power to make and unmake governments: this he has cast his vote in a manner—peaceful but determined—that there could be no escape from punishment for those who were guilty of arrogance of power. Not only mature but sophisticated as well, since he did not let anybody get an inkling of his verdict before it was actually delivered when the ballot box was opened. This is true not only in the case of the Congress faced with the charge of grave misdeed in the North, but in the case of DMK misrule in the South as well.....*" While it is not difficult to set out the mechanics of the elections and the changes that have flowed from it, an analysis and an interpretative review of immense catalysis, metamorphosis, and transformation generated and induced by the historic 1977 Lok Sabha election in India will involve much painstaking thought and writing. *Tribune* will undertake this challenging task of examining the the new revolution India has embarked upon.

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## EDITOR'S NOTEBOOK

## The Political Scene

April 26,

When one views the political scene in Sri Lanka, after three week's absence, one central fact stands out prominently: that on the surface there is total confusion and flux among all political parties except the UNP. And that wild cat strikes and lightning stoppages coupled with unpublicised go-slows (in both the public and private sectors) seem to be the order of the day. In spite of official boasts to the contrary, shortages and scarcities have proliferated. There is increased talk about corruption and sabotage. The Government seems to think that a witch hunt to detect a few evaders of currency regulations would help to boost the dwindling credibility attached to official proclamations.

No silver linings have yet appeared on the horizon. People have been promised more rice on their ration books. Increased paddy crops and even greater imports of rice and wheat flour have pushed down the price of grains. But fish, meat, vegetables, eggs and everything else cost more. This is one reason why wage-earners are clamouring for higher wages, bigger bonuses, more loans and greater security of employment. The one import that seems to come without any slowing down are expensive cars either as "gifts" or on CRA money. The new cars are still sold to local buyers at fantastically fabulous prices indicating that there is plenty of white and black money floating around. The twenty percent revaluation has certainly not brought prices down, but press reports pretend to show that World Bank experts appear to be satisfied with the growth rate of the Sri Lanka economy. Whether this is a fact or whether the IMF experts have gone cock-eyed is hard to say. It is true that a handful of exporters continue to make their millions but the lot of the common man is worse today than it was sometime ago. The growing upsurge among all wage-earners for higher incomes—and which they are prepared to back up with strikes, stoppages and go-slows—is an indicator which the Government cannot ignore.

Of all the political parties, the UNF alone seems prepared to face the elections. It has selected candidates for over 160 seats. It is true that in some cases the selections have not inspired confidence either on a local or on a national basis. But it is not easy to find suitable candidates of winning calibre for all the seats in a multi-racial, multi-religious and multi-linguistic country. The UNP has also, at last, initiated talks with the TULF after the UNP leader, J. R. Jayewardene, had melodramatically announced publicly that he was willing to donate his blood to help Mr. Chelvanayakam recover his health. There are indications that the UNP is now in a mood to get down to talk about the Tamil problem in concrete terms, but it is still doubtful if the UNP will be willing to concede self-determination in principle to the Tamils.

But, the ex-insurgent JVP (with its tremendously charismatic appeal for the youth and even the middle aged) has come out with a bold programme that will help to pave the way for the Party to

become a national party of significance, if not in 1977 but certainly by the 1980s. The Sunday Times of April 17 set out some of the more salient features of the 91-point manifesto.

The manifesto traverses an enormous range and many a commonplace or inconsequential idea is included in this sweeping statement. Nonetheless it is an extremely provocative document as a whole. Perhaps the most provocative of all is the section on language. "All affairs of the State will be conducted in ANY of the THREE national languages (Sinhala, Tamil, English) with simultaneous translation. Business with the State can be transacted in any national language. Education can be pursued either in the respective mother tongue or in any other national language. No discrimination whatsoever on the basis of language. Full facilities for the study of the THREE national languages."

Other noteworthy items included:

\* All civil and human rights guaranteed to the fullest on the basis of the UN Charter (i.e. conscience, worship, speech, assembly, work,

## COVER

HERBERT KEUNEMAN is no more.

Very few know that he has left his footprints in the soil of Lanka in a manner very few have done. Those who knew him, and knew his life and work, know that he had succeeded in inspiring, motivating and educating a very large number of persons in all walks to reach out to greater heights of achievement than they had thought possible. In this way, during his lifetime, he has influenced writers, teachers, filmmakers, architects, furniture-makers, journalists, environmentalists, cooks, farmers, boatmakers, fishermen, doctors, designers, historians, sociologists, booklovers, collectors, archaeologists—in fact, it is difficult to make a complete list of the people whose thinking and work Herbert Keuneman has influenced. Yet he never pushed himself to the forefront. He was not even prepared to be seen in the background. He was self-effacing to the point of non-existence.

His footprints will become clearer when his *magnum opus*, a book detailing life in a Wannu village, in the way only Herbert Keuneman could, is published posthumously. The MS has been in the hands of the publisher for many years, and when it is published it will be one of the most outstanding books about this country in this century. Though Herbert Keuneman did not have satisfaction, before his death, of seeing the book in print or even have the comfort that it will be published at all, his friends must prevail upon the publisher that this classic insight into our village life, written with the encyclopaedic wisdom of Herbert Keuneman, is brought before the public without too much further delay.

Herbert Keuneman has written a great deal which has been published in the publications of *Times* and *Lake House*; and also in the *Tribune*. In his last years he wrote only for the *Tribune*. But the greatest and most profound of anything he has written is yet to be published.

## Herbert Keuneman

organisation, travel, (residence, employment)

\* Right to employment is a fundamental right.

\* All employees guaranteed a 40 hour week.

\* Equal pay for equal work.

\* Cost of living kept constant, and any rise will be matched by corresponding wage increase.

\* Free education guaranteed; compulsory completion of secondary education. Knowledge of science given to all students; autonomy of higher institutions; night schools for workers, inclusive of higher education.

\* Assets of all members of legislature, executive and other branches of the State will be openly declared and subject to inspection.

\* Abolition of the death penalty.

\* Total repeal of Public Security Act, CJC Act, Essential Services Order.

\* No detention without trial.

\* No political victimization, and all jobs will be allocated according to ability, talent and dedication and not on basis of political or family connections.

\* Condon punishment for bribery and corruption.

\* No autocratic centralisation of the country; national unity on the basis of true equality; and self-rule for national minorities.

\* Full political rights for all citizens, regardless of type of employment.

\* Dowry system to be abolished.

\* Free health services.

\* State take-over of gemming and tourist industries.

\* No termination of employment without justifiable reason.

\* Abolition of viharagam and devalagam.

Undoubtedly, the most significant point to be noted is that JVP wants three "national" languages, Sinhala, Tamil and English. No sooner the Emergency had been lifted and the JVP had been legalised, its leaders had pleaded that Sinhalese should learn Tamil and vice-versa. And now, that it has adopted a very rational and sensible policy that the country should have three national languages including English—this something that *Tribune* has wanted ever since its inception in 1954.

*Tribune* has also, in more recent times, pointed out that the biggest grievance among all youth, urban as well as rural, is that they have been denied any knowledge of a "world language" for them to have an opening into the rest of the world. The policy started by the UNP brown sabbis that Sinhala and Tamil should be the two segregated streams in our schools had been religiously followed by the SLFP (and the LSSP and the CP) with the result that this country has spawned two or more generations of "ignorant" youth. Neither the SLFP nor even the Left Parties ever had the courage to proclaim a three-language policy which is the only rational policy for a country like Ceylon. (Only the leaders and the rich elite send their children abroad for their education in one or other of the world languages whilst insisting that the masses in Ceylon should be satisfied with their mother tongue—and which has now led to the demand for the separation of the country). It is yet too early to predict the impact the JVP will make on the electorate, but there is no doubt that it will be a force to contend with in the coming poll.

Among the old established Left Parties, the emergence of the United Left Front is seen as a step forward, but with the LSSP announcing that it has 160 odd candidates on its list, it is clear that the Left Parties (at least the LSSP) have still not learnt the lessons of forty years of politicking. The Jaffna branch of the CP has very realistically decided to back the "progressives" (a conscience-saving alibi) in the TULF. With seven May Day rallies—were a few years ago three were considered one too many—the confusion on the "left" seems to become worse every day.

### REMEMBRANCE

## HERBERT KEUNEMAN

It had to happen this way.

Herbert Keuneman died when I was out of the island. I read of his death only on Thursday, April 21, while on the Indian ferry boat *TSS Ramanujam* crossing over from Rameswaram to Talaimannar. The captain of the vessel had lent me a copy of the *Daily News* of April 18 and in that I read Malcolm Abeyratne's valedictory note. This was

the first copy of any Ceylon paper I had seen ever since I left the island on April 2.

When I left I knew that Herbert Keuneman was not in the best of health. He had taken ill towards the middle of February, but I had not been able to go to Ehetuwewa to see him before I left for India. I had hoped that he would get better and that he would be up and about by the time I returned. I did not think he would be dead before I got back. But, it was not to be. I had taken him by car to Ehetuwewa just before Thai Pongal—he had been unduly held up in Colombo after his Christmas outing owing to the Railway strike. This was the last trip with him and it was also our last parting.

In a way I am happy I did not see him during his illness. I have always known him an active—an intensively active—person, and I cannot think of him confined to his bed and his room. He was physically one of the strongest persons I have known, capable of great physical endurance.

Malcolm Abeyratne and H. A. I. Goonetilleke have written enduring pieces about him in the *Daily News*. These have been published in the *Tribune* for the record. Much more has to be and must be written about him, for undoubtedly he was one of the most remarkable men Ceylon has ever produced.

I met Herbert Keuneman first in the year in 1940. It was at a meeting in Borella of the Friends of Soviet Union presided over by J. R. Jayewardene—it was in the days of Victor Gollancz's Left Book Club and War against Fascism. Herbert Keuneman was then a priest of the Anglican Church. During the next five years—war years—I was a wanderer, a professional loafer of a kind, a rolling stone, a free lance journalist, but every time I was in Ceylon I had spent long hours with him talking about everything under the sun. Then, before I started practising the law to earn a living, I had a short spell in the *Times* of Ceylon as Lobby Correspondent and Feature Writer, when Frank Moraes was Editor-in-Chief (and Julius de Lanerolle and J. A. Danapala had started the *Lankadipa*). It was then I had persuaded Herbert Keuneman to venture into journalism—first by reviewing books and later writing articles on matters about which

he was knowledgeable. He always recalled that I had drawn him into journalism and writing for the local papers.

Concern and the growth of secular logic had impelled him to leave the Christian ministry and when he retired (prematurely) from the teaching profession he took to journalism in a big way. For some years he was a star columnist and feature writer for the Lake House group of papers. These are flashbacks that come back to me. Some day someone has to write the story of the life of this amazing man.

After he left Lake House, he led a life of active retirement. He built a dream house in Rajagiriya. Then he moved to Ehetuwewa to live in an old circuit bungalow which he made habitable. Then, he held court in the island of Hammenheil in Jaffna which he "re-did" to make it a showpiece. His wife's failing health had made him move to Galaha, and after her death in 1972, he went back to live in Ehetuwewa. He was never the same man after Doreen's untimely death at a comparatively early age. Herbert Keuneman was not old when he died—sixty seven or sixty eight—but after Doreen he had lost the zest for life and living.

For sometime past he has been talking of Death. The last two books he borrowed from me—in 1976—were on Death. They were collections of metaphysical speculations about death, from Oriental and Occidental sources. The one simple fact that had impressed him was that death had no terrors for the believers (theists) or unbelievers (rationalists). But, more than all this, the general consensus in the writings was that life should not be ("artificially") lengthened when a person had reached the point of physical or mental debilitation where further existence would be vegetative.

Many of his friends and relatives were distressed that he had refused to come to Colombo for medical treatment. He had told them that he did not want to die in Colombo.

In the thirty seven years I have known him, we have often been separated by time and place and our commitments to our vocations, but right through we were held together by a bond of understanding which is difficult to ex-

plain or write about. Often we met after years but we could pick up our ties of intimacy as if we had met every day in the intervening period. It was he who induced me to write my first short story. This was published abroad. I wrote many more short stories. He had prodded me into writing a novel, but this has yet to see the light of day. In the last three years he has been nagging me to start on a *magnum opus* about men and matters in Ceylon from the 1930s. In fact when we parted for the last time on January 13, 1977, he had pleaded that I should make a start without further delay and that the next time we met I should have a few chapters ready for him to peruse. He will haunt me until I get started on this project.

It is hard to believe that Herbert Keuneman is no more.

S.P.A.

26.4.77

#### VALEDICTION

### Herbert Keuneman

Herbert Keuneman is no more. He passed away after a brief illness. He was buried simply and quietly as he had wished in the beautiful home he made in a village in the heart of the NWP. He went to meet his Maker clad in the simple habit of his beloved villagers.

On the violently agitated surface of life no ripple marked his death. And yet he was one of the truly remarkable men of our generation.

Nature poured her gifts on him. A fine brilliant mind combined the precision and discipline of the scientist with the sensitiveness and refinement of the scholar. He brought these qualities and great energy to an unusually wide range of activities and interests in all of which with the passion of the perfectionist he excelled.

It is impossible to list his accomplishments: He knew and did most things superbly well and moved easily with specialists in many walks of life. He was in fact over equipped for life. He was a wonderful conversationalist: he snared his listeners by a fascinating stream of information drawn effortlessly out of his wellstocked mind and by the flashes of wit which enlivened it. I recall the conversation once

turned to the case of a person whose pension was delayed who had subsisted with difficulty on an alimentary allowance, and then on to the question, what is an alimentary allowance? He explained this and went on to laugh. "Alimentary, my dear Watson!" A holiday spent with him in an outlandish spot typically chosen by him to show the wealth of hidden charms in Sri Lanka, was a rare experience and a revelation. He stocked up with mile-to-the-inch maps. Macmillan's book on Tropical Agriculture which is the best book on flora in Sri Lanka, books on birds, history, geography, archaeology etc. etc. and on the principle that the more the things around you in your environment were recognised by you and became familiar and intimate to you, the more the fabric of your environment was enriched and the more the quality of your life was deepened, went on to open your eyes, in bewitched wonder to the

#### S. J. V. Chelvanayakam

The death of S. J. V. Chelvanayakam has removed from the scene the most important leader of the Tamil community. The loss of G. G. Ponnambalam and M. Tiruchelvam, earlier this year, did not affect the internal dynamics of TULF politics as the death of Chelvanayakam will. If not immediately, at least very soon in the near future, a power struggle within the FP and the TULF leadership is inevitable. It was Chelvanayakam who maintained an uneasy truce and peace between restive and impatient youth and the relics of the established old guard. Chelvanayakam was the only leader in the TULF who enjoyed the universal confidence of all sections, trends, factions and groupings in the FP and the TULF. Without this sheet anchor, it is an open question as to how the problems of leadership will be resolved. The euphoria created among the Tamils by the death of Chelvanayakam is bound to sustain some of the unity which the TULF had achieved in the years after 1972. But it is difficult to predict or envisage what even the immediate future holds for the TULF.

lavish beauty and value strewn all around you.

Persons of great brilliance commonly use their superiority chiefly to secure material rewards of life; talent is commonly combined with ruthlessness in order to carve out spectacular careers or to amass great wealth.

No such temptation beguiled him. He employed his gifts to serve, to enrich life. No person was too small or unimportant to deserve less than the best he had to give. No preparation was too arduous when the object was to bring a new refinement, or a fresh insight to another life. He continues to live in the life of numberless persons whose quality of living he has enriched, who remember him with admiration and love.

During his last years, after the death of his wife, he settled down in the village of Ehetuwewa.

His compassion for the life around him and his perception and appreciation of good persons and good things, enabled him to lose the identity of a stranger and to immerse himself fully in the life of the village. The love, the sense of oneness and the desire of the villagers to reciprocate by some simple act of aid during the obsequies was manifest and moving. It marked another dimension of his humanity. He would have appreciated the crypt they built for him.

His departure is a great loss. He will not easily be replaced. His life was socialism.

17-4-77. **Malcolm Abeyratne**

TRIBUTE

Herbert Keuneman

Malcolm Abeyratne's moving and eloquent eulogium to Herbert Keuneman in the C.D.N. on April 18th observes the true measure of a versatile and enormously gifted Ceylonese whose death on April 15th deprives many worlds of the intellect of the nimble celerity of his mind and the sure elegance of his pen. May "an ex-pupil and always friend" (as he was wont to say), of which melancholy tribe there are scores scattered over the face of this beautiful island he loved and wrote about with a captivating abandon and a formidable panache, be permitted the courtesy of your columns to lay a few sad flowers on his too early grave. As he himself admitted all his life, words are sheer pleasure and a certain cure for anguish, and the power of the word never deserted him through all the virtuous flights of his many-faceted personality, as this self-described "unrepentant dilettante" followed professions from schoolmaster and clergyman to journalist and interior decorator; and avocations from music and stage design to target-shooting and cookery. To each calling, however various, he brought the unvarying gifts of a generative grace, a restless searching, and an agile intelligence, which together combined to create a literary style (whether spoken or written) urbanely supple, unflaggingly restorative, and delightfully instructive at all times.

His charm and instructed a generation on themes both arcane and homespun, and a lightly-worn erudition and pedagogic flair were entrancingly fused to impart the essence of a subject. Sinhalese gastronomy, Dutch forts, Kandyan drums, the attractions of old rest-houses, the lingering power of ancient fanes, the peculiar mores of Vanni society, the maddening intricacies of its weather, and the charms of its little tanks have yet to witness a more skilful expositor. All his writings are impregnated with the spirit of place, the special benedictions of which he was able to capture with an easy affection and courteous generosity. In his last years, when the beloved village, where compassion is still a crown, innocence a prize, and courage a never-failing grace, embraced him and won him for its own, he wrote with undaunted felicity, despite failing health, of the final act of creation in his many-splendoured life—the building of his village house—which readers of *Tribune* in the last four years will now sadly be deprived of. I can think of no more lasting and appropriate tribute to his memory than the early publication of the two lovingly designed and illustrated manuscripts he left behind—an intelligent tourist's guide to the pleasures of his country; and "the immortal part", the engaging description of his first encounter twenty years ago with the village in which he now lies buried, as he wished, without pomp and ceremony.

H. A. I. Goonetilleke

19.4.77

SRI LANKA CHRONICLE

Mar. 29 — Apr. 3

A 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; DM—Dinamina;  
LD—Lankadipa; VK—Virakesari; ATH—Achtha;  
SM—Silumina; SLD—Sri Lankadipa; JD—Janadina;  
DP—Dinapathi; SU—Sun; DW—Dawasa; CM—Chinthamani;  
WK—Weekend; RR—Rivirasa;

**TUESDAY, MARCH 29:** The government has offered shareholders of rupee companies compensation for lands taken over under the land reform laws on the basis of Rs. 1094 per acre inclusive of FEECs; but shareholders of rupee companies are not accepting the offer; this is the same rate that the government offered to sterling companies and which the latter had accep-

ted. The new channelled consultation scheme for government doctors is to be delayed due to it having to be approved by the Co-operative Ministry. LSSP youth organisations throughout the country, are now demanding that the LSSP leadership immediately withdraw the order suspending Mr. Vasudeva Nanayakkara from the party, it is reliably understood. The Colombo Municipal Council wants the Ministry of Home Affairs to order arrack and toddy taverns and foreign liquor bars to close at 6 p.m. The Indian President has said the Constitution would be put back to the pre-emergency form—CDN. A consumer's representative is to be posted at every co-operative retail store to ensure the correct weight of all issues and to see that there is no delay in attending to consumers; this is one of the features of the new scheme drawn up by the Minister of Finance, Food and Co-operatives to streamline the distribution system at the co-operatives. The real Sanjay Gandhi of Sri Lanka is Mr. Felix Dias Bandaranaike who had put the SLFP and even the PM into trouble, said Mr. Pieter Keuneman, General Secretary of the CP of Sri Lanka, when he addressed a mass rally of the Ceylon Federation of

Trade Unions held at Hyde Park yesterday. Government Surveyors and Draughtsmen have decided to launch a work-to-rule campaign; major trade unions in the department have decided on this course of action urging the implementation of the proposal made by the Rajendra Committee for the creation of a Sri Lanka Survey Service—CDM. The CWE begins distributing over four million tins of canned fish imported for issue in time for the Sinhala and Tamil New Year to the various co-operatives today; consumers will be given two tins of canned fish per ration card from their respective co-ops. Following talks with the Minister of Finance, the Ceylon Bank Employees Union has decided to call off its proposed strike action. The United Socialist Front proposed by the LSSP is expected to materialise by May Day. The Handloom Weaver's Association has decided to appeal to three Ministries concerned for assistance to obtain their full quotas of yarn; the association which claims to have a membership of 300 loom owners who employ over 3,000 workers, said that several of them would have to close down if they were unable to obtain the necessary yarn—CO.

**WEDNESDAY MARCH 30:** A new salary scheme for bank employees will be drawn up by the first week of May by a committee comprising representatives of the Treasury and the Bank Employees Union; this is a sequel to the agreement reached by the Finance Minister and a deputation from the Ceylon Bank Employee's Union. Train services from Fort were affected for several hours yesterday by a sudden strike launched by the Maligawatte running shed workers, demanding an assurance of early payment of their April salaries; the strike was called off later in the evening following an assurance given by the GMR that the matter would be discussed today with the Minister of Transport and Parliamentary Affairs and Sport. More reduction in the prices of goods were announced yesterday; they were for goods manufactured locally by corporations and industries in the public sector. Tea prices have received a further boost at the auctions yesterday going up by as much as Rs. 5 to Rs. 7 a kilo on the average said sources in the tea trade yesterday. The remuneration of about 400 bookshop employees in 43 establishments in the city of Colombo have been regulated by law as a result of a decision taken by the Minister of Labour to establish a remuneration tribunal under the shop and office employees act in respect of these employees—CDN. The 1,200 strong Council of para Medical Personnel submitted sick notes and stayed away from work, in protest against protracted delays in the implementation of the recommendations of the Salary Anomalies Committee; as a result no clinical tests were held and patients were unable to get their prescriptions dispensed at all government hospitals. The Chairman of the Weaving Supplies Corporation has offered a reward of Rs. 10,000 to any person giving information about the circumstances leading to the recent fire at the Corporation's stores. Many unemployed Tamil youths complain that they are deprived of taking up jobs in Middle East countries as the Immigration authorities insist on their producing their father's and sometime their grandfather's birth certificates for the issue of passport. The price of rice has started to tumble in the open market; a measure is now sold between Rs. 2.25 and Rs. 2.75 according to informed sources, the main reason for this is due to the announcement of the increased rice ration and the bumper paddy harvest expected during this Maha. Over 500 Pirivena

teachers including a large number of Buddhist monks stormed the office of the Minister of Education demanding permanency in their appointments—CDM. A team of C.I.D. detective is investigating foreign exchange frauds up to the value of 4 million rupees, in which companies from U.S.A., Japan and Britain are involved—DM.

**THURSDAY, MARCH 31:** The Independent Group of newspapers (Sun-Dawasa) begins publication from today. From today every visitor to Sri Lanka will have to show proof to the authorities that he is in possession of a minimum of 3 dollars for every day of his stay here; the government has taken this decision on the recommendation of the Narcotics Advisory Board which met yesterday under the chairmanship of the Deputy Minister of Defence and Foreign Affairs. The Minister of Education yesterday appointed a committee to revise the salary scales of all employees of the University and make its recommendations early; the salary scales of university employees has remained unrevised for over 20 years and several University teacher's trade unions have been agitating from time to time. Mr. Vasudeva Nanayakkara has been expelled from the LSSP, along with Messrs Edwin Kotelawela, Oswin Fernando and Reginald Mendis; according to the Secretary of the party; it is because they had committed a breach of discipline by forming another union in defiance of the request of the Acting Secretary of the Party. Sri Lanka has pledged a contribution of dollars 2,000 towards the cost of the forthcoming International Conference in support of the people's of Zimbabwe and Namibia. There will be no limit in future on the number of guests who can be served meals at receptions; the government has decided to remove this limitation in view of the improvement in the food situation. American films have begun to re-appear in the local cinema circuits once again; earlier there was speculation that local fans may not get a chance to see these films; according to a film corporation spokesman, US films abruptly stopped coming into Sri Lanka some time ago when some of the big suppliers refused to deal directly with the Corporation, but now this snag has been overcome—CDN. The question of finding a name for the new Left Front is proving to be a bone of contention; some of the left wings are opposed to the use of the words 'United Front' which they feel has been brought to disrepute and ridicule. The leader of the UNP has been questioned by the CID in respect of a pre-paid ticket allegedly arranged for him by a Japanese firm. The PM will inaugurate production at the Bingiriya tile factory of the Ceylon Ceramics Corporation on Saturday—CDM. The NSA is to be dissolved before its next sitting on May 19; the FM will personally brief the MP's of the SLFP about the reasons leading to it when they meet at an emergency meeting today. Mr. Felix Dias Bandaranaike, is to file plaint this week claiming damage amounting to Rs. 21/2 lakhs from Mr. J. R. Jayewardene; the claim, it is learnt, is in respect of an alleged statement made by Mr. Jayewardene shortly after his return to Sri Lanka from a private visit to Australia—SU. Many religious observances are being held in the Northern and Eastern parts of the island to celebrate the 80th birthday of the leader of the TULE, and to appeal for improvement in his health—VK.

**FRIDAY, APRIL 1:** The government has approved the setting up of an export credit guarantee scheme, which has been conceived mainly to help small export-



ters who lack the facilities to buy raw materials though they have firm orders; the treasury, according to a government spokesman, has been authorised to meet liabilities upto Rs. 25 million as the maximum liabilities under the scheme; the Central Bank will provide the 'cover' under the scheme. The PM yesterday presided at a meeting of the Government Parliamentary Group which unanimously passed a resolution condemning the LSSP and the CP for aligning themselves with the UNP in their campaign against the government both inside and outside Parliament. A substantial improvement in the Balance of Payments position was recorded by Sri Lanka last year according to the latest statistics computed by the Central Bank. Mr. Nihal Weeratunge, who was remanded last Friday, for one month, in connection with investigations being made by the CID into alleged foreign exchange violations was yesterday released on bail—CDN. The SLFP parliamentary group yesterday resolved to forge ahead with its programme to achieve a 'complete Socialist society' by defeating all reactionary forces at the forthcoming general elections. Medical officers staged a lightening walk-out in the Colombo Group of Hospitals yesterday; this is the third time this year that the GMOA and the AMS walked out without any prior warning. Dental services throughout the island came to a complete standstill yesterday; more than 215 dental surgeons of the Dental Institute Colombo and Dental Peripheral Units struck work from midnight on Wednesday demanding an immediate solution to their problems. A large number of workers of the Leather Products Corporation, are on strike from Wednesday; among the demands submitted to the government is an immediate wage rise; those on strike are members of the SLFP, CP, LSSP, and UNP unions—CDM. The TULF is prepared to enter into a dialogue even with the UNP, said one of its MPs—SU. The NSA will be dissolved at the proper time and elections will take place; though we sympathise with Mrs. Indira Gandhi at her losing, no one can say that the same will happen in Sri Lanka, so said the PM, when she was addressing the Government Parliamentary Group yesterday—VK.

**SATURDAY, APRIL 2:** According to the Minister of Finance, it is a complete canard to say that the rupee revaluation is illegal; the revaluation of the rupee on March 12 was done in terms of the monetary law of the country and was completely legal, he added. Representatives of the GMOA and the AMS yesterday pledged to observe total industrial peace in every sector of the medical services in the future at the conclusion of their discussion with the Minister of Finance and the Minister of Health. The Land Reform Commission has made individual allotments of land to 60,194 families since May last year. The Ayurvedic College of Medicine becomes an affiliate institute of the University of Sri Lanka today. Earnings from gem exports reached a record of Rs. 261.4 last year; this is the highest amount earned from the export of gems since the gem trade was officially organised in 1972—CDN. The Posts and Telecommunications Department now indicates the telephone call meter readings when sending out its telephone bills to subscribers; this step was taken on the orders of the Minister of Posts and Telecommunications after complaints from subscribers about inflated telephone bills. The strike by government dental surgeons enters the third day today without any hope of settlement. With speculation over a further price drop in off-ration sugar from Rs. 5 to Rs. 3 a pound most

traders are reluctant to replenish their stocks, and consequently sugar in the open market has not been available for nearly a fortnight. The consumption of off ration sugar is expected to rise by about 3,000 tons a month with the price reduction. UNICEF, the UN Children's Fund, has finalized a 2 million US dollar Programme of Assistance to the government of Sri Lanka. A series of bi-lateral talks with representatives of key ministries will form the next stage of the dialogue between the TULF and the SLFP. The groundwork for this is now being prepared by the Ministries concerned. Sri Lanka tea prices have begun to tumble at the London Auctions—despite the heavy demand for it. A draft bill to provide for the establishment of a Banking Corporation Of Sri Lanka has been approved by the government. The AMS and the GMOA which staged a lightening strike on Thursday, reached agreement with the government yesterday on a number of outstanding issues. At the meeting of the Government Parliamentary Group, the PM has stated that the NSA will definitely be dissolved by May—VK. 503 new rural banks have been established throughout the island last year and the capital in those banks has reached 13 million rupees—DM.

**SUNDAY, April 3:** Compensation of nearly Rs. 85 million for over a fourth of the land taken over by the State under Land Reform Law No 1 of 1972 had been sanctioned by the Compensation Board for negotiated settlements by the end of March—SO. As all round ten per cent price reduction on all government-imported goods, including 1500 odd articles imported by the State Trading Corporation, was the gift of the discussions initiated by the Finance Minister with the Secretaries and the top officials of the Ministries of Trade and Industries. The PM and the Ministers of the Government sent a letter of demand to the General Secretary of the UNP through their lawyers yesterday: the letter refers to a press publication, which it is alleged is defamatory of the PM and the Ministers: the letter demands an unconditional apology and a public retraction within one week, failing which the complainants would take legal steps for recovery of damages. Mr. Felix Dias Bandaranaike who is the Chairman of the Co-ordinating Bureau of Non-aligned Nations leaves for New Delhi tomorrow to attend a ministerial level conference of the Bureau—ST. The government is to set up a state clearing house to find employment opportunities abroad for Sri Lankans. The price control department is to employ hundreds of new hands in a bid to launch an even stricter scheme to maintain the reduced price of goods—VK. The disabled have set up a United Front: whichever government comes to power in the next general elections it should allot Rs. 3 lakhs and fifty thousand to meet the needs of the disabled, they claim—SLDP.



COCONUT CRISIS—4

# Land Utilisation

## — The Future —

By R. Kahawita

IT WILL BE USEFUL at this stage to compare the productivity of the estate sector on the one hand and the small-holding sector on the other. The crops and yields for these sectors are as follows:-

Produce	Total Crop	YIELD	
		Estate Sector	Small-holding Sector
tea	467.8 million pounds	900 pounds per acre	560 pounds/acre
rubber	156,644 tons	1,000 — do —	283 — do —
coconut	2,444.5 million nuts	3,000 nuts per acre	1500 nuts/acre

In the case of rubber, assuming an average price of /65 cts. per pound and a C.O.P. of Rs. 800/- per acre, a yield of 1,230 pounds per acre is required to break-even. Since small-holders' yields are much below this level, the proper management and maintenance of such holdings is obviously impossible.

In the case of coconut, if it is assumed that the price of nuts is Rs. 180/- per 1,000 and that the cost of production is Rs. 350/- per acre, the break-even point is a yield of 1,950 nuts per acre. It is therefore, clearly evident that small-holders are below the subsistence level.

In tea which is more subject to price fluctuations than most other agricultural products the break-even point varies enormously, depending on the strength of the market.

In 1971 high grown should break-even at a high yield of 1,000 lb. an acre on a selling average of Rs. 1/65. The same would apply to mediums. Low grown have had a very exceptional year for price and could break-even on a yield of 900 lb.

**CAPITAL COST.** The following figures of capital cost per acre (of planting, upkeep to bearing, provision of necessary plant, machinery, construction of accommodation for labour etc.) shown below indicate how capital-intensive the estate sector of the three main crops is:-

Tea	Rs. 4-6,000/- per acre
Rubber	Rs. 3,000/- " "
Coconut	Rs. 3,000/- " "

**EXISTING COCONUT SMALL-HOLDERS.** In the case of the coconut estate sector, total working costs amount to approximately

50% of income; and the cost of fertilizer and its application in turn amounts to approximately 80% of working cost, i.e. fertilizer and its application is the largest single element of cost on a coconut estate. It is seemingly apparent from the following figures of coconut fertilizer utilization (subsidised by the Government and supplied at half cost), that coconut small-holders manure their small-holding more intensively than the estate sector:-

	Estate Sector	Small-holding Sector
Acreeage fertilised	231,000	138,500
Fertilizer used (tons)	34,500	26,500
Fertilizer per tree (lb.) assuming 60 palms per acre	5.55	7.15
Percentage of sector acreage fertilized	57.8	17.4

However, in view of the much lesser yields in the small-holdings sector it is incredible that the total fertilizer actually issued to small-holders is in fact applied to the palms. It must be noted that in the case of coconut permanent damage occurs if the palms are not manured every year."

**SUBSIDIES.** Coconut cultivation, because it is largely confined to small-holders, and is entirely confined to Ceylonese has never received the favourable treatment accorded to the other main crops of tea and rubber. In this connection, it will be noted that both tea and rubber have been favoured with the grant of tax-free replanting subsidies by Government up to Rs. 3,750/- per acre for tea and

Rs. 1,500/- per acre for rubber, whereas no such replanting subsidy is available for coconut although continued and frequent mention has and is made of the fact that the existing stands of coconut are senile and yields are continually falling, and that no significant new planting of coconut has taken place for many decades. The only subsidy that coconut does enjoy is the 50% subsidy in respect of the cost of fertilizer. Tea estates are in addition provided with substantial loan capital facilities for development of tea factories at extremely favourable rates both to interest and terms of loan capital re-payment.

Tea small-holders also enjoy the Tea Fertilizer Subsidy Scheme under which fertilizer is supplied at half cost up to a maximum subsidy of Rs. 100/- per acre.

The total expenditure on the various tea subsidy schemes in 1969 exceeded Rs. 27 million, and was Rs. 6.4 million in excess of the funds received during the year for those purposes."

Expenditure from Rubber Subsidy Fund in 1969 amounted to Rs. 18,544,465/- of which subsidy payments came to Rs. 16,353,305/-.

**REPLANTING.** The figures for re-planting of rubber to the end of 1968 are as follows:-

Sector	Total Acreage	Re-planted Acreage	Percentage replanted to total acreage
Estate sector-	265,000	110,000	42.0%
Small-holding sector-	304,000	153,000	50.4%

In the case of the 33,550 acres i.e. 5.64% of the tea acreage had been replanted by the end of 1969."

**DANGERS OF FRAGMENTATION.** Fragmentation of the existing economically productive estate holdings would be disastrous, since it is evident from the figures of yield shown above that small-holdings are less efficiently, intensively, scientifically and progressively maintained and managed than the estate sector, and fragmentation would, therefore, inevitably lead to a reduction in yields and crops.

The fall in crop will in turn have the following consequences:-

1. A reduction in the demand for labour at present gainfully

## Costs, Upkeep, Replanting

employed, i.e. the paradox of creating unemployment in order to create employment;

2. A reduction in exports resulting in a sudden collapse in Government revenue both from export duties from agricultural products (which at Rs. 300 million forms about 10.4% of total Government revenue), and a reduction in foreign exchange earnings which will further limit imports;

3. A reduction in the Gross National Product, resulting in a loss to Government revenue from internal taxation; and a consequent drastic retardation of national development making the 5 year plan (with all that the plan envisages for improvement in the standard of living of the people) a myth not worth the paper it is printed on.

Fragmentation of presently economically marginal land may be beneficial if crop diversification is undertaken. There is, however, the grave danger that upon the fragmentation of presently economically productive land, the small-holder will not be able to efficiently, intensively, scientifically and progressively maintain and manage his small-holding planted with either of the three main crops alone, and that he will, therefore, utilise at least a part of his small-holding for the cultivation of other crops, particularly subsidiary foodstuffs. This will, of course lead to a direct reduction in the acreage under tea and rubber since inter-cropping is not possible in these cases. In the case of coconut this will result in either a direct reduction in the 3/4 acreage under coconut; or to inter-cropping with the consequent danger that the coconut crop yields will fall due to the competition for moisture and nutrients between the coconut palms and the inter-planted crops.

The dangers of fragmentation have been appreciated and it is for this reason that no fragmentation or transfer of ownership of tea or rubber estates has for over ten years been permitted unless:—

1. transfer of ownership does not involve sub-division,
2. some of the sub-divided portions are to be used for housing schemes, development of townships or industrial purposes.

3. the sub-divided lots are to be merged into adjoining estates resulting in more efficient and economic management.

4. the agricultural condition is already so bad that sub-division will not effect it adversely,

5. each of the lots into which it is subdivided is over 500 acres in extent in the case of tea or 250 acres in the case of rubber.

**NEGLECTED, ABANDONED AND MARGINAL LAND.** There must obviously be a substantial acreage of neglected, abandoned and marginal land originally planted in the three main crops of tea, rubber and coconut. In the case of rubber alone there is at least an area of 105,000 acres which has been so badly neglected as virtually to become jungle. Almost two-thirds of this acreage, i.e. 70,000 acres is situated in the Kandy, Matale, Kegalle and Badulla districts (generally at elevations of 1,500 ft. and above) where land hunger is most acute, and is obviously available for fragmentation into small holdings and crop diversification. There would thus seem to be scope in the case of such plantations for the re-planting of these areas in one of the three main crops, or else for crop diversification of such lands.

It may be mentioned in this connection that re-planting with the new V.P. tea clones are capable of yielding as much as 2,000 to 4,000 pounds per acre and high yielding rubber clones can produce between 1,500 to 2,000 pounds per acre. In addition to these enhanced yields, the new clones also possess certain desirable characteristics of immunity to diseases, pests and fungal infections. In the case of coconut, recent crosses are capable of yielding as much as 5,000 to 6,000 nuts per acre.

Land may be neglected, abandoned or marginal for a variety of reasons. In the one category is land suitable for the existing crop where the deficiency may be due to lack of capital resources, lack of knowledge of agricultural practice and techniques or wilful neglect. The second category is where the land is unsuitable for the existing crop. It is, of course, not an easy matter to determine which particular cause or combination of causes operates in any individual case."

**CROP DIVERSIFICATION.** It will be noted that the exports of all agricultural produce other than tea, rubber and coconut have, at least until the introduction of the FEEC export incentive scheme, shown a dramatic drop in both the quantity and value exported. These products are mainly kapok, arecanut, tobacco, cocoa, essential oils such as citronella oil and cinnamon leaf and bark oil, papain, and spices such as cardamoms, cinnamon, nutmeg, cloves etc. Measures should surely be taken immediately to increase the production and export of these items."

**CONCLUSION.** It must be borne in mind that the fragmentation of existing lands in the estate sector cannot in any way increase the productivity of such lands under the three main crops, but on the contrary will definitely reduce the yields and crops. It must be stressed again that the only realistic policy is the re-planting and/or crop diversification of neglected, abandoned and marginal land, the efficient cultivation of existing small holdings and the opening up of presently uncultivated land.

The new crops that should be encouraged are cashewnut (which can be grown even on very unfertile soil), palm oil (with which Malaya is rapidly replanting a substantial proportion of her rubber land in view of the long-term decline in natural rubber prices), lemon grass and a number of medicinal plants and herbs.

## DRUG INDUSTRY—2

### Perspectives In Sri Lanka

By U.Karunatilke

This is the second part of a talk delivered at the Commonwealth Pharmaceutical Conference in Colombo in 1976.

About 90% of the drug stores scattered around the country do not employ Pharmacists. Prescriptions are quite often dispensed wrong. When we come to the medicinal boutiques that sell plant drugs, the situation is the same. The person who dispenses cannot always

correctly identify dry plant material and usually relies on labelling that may have been put on by some one else. The someone else may have been as ignorant as he is. I understand that a large quantity of medicinal plants are imported into the country. Who makes certain that we are not getting the dry weeds from the well cared for farmlands of India?

Here is a large field for employment—the training of indigenous pharmacists. We can insist that only trained pharmacists are employed for indigenous dispensing. The same rule will of course have to apply to all systems of dispensing.

After all a lot is being said about the quality control of drugs and good manufacturing practices. The WHO and CPA has passed a resolution on this. When it comes to dispensing however sometimes in our base hospitals it is something like this. An OPD patient may have pushed at him through a hole in the wall two sets of pills wrapped in pieces of paper. The directions for each set will be shouted at him by a person who will not even condescend to shout them a second time. He will invariably go home and dose himself wrong. So the most important man in the chain of research and formulation manufacture and quality control (the consumer) gets the wrong drug. The same thing can happen in a drug store with untrained staff. After all, it must have been a hundred years ago, that other countries insisted on licenced pharmacists for drug stores.

The prescriptions that doctors write here however are dispensed in mushroom pharmacies by boys who cannot sometimes read the text on a label, let alone a prescription. Problems of this nature were tackled and eliminated in most countries, over a hundred years ago.

**EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITIES** in the field of pharmacy are vast. Apart from pharmacy itself, both Western and indigenous there is commercial pharmacognosy, the identification and evaluation of raw drugs for purchase. With indigenous medicine reaching out to the masses at all levels, very large volume of employment is available here. This work, needs expertise. If it does not get this expertise, the hospitals will have an additional load. People suffering from

the after effects of toxic plant materials paraded as drugs.

As seen from the routines developed in the *Rouwolfia* and *Dioscorea* fields, many scientific disciplines are called for in the cultivation of medicinal species. From the discipline of the taxonomist who relates drug yields to variations in species of plants to the geneticist who isolates and breeds them. From the agronomist who weighs the pros and cons of a cultivation project to the field analyst who spots the peak yield of a drug in the cultivation cycle and signals the harvest, there are fantastic possibilities for the development of new technology, and new fields of employment.

AS AN EXAMPLE it is interesting to cite *Mini Mal*—*Rosa Vinca*—the humble weed that grows on the graves of humble people. This plant yields vincristine and vinblastine, two anti cancer alkaloids. All the research that has been done on the cultivation, propagation and breeding of *Minimal*, has been done outside Sri Lanka. This research is now yielding commercial results. While this is happening Sri Lanka's brains are going down the drain to look for research topics of a more exotic character.

The nineteen seventies, apart from the recession which it was heading for anyhow, bred the energy crisis. The talk about solar energy resources has intensified. Why only talk about direct harnessing of the sun's radiation? What about the sun's prolific contribution in the field of Organic Chemistry? We don't have coal. Petroleum is probably on the way up but a petrochemical complex will take another fifty years to fashion the molecular tools of current technology. We can turn only to the quantum fingered sun.

Why don't we tackle first the plants that are as prolific as the Saudi Arabian oil fields? The tropical weeds and pests? After all these are the chosen children of the sun. They are the species that have most successfully exploited their environment. They pick their nitrogen and mineral nutrients efficiently from a medium in which they are infinitely dilute. Yet they thrive magnificently. Their residues are rich in nutrient electrolytes. What are their special techniques of survival? What is the magic of their biochemistry? What

compounds are locked in their cells? Can we steal their genes and copy their organic syntheses via cultivated species? Any drug intermediates? If so, raw material will be no problem.

Another humble weed that spreads over our country side *maduratala* (*ocimum sanctum*) is reported by some Indian workers as capable of producing nearly 100 kg of camphor per hectare. If the majority of the population remains infected with parasitic worms, with filariasis, malaria, bowel infections, fungal infections, with lice and scabies then something has gone wrong with the priorities. Take hookworm for instance. With the population explosion, the rate of infection, is higher than ever before. In this country it is simply not fashionable to treat hookworm.

In most South East Asian and African countries single dose anthelmintics are available over the counter. Constant public Health propaganda over radio or television keeps people aware of the symptoms of infestation, and the frequency of treatment. In Sri Lanka it is not fashionable to talk about these things. The result is that people seek treatment only when they are fully debilitated, possibly dying of complications like anaemia. Where lie the priorities? Are we going to lay emphasis on the drugs that rid a person of hookworm, or in the various drugs that are needed to treat a human wreck suffering from the various complications of hookworm infestation?

Judging from the details of our health bill, we seem to be spending more on treating the complications. Certain Pacific island countries have progressed far with prophylaxis of populations against filaria. By now statistics should be available of, whether these methods have had any effect on the incidence and spread of this disease to which is attributed the lassitude and low performance of Ceylon's work force. If there is positive statistical confirmation, and the expenditure can also be justified, have not we got to revise our technique of tackling this, public health problem?

After all, a blood film reveals nothing except that a man may not be infected today. What happens when a mosquito bites him tomorrow? Are we going to take another blood film? Of course,

## Education

the final answer to these problems is not prevention by drugs. It will come only with the re-fashioning of our countryside into a hive of intensive activity utilizing every unit of our vast manpower. It will come only with a return to our traditional skills in the use of land and water. It will come only with the elimination of stagnancy real as well as bureaucratic.

Somebody said that if, with progress, you cut the bill on anti-malarials, and other antiparasitic drugs, you begin to run up even bigger bills, on the drugs of affluence, the cardiovascular drugs and the tranquilizers.

This will depend on what type of progress we choose.

The unfortunate thing about us is that we seem to cherish the worst of both worlds. While we are bogged down with rabies, malaria, filaria, hookworms, and even cholera, the ills of the most primitive societies, we are also breaking records for circulatory disease and psychosis, the badges of affluence.

I will remind you of something that may give you a glimmer of our way of thinking. Can you remember those full page gasoline advertisements of nearly twenty years ago? Buy Super X with ICX and Super M with 100 M? At that time we swallowed it hookline and sinker and went over to leaded petrol. When we built our own refinery, we had to keep it fashionable—so we went over to producing leaded fuel. I do not know whether anybody has monitored lead levels in our atmosphere, but I can imagine what it would be like in areas around bottle necks like Galle Road, which are very often blanketed in fumes.

In the Soviet Union on the other hand, leaded petrols is not used in vehicles. It has never been used. Atmospheric pollution with lead is not a problem in the Soviet Union. In fact, lead levels in certain parts of the Soviet atmosphere, are taken as standard for unpolluted air. If lead in the atmosphere is a criterion for progress we are certainly closer to the United States and Japan than to the Soviet Union. We are struggling to keep up the window dressing of an affluent society. Is it for similar reasons that we are spending such a large proportion of our drug vote on tranquilizers, and cardiovascular drugs?

The United States and Japan at least manufacture the poison they put into their atmosphere. In Sri Lanka we import it. This is why, while having affluent levels of pollution, we also have hookworm:

(To be Concluded)

## UNIVERSITIES

### And Continuing Education

By P. Chandrasegaram

CONTINUING EDUCATION has become absolutely essential for all people to develop social ethics and foster professional knowledge. This has become more pronounced as all spheres of life is undergoing, a process of scientification. The rapid and growing progress of scientific knowledge should become practicalised, as practicalisation brings about changes affecting society professions and also politics both visibly and invisibly. Society is interdependent and complex, and continuous further education would create a stable and practical society.

This development has been interpreted as 'third enlightenment' in educational context and this could be better brought about by 'public science' and adult education. Public science as distinct from popular science is not the unplanned spreading and watering down of scientific knowledge but the communications of the results of such scientific worth as is significant for the understanding of and for the right kind of action in the world. But a corresponding requirement is made of the universities. It has hitherto generally been the function of the universities to serve as institutions where training in scientific matters is given. This function ought to be supplemented by the task of continuing education. The universities should not restrict themselves to those who have received their education at the universities alone, but should involve all the people.

Continuing education is a general term which includes adult education, social education, further education and education of all the people at all levels.

Numerous indications are evident that the 'academic', universities are changing the conception of their functions. Increasing acceptance is being given to the challenge that all university disciplines should be more markedly aware of their social obligations to normalise the relationship between scientific learning and the public and no longer to indulge in the former isolationist tendencies of the disciplines of knowledge and the scientists who represent these disciplines. It has been suggested that university further education has profited from what is popularly described as 'crisis in university education', and from the self-justificatory pressures connected with it and from the consideration of the universities' function.

Though adult education has had a continuous and long history after 1956, systematic university co-operation with adult education became pronounced in the Scandinavian countries, the socialist and the Western countries like the United Kingdom and West Germany and also in countries like Australia, People's China, India and Philippines. It cannot be said with any sense of confidence that Sri Lanka has advanced though some start has been made by the Workers Education Scheme in which the university campuses are involved. The Humanities Education Department of the Faculty of Education of the University of Sri Lanka has in its five year implementation programme has made provision to award a post-graduate diploma in adult education. It should be mentioned that the scheme is yet to born.

In any case the fact remains that courses in the shape of seminar courses and university courses have been started in many countries and the university and adult education and society have considerably changed in many respects. Though the latent and explicit scorn based on professional standing shown by many university circles to non-academic adults has not dissappeared, it could be said that certain amount of convulsion has taken place in the universities' attitude towards social and adult education.

THE CONCEPTION that the universities have a teaching obligation to adults whether they have been academically trained or not, is

being recognised; it is also viewed that this is not a matter of popularising the findings of research or communicating the results of specialist science; it is also a matter of relating the results to deal with the complex problems and situations in daily life. In fact it is being realised that creative activity cannot be realised without the co-operation and involvement of the adult learner. This has resulted in the principle that 'to recast knowledge which is technically highly specialised, formalised and compressed in technical language so as to bring it within comprehension limits of the individuals actively concerned accepting that those limits are set by previous education and pre-academic experience—that in itself is a scientific problem?'

The argument here is that the social responsibility of the university cannot be met merely in a quantitative way, or just by organizational means. Creating chairs for Adult education which is a new trend in the western countries and organizing centres for continuing education in science promoting external university courses allowing unqualified adults to attend universities and offering professional training for adult education are important; but these measures do not of themselves would be adequate. They are preliminaries to a solution complementary to this we need co-ordinated research on further education; courses for adults along with contact studies and seminar courses, it is also necessary to formulate curriculum research and ideological studies on the concept and practice of adult education.

The task of adult education research in the first place is to educate the social functions of adult education and in particular of continuing education in science. Continuing education in science is necessary because a result of scientific and technical development is to raise the qualification level for all professional posts. Continuing education courses also serve the purpose of promoting, and identifying the real aptitudes of the people and also pass on social techniques. The content of the courses should also be virtually essential for social work.

The extra-moral arrangements for adults cannot be only communicating to the people the methods and results of scientific disciplines in a 'popularised way' but science

should be made to bear on the solutions of the complex-problems facing the people. In conjunction with the participating students strategies and methods have to be worked out and tested for the analysis of applicable situations.

This task will be made easier if there is an organizational link between the centre for continuing education in science and the university chair for adult education; at these continuing education centres those wishing to make their courses in adult education can be trained by such co-operation it is possible to prevent the university courses from dropping into isolation and the gulf between scientific and 'non-scientific' continuing education from widening. The University courses should not be exclusive special arrangements; they should form part of the general adult education programme.

The teaching profession of adult education is not yet completely professionalised; gradually it is developing into a scientific vocation, with specialised vocational techniques, standard professional norms and independence. The conditions of work, qualifications, vocational role and social expectations relevant to this vocation must be studied scientifically.

Continuing education by universities is not a peripheral service; there should be closer relationship between the university and society, and theory and practice. The university studies should be initiated into the sense of continuing education to develop social and scientific attitudes in them.

There should be no general academisation of adult education; the whole of adult education should not be integrated into the university organization; what is offered in the adult education programme should not be reduced to scientific content. The scientific attitude is not a basic, normalised principle of adult education, but it is desirable that there should be an understanding of scientific learning which has a consequent obligation to a critical and rational attitude.

What adult education needs in Humanist science teacher who could give a philosophical and scientific orientation to the continuing education programme.

Continuing education should at any level and more so at the university level be inter-disciplinary.



## WORLD POPULATION

### Signs Of Hope, Signs Of Stress

By Lester R. Brown

*The 1970s have brought an exciting, dramatic reversal in the pattern of accelerating population growth. Many countries have taken strong stands against uncontrolled births and India is even considering compulsory sterilization. Sadly, however, other countries have found that rising death rates, from famine and other causes, also effectively control growth.*

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Abridged from the forthcoming book "Twenty-Ninth Day" by Lester R. Brown, published by Worldwatch Institute.

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THE SEVENTIES have witnessed many changes in both population policies and trends, perhaps, more than any comparable period in history. Mexico, which began the decade with a strongly pro-natalist stance, has done a complete about-face in population policy. France has liberalized its abortion laws, India is seriously considering the compulsory sterilization of males with three or more living children. The decade has brought exciting advances as well as distressing failures. On the positive side, the growth in world population has begun to slow, reversing a longstanding trend in rich countries and poor alike, paced by two of the world's four most populous countries—China and the United States. The apparent decline in the birth rate of China between 1970 and 1975, the most rapid of any country on record, may be family planning's greatest success story. It indicates what a government can do when it attacks the problem on several fronts simultaneously.

## Population

A second sign of hope, the decline by one-third of the U.S. population growth rate between 1970 and 1975, was not widely anticipated. New social trends, including an unanticipated drop in the marriage rate, steady growth in female employment, and a sharp upturn in female enrollment in graduate and professional schools, are undoubtedly contributing factors. In Western Europe, too, where female participation in the labor force in some countries is even higher than in the United States, birth rates are falling in virtually every country. Tragically, the slowdown in population growth is not due entirely to falling birth rates. In some poor countries population growth is being checked by hunger-induced rises in death rates. Population growth has pushed food consumption ahead of production in recent years, leading to a depletion of world food stocks. In a world without an adequate system of food reserves, rising world food prices translate into rising death rates among the poorest of the poor.

Sometime near the beginning of this decade, the rate of world population growth reached an all time high and then began to subside. The global slowing of population growth was concentrated in three geographic regions—Western Europe, North America, and East Asia. The population growth rate fell by almost one-half in Western Europe, and by a third in North America and East Asia. The reduction in the Chinese birth rate is the most rapid ever recorded for a five-year span, besting the earlier reductions by Taiwan, Tunisia, Barbados, Hong Kong, Singapore, Costa Rica and Egypt. The Chinese effort focuses on family planning services, including abortion, but also upon reshaping economic and social policies to encourage small families and upon an intensive public education campaign. East Asia's achievement is all the more noteworthy given the region's average income per person, which is quite low compared with West Europe and North America. **VIRTUALLY EVERY COUNTRY** in East Asia has a dynamic and highly successful national family planning program. Japan, South Korea, China, Taiwan and Hong Kong are models of family planning. The other two Asian sub-regions—

South Asia (the Indian subcontinent) and Southeast Asia (from Burma to the Philippines, including Indonesia—have brought their population growth rates down slightly. Only a few Latin American countries have been successful in reducing fertility. Among the smaller countries, Costa Rica and Panama have brought down birth rates most effectively. Among the larger ones, Colombia's progress has put it into a leadership position, while Mexico's program is just beginning to show results. Brazil indirectly abandoned its pronatalist policy in 1974. While the U.S.-Canadian birth rate fell to 14.8, Latin America ended the period at 35.5. Although North America and Latin America had populations of almost identical size in 1950, Latin America is now adding four times as many people to its population each year as is North America.

**As of 1975, four countries—the German Democratic Republic (East Germany), the Federal Republic of Germany (West Germany) Luxembourg and Australia—had stable or declining populations. Interestingly, none of these countries has an explicit policy of stabilizing population. All four countries have high levels of income, high levels of education and employment for women, and easy access to contraceptives.**

THE SEVENTIES have witnessed at least temporary upturns in death rates in many poorer countries. Neither war nor epidemics, but hunger is to blame. The brunt of global food scarcity has been borne by the poorest and weakest people in the poorest countries. Bangladesh has been particularly hard hit. Twice during the seventies food shortages have been followed by severe loss of life. The first of these shortages occurred in 1971/72, when the crop was affected both by the insurrection and by weather. In 1974/75, extensive flooding put the rice harvest below minimum needs. The flooding may have been in part the product of deforestation in Nepal and eastern India where two of Bangladesh's principal rivers originate. A Ford Foundation analysis of the Bangladesh war for independence indicates that the actual loss of life in combat was rather small compared with the number

of lives claimed by hunger. The sub-groups that shouldered the highest risks "were the very young and the very old." The Ford Foundation points out that daily per capita cereal consumption probably fell to a near starvation level in 1972. The data for Matlab Bazar Province indicate that the death rate climbed from an average of 15 per thousand for 1966-70 to 21 in 1971/72. An extrapolation to the entire country indicates a nationwide increase in deaths of 427,000.

In 1972/73, Bangladesh's rice crop was again poor but in 1973/74 it recovered strongly. In 1974/75 crop levels fell off again, this time to well below the levels needed to meet national needs. If the 1974/75 death rate is extrapolated to the entire country, it shows an increase in deaths of 333,000 in that year. The less land a family had, the less likely were all of its members to survive a food crisis. Death was a frequent visitor to that one-fourth of the population that owned no land at all. Those with three acres (1.2 hectares) or more had a death rate only fractionally higher than that for those living in Western industrial countries. Perhaps the most disturbing message of these figures is what they portend for the future as population growth further reduces the average size of landholdings and swells the landless population. **INDIA'S POOR 1972 CROP** came in after food-production slackened following the highly successful Green Revolution. Indeed, India had been able to feed an estimated eight to 10 million refugees from Bangladesh from its record high food reserves. When the monsoon failed in 1972, India found that it had used up its food reserves to aid Bangladesh while the Soviet Union had secretly tied up most of the world's exportable wheat supplies—leaving little for India or anyone else. Even available grain could be purchased only at an extraordinarily high price. The Indian government stood by helplessly while food consumption dropped sharply. The poorer states were the most severely affected. Death rates climbed sharply. The decrease in food probably cost well over a million lives, mostly children. The experience taught the Indian government that it had to assume the responsibility for feeding its people.

Outside Asia, in countries as far apart as Haiti and Ethiopia, unbearable population pressures on the land led to the loss of soil and the abandonment of cropland. In the western hemisphere this grim sequence has been unfolding most rapidly in the once-fertile island of Haiti. Arthur Candell writes in "World Environment Report" that "...the land produces less and less each year, while the population soars." "Haiti's last forests are depleted," he elaborates further, "flash floods pour down scarred arroyos and empty their silted waters into the sea. Some observers feel it is too late to reverse the ecological disaster in Haiti. The eroded and leached mountain soil can no longer support tree growth." Candell describes graphically the conditions that led to the famine threat of early 1975. By mid-1975, the Haitian government estimated, 300,000 people faced starvation. By mid-July, CARE, supported by AID (U.S. Agency for International Development), was feeding 120,000. Haiti's small size and its proximity to the United States made the rescue operation much simpler than those in larger, more distant lands: the Haitian people survived with a minimal loss of life.

Countries more remote from the North American breadbasket have fared less well. Population pressure on the fragile desert ecosystem has been steadily gathering force in the African countries that border the Sahara. On the southern fringe of the Sahelian zone, a prolonged drought brought the situation into painfully sharp focus. Six countries—Senegal, Mauritania, Niger, Upper Volta, Chad and Mali—together contained 22 million people, a large segment of them nomadic herdsman wholly dependent on their cattle, goats and camels for their livelihood. With no means of support and no food, people capable of eking out an existence in the harshest of environments were forced into feeding camps. Thousands made it to camps in such a weakened state that they died shortly thereafter. Many never made it to camps, perishing en route. Many people were in such desperate straits that only a massive airlift of food saved them. By the time relief arrived in the more remote areas, tens of thousands either had already died or were too weak to recover. There is no record of

how many lives were claimed as food systems collapsed all across Africa. After a tour of the Sahelian zone, Michael Latham, Professor at Cornell University, testified that the number of lives lost was probably somewhere between 100,000 and 250,000. No one will ever know for sure.

To the east an equally grisly crisis was unfolding in the mountainous kingdom of Ethiopia. There the famine became even more serious as efforts were made to keep it a secret from the outside world. One of the most costly, life-consuming cover-ups in history, the Ethiopian disaster eventually claimed an estimated 200,000 lives and the throne to which Haile Selassie, one of the world's longest reigning monarchs, had clung for 47 years. Ethiopia, like Haiti and the Sahelian countries, is evolving into an ecological disaster area. Once heavily forested, the country now has less than five percent of its forest cover remaining. Soil erosion is widespread. One diplomat described the situation well when he said the country is quite "literally going down the river." Two provinces, Wollo and Tigre, were the most severely affected. Desperate people in these provinces formed human chains across the highway, stopping vehicles and begging for food. In some areas 90 percent of the cattle were lost. Whole villages perished.

**Wherever acute food shortages occur, the poor suffer most. The countries most devastated have been the poorest ones, and within these the poorest groups have paid the highest price. In Bangladesh death picked most of its victims not from the troops but from children and the elderly. For every person who dies, scores or even hundreds more may suffer and lie close to death. The true social cost of food shortages must include millions of infants and children who somehow survive only to suffer irreparable brain damage.**

U.N. PROJECTIONS show world population increasing from the current 4,000 million to some 16,000 million before eventually leveling off. From a purely statistical point of view, these projections are sound, but when viewed in the larger picture of ecological stresses, technologies, and social structures,

they do not hold up. Research at the Worldwatch Institute on the world's forests, fisheries, grasslands, and croplands indicates that in many situations these systems have already reached the breaking point.

When 1977 begins, the world will enter its fourth year of scraping along with food stocks equivalent to just over a month of consumption, little more than "pipeline" supplies. In India economic planners have impressed on the political leadership the virtual impossibility of raising living levels unless the population growth curve is quickly flattened out.

In Mexico even the rather impressive seven percent annual economic growth simply could not provide enough jobs for the new entrants into the labour force. Coupled with food deficits, unemployment induced an abrupt turnabout in Mexican population policy. In April 1972, the government launched a nationwide family planning program. Among the governments seeking zero population growth are those of India, China, Mexico and Bangladesh. India and China, the world's two most populous countries, want to halt growth by the year 2000. Once a government recognizes the need to put the brakes on population growth and decides to do so, tactical decisions remain. Governments may act to slow population growth on five distinct fronts: 1. Family planning services; 2. Basic social needs, such as nutrition, reduced infant mortality, and education; 3. Education about the effects of large families and rapid population growth on the individual, the family, and society at large; 4. Alternative careers to motherhood, and equal rights for women; 5. National economic and social policies to encourage small families.

The two countries that have moved on all five fronts simultaneously, China and Singapore, have been spectacularly successful. Fertility levels fall most rapidly in societies in which basic social needs are satisfied. Adequate nutrition, health services (particularly those that lower infant mortality), and education all influence fertility. But the indicator that correlates most closely with declines in fertility appears to be education for women, particularly at the lower school levels. If more



governments knew that a seemingly innocuous three percent annual rate of population growth yielded a nineteenfold increase in a century, more would enact effective population policies on that knowledge.

Expanding employment for women can also help. Western Europe, Eastern Europe, the Soviet Union, North America and China have been most successful so far. Governments can help lower birth rates by reshaping economic and social policies, for example: raising the minimum age of marriage; tax policies that limit the number of "tax-deductible" children; maternity leave, social security, education, and government jobs. India was one of the first countries to recognize the population problem officially but its success has been limited. As a result, the Indian government finds itself sanctioning, as a last resort, compulsory sterilization. The legislature of Maharashtra, a state with 54 million people, passed with just one dissenting vote a bill calling for compulsory sterilization of all males with three or more living children. Furthermore, the bill proposed compulsory abortion of any pregnancy that would result in a fourth child.

At least a score of countries would, if their current population growth of three percent or more per annum continues, be confront-

ed with a nineteenfold increase in one century, or three generations. Some, such as Algeria and Mexico, already have a quarter century of three percent behind them. Countries such rates that delay too long will be forced to consider compulsory limitation of family size not at three children but at two or fewer. Speeches by political leaders are sprinkled with references to the prospect of a doubling of world population by the end of the century. Though often taken as inevitable, such an increase may not even be realistic.

One way to put the prospect into perspective is to make a list of countries that can seriously entertain such a notion. Including only those countries able to meet even the most basic needs associated with population growths—food, water, and energy—the list is remarkably short. For the great majority, a doubling of population will yield potentially unmanageable ecological, economic and political stresses. The key to adoption of appropriate population policies in the poorest countries is likely to be the realization that the only real choice is not whether population growth will slow, but how. Will it drop because birth rates fall quickly, or because rises in death rates become even more pronounced as food scarcities become even more serious?

Government of India in the last five years. It is an extraordinary story of a youngman's obsession about a car, derailing a mother holding one of the highest positions in the world of politics.

First came the acquisition of land to build the car factory. The land was acquired displacing a large number of poor and middle-class families who were paid scanty compensation for the land that they were forced to leave. And this huge plot is in the vicinity of Defence installations, a location normally denied for any civilian enterprise. In all this, the then Chief Minister of Haryana helped with his strongarm methods. Thus was laid the foundation for the emergence of Bansi Lal on the national scene, with his meteoric rise under the Emergency.

But a car, even a small car—smaller than Volkswagon—cannot be built without there being a modern assembly line. That meant capital resources of at least Rs. 50 to 60 crores. This amount cannot be raised without a detailed project report. The public issue of equity shares is possible only on the basis of a project report, and such a project report is required also to get loans from banks and from public financial institutions.

Sanjay Gandhi however is not capable of producing such a project report. He cannot even design a car engine, and without an engine, a car unfortunately cannot run. For this, Sanjay cannot be blamed. Because, he does not have the mental equipment and technical knowledge of how to build a car engine, not to speak of a whole car. Many reports have come out in newspapers and magazines in the last two years about his training in the Rolls Royce factory in Britain. What is not advertised is that he did not finish his course there, and came back home without training, and nobody, not even his mother, could persuade him to go back to Rolls Royce to finish his course of training.

Incidentally, this is a noteworthy trait in Sanjay's character: he cannot complete a task which is difficult. As a boy he was sent by his parents to India's first public school, the Doon School at Dehra Doon, where the rich send their sons for schooling. At the Doon School, Sanjay earned the distinction of not having been able to finish his

## SANJAY GANDHI STORY

### From Maruti To Mafia

— main cause of Indira's downfall —

By Analyst

This article was published in the New Delhi weekly, *Mainstream*, of March 26, 1977, under the heading **Sanjay Gandhi Story—The Car That Is Not**. An introductory note had stated: "This article, which was written two months ago, could not be used because of censorship."

Knowledgeable people, who were close enough to the Establishment and Centres of Power during the Indira regime, now frankly admit that the facts in the article are correct—though some of them feel that it has been written with too much acidic sharpness.

There is no doubt that Sanjay Gandhi and his caucus (now called mafia) was the primary cause of Indira's downfall—the Emergency had become necessary because of Sanjay's activities—and this article throws revealing light into everything that had been hidden by the censorship.

Sri Lanka has many lessons to learn from the contemporary history of India. This article has been published in booklet form in many Indian languages under the title **From Maruti To Mafia**. —Editor

THE STORY of a spoilt child of the Prime Minister of India, petulantly insisting on making a car which he could not produce, provides the clue to many of the major decisions—and mistakes—by the

course, as he was expelled because of his misbehaviour and rowdy conduct. Rowdiness is, in a sense, part of his character.

As a schoolboy on holiday, Sanjay was involved in Delhi along with some of his young friends in car lifting and going in for boisterous drives: once the car was smashed up as the boys were drunk and an attendant at a petrol-pump service station where they had forcibly taken petrol without payment, was badly hurt. The matter came up before police but it was hushed up because the children of VIPs were involved. Sanjay and a friend of his were packed off next morning to Kashmir: this other friend was badly wounded in the car smash-up, leaving permanent injury on his brain. He is the son of Mohammad Yunus who, under the Emergency, has become the Prime Minister's Special Envoy.

Recently, in a press interview to Uma Vasudev (who has written a fat biography of Indira Gandhi and is known as a close friend of Mohammed Yunus), Sanjay has denied about this car theft and smash-up, pleading that at that time he was in Kashmir. But the fact is that he was hurriedly flown out to Kashmir to hush up the scandal. Many respectable personalities can vouch for this. The question came up in Parliament and the Government could make no convincing denial, but the matter was not pursued out of personal deference to Indira Gandhi.

Let us come back to the story of the car manufacture. Although he is incapable of himself producing a car, this spoilt child of an indulgent mother, insisted on becoming a car magnate. This was his childhood dream, since as a child, he had a little toy car and he was keen on growing up to be a motor-car manufacturer. Recently, Mohammed Yunus, writing an article flattering Sanjay on his birthday, referred to this childhood dream of car-making.

Sanjay spent some time in a junk workshop handling car parts, hoping that he would somehow set up something that would run. This junk workshop where parts of old or stolen cars used to be stored, is owned by one Arjan Das, a well-known goonda leader of Delhi. Arjan Das became a close friend of Sanjay, and as a reward, he became a Congress member of the Delhi Metropolitan Council.

During Emergency, Arjan Das became a powerful person, "controlling" several markets, extorting the shopkeepers. With Sanjay's protection, he became so bold that his goondas were reported to have blackmailed many shopkeepers and traders in Delhi and this way several lakhs of rupees were pocketed. Arjan Das is a typical example of a public figure under the Sanjay raj.

Sanjay's ambition of becoming a car magnate naturally could not be satisfied in Arjan Das's junk workshop. So, instead of being able to make a car, he decided to set up a car factory on the Gurgaon Road, near Palam airport, on the land provided by Banshi Lal by evicting a large number of people. Building construction in the huge, high-fenced, compound started with the help of some of his pals, Raunaq Singh, Sagar Suri and a few other, adventurers who were clever enough to calculate that if they could cosy up to the Prime Minister's son, they would have easy access to the seat of power.

This was the beginning of the Maruti. The money that Sanjay and his cronies could collect could not amount to much. The declared statement of accounts of the Company totted up to only Rs Two crores by way of equity shares. But almost an equal amount is shown in the accounts as having been subscribed by the so-called car dealers. The question that is worth investigating is whether the money shown under this head, actually came from car dealers; this would be clear if one looks into the list of names and addresses and assets of these so-called car dealers. What is known is that the bulk of this big amount has come from the siphoning of black money collected in the name of the Congress party. And this operation, pouring in the Congress party's black-money stock into the Maruti was done with the knowledge and consent of Indira Gandhi.

More money was collected for the Maruti from other sources. By blatant pressure tactics, big loans were obtained from the nationalised banks. The largest chunk was extorted from the Central Bank of India. Soon a point was reached when the banking system including the Reserve Bank of India, could not go on coughing out money to a non-existent car project. The Reserve Bank of India

told the nationalised banks not to advance further money to the Maruti, as this would create a financial crisis.

At this stage, the Birlas entered the field. There are, for instance, a number of investments on the Maruti in the name of a large number of small firms; in effect, these are mostly *benami* firms of the Birlas. And, day by day, the Birla hold on the Maruti, on Sanjay Gandhi, on the power-centre itself, began to grow. It is not just an accident that in this very period covering the last four years, the Birlas have emerged as the Number One business house in India, both in terms of assets and profits.

But the young man was in a hurry. His imperious nature pampered by the mother's blind support, could not tolerate the restrictions laid down by the Finance Minister nor the veto of the Reserve Bank, more specially its Deputy Governor, Dr. R. K. Hazari, who was at that time in charge of the banking system under the Reserve Bank.

Taneja, the Chairman of the Central Bank, was worried at the persistent demands of Sanjay Gandhi for more loans. He was the first to fall; he was sacked despite the protest deputations by both the Bank's directors and employees, to the Prime Minister.

The Reserve Bank itself was put in charge of a half-drunk, amiable insurance man, K. R. Puri, with no knowledge whatsoever of the banking system but endowed with the virtue of subservience to Sanjay Gandhi. Finance Minister Subramaniam resisted his appointment, and a ding-dong battle followed for months, and ultimately the Finance Minister lost and Sanjay's choice, K. R. Puri, was appointed the Governor of the Reserve Bank of India. Dr. Hazari, with all his distinguished record, was moved out to an insignificant assignment, and in his place, a pliable Income-Tax Officer was made the Deputy Governor of the Reserve Bank with the charge of the banking operation in the country.

When the Emergency came, the banking system including the Reserve Bank of India, had fallen into the hands of Sanjay Gandhi. And during Emergency, the entire nationalised banking system was mercilessly abused to benefit Sanjay Gandhi's corrupt friends—be they

the Kapadias of the National Rayon, Alok Jain of the Sahu Jains, and of course the ever-present Birlas. Only a detailed enquiry into the lendings made during the Emergency can reveal the havoc played by Sanjay Gandhi and his gang with the entire fiscal and credit system of this country.

With all this, it was only a small step to deal the finishing blow to the Finance Minister. Overnight, important Departments of his Ministry—Banking, Income Tax, Customs, Industrial Development Bank, Credit Policy—were taken out of his charge by the Prime Minister and put in charge of a novice, a political adventurer with roots nowhere, having no standing except as a lackey of Sanjay Gandhi. This is Pranab Kumar Mukherji, who is today known not only in his home State of West Bengal, but in the business and financial circles all over India, as a servile waiter of Sanjay Gandhi.

A glaring example of how blatantly the banking system had been subverted during the Emergency to enrich Sanjay and his gang is provided by the case of Talwar, the Chairman of the State Bank of India, who is distinguished as the only professional banker in the country. To remove Talwar, who became a hindrance to getting indiscriminate and irregular loans and credit from the State Bank, a law was hurriedly enacted to enable the Government of India to dismiss any disobedient chairman of a nationalised bank by giving him three months' notice.

In his own way, Sanjay Gandhi is a whole-hogger. He knows he is too deeply involved in financial irregularities to permit any loopholes to put him into trouble. For this Pranab Mukerji is not sufficient protection. Because a Minister, after all, does not himself conduct tax raids, and Sanjay and his gang with their ill-gotten money need protection, from such raids. So, from the Income-Tax Department some of the best officers were shunted out and in their place, the corrupt ones have been installed. And on top of them all is S. R. Mehta, made the Chairman of the Board of Revenue, who has been awarded with a Padma Bhushan, which Sanjay Gandhi would certainly recommend. One of S. R. Mehta's great achievements is the virtual sabotage of the Commis-

sion to enquire into the irregularities of the Birlas who are today the chief patron and partner-in-corruption of Sanjay Gandhi.

Sanjay Gandhi boasts that he is a firm champion of free-booting private enterprise. He has made no secret of his philosophy of a merchant-adventurer. In his first press interview after Emergency, he attacked the nationalisation of the coal industry which liberated lakhs of coalmine workers from the horrible condition, worse than that of animals, under which the private coalmine owners had kept them. But Sanjay Gandhi is callous about the inhuman plight of such colliery workers: he enjoys the company of corrupt businessmen.

While the Government has had to acknowledge the high level of industrial performance of the public sector in contrast to the poor record of the private business houses—particularly those who are closely connected with Sanjay Gandhi—the manner in which Emergency has been used to disrupt and undermine the public sector, betrays Sanjay's hand. The entire system of recruitment to the top executive posts in the public sector was changed overnight. Instead of the very distinguished recruitment board under Rajadyakshya, a new board has been set up under the chairmanship of a venal civil servant, and included among its members were two others with corrupt and pliant records.

This has caused widespread consternation in the entire public sector organisation, partly among its top management at a time when public sector has been showing creditable results.

Even in the matter of sale of valuable public-sector products, Sanjay Gandhi and the clique round him have made good money. In the newspapers, it is widely publicised that the Government has sold a large quantity of steel as export to foreign countries. What is not mentioned to the public is that out of this export of steel, a good amount has been sold to an Indian company based in London. This company is reported to have given huge amount of money as bribe to Sanjay and his nominees, out of the profit they have made out of this deal in Indian steel export. This secret and corrupt deal was done with the know-

ledge of the Steel Minister while the Commerce Minister was equally reputed to be an accomplice of many of Sanjay Gandhi's under-hand business deals.

His another Doon School pal, Kamal Nath, has made piles through the dealings of his EMC enterprise with the West Bengal State Electricity Board, getting contracts worth huge amounts for which no tender was called, nor the prescribed rules and procedures followed. This Kamal Nath succeeded, through the good offices of Mohammad Yunus, in securing a huge contract from a UAE country, bypassing normal Government regulations.

Step by step, everything flowing out of Sanjay Gandhi's obsession of Maruti, other developments have flowed to poison and destroy the whole system of the Government.

Civil Service had to be terrorised and made sub-servient to Sanjay Gandhi. The established practice of the Government until Emergency was that the appointment, transfer, promotion of Joint Secretaries, Deputy Secretaries and other executive officers of the Government of India were made by a Senior Establishment Board of the Cabinet Secretariat. But this was usurped by Sanjay Gandhi's man, R. K. Dhavan, a corrupt officer in the Prime Minister's House and a distant-cousin of the notorious Yashpal Kapur, whom he replaced when Kapur was made Rajya Sabha Member. Dhavan acted along with a few corrupt civil servants, including N.K. Singh (the Special Private Secretary and confidante of Commerce Minister, D. P. Chattopadhyaya). In this way, practically all the appointments of civil servants was made contingent on the confession of personal loyalty to Sanjay Gandhi.

Very early in recent history, just before Emergency one of the most capable civil servants was summarily dismissed at almost half an hour's notice. N. K. Mukherji was the Home Secretary; he was replaced by a pliant civil servant imported from Rajasthan, by the name of Khurana who qualified himself for the post by virtue of being a close acquaintance of Sanjay's in-laws.

With Khurana has come a police officer from Haryana, the nominee of Bansi Lal. This man, Bhinder, wields real power as the Deputy

Inspector General of Police. The real Minister in charge of Home is not Home Minister Brahmananda Reddy, but Om Mehta (Minister of State) who is close to Sanjay.

(To be Concluded)

## S.A.L.T. TALKS

# Why Moscow Talks Failed

By Basil Perera

After the failure of the recent US-Soviet talks in Moscow on the problem of limiting strategic armaments, American propaganda organs have been working overtime to misrepresent the reason for their breakdown. It will be helpful for readers to analyse the real reasons that led to the failure of the talks.

The central question of the Moscow talks was the preparation of a new agreement on limiting strategic offensive weapons. This is a key question affecting not only the USA and the Soviet Union but all mankind. That is why it will be useful to start with a brief background to these talks. Under the first pact for the limitation of strategic offensive arms, signed by President Nixon and Leonid Brezhnev in Moscow in 1972, and which expires in October 1977, the two sides undertook to freeze the number of their Inter-Continental Ballistic Missiles (ICBMs) and Submarine-Launched Ballistic Missiles (SLBMs). According to that agreement, the Soviet Union would have 2358 missiles compared with America's 1710. The disparity in the number of missiles was due to the 3-1 edge that the US had over the Soviet Union in the number of nuclear warheads. The parties also agreed to continue active negotiations for the further limitation of strategic arms.

As a result of these negotiations, a tentative SALT II accord was reached between President Ford and Brezhnev at Vladivostok in November 1974. There, agreement was reached limiting each side to a total of 2400 strategic bombers and missiles, of which 1320 could have Multiple Independently-targetable Re-entry Vehicles (MIRVs).

But this accord was not signed due to subsequent differences that arose between the two sides.

At the recent Moscow talks, the USA came out with two plans which it presented to the Soviet Union. One was the so-called "Comprehensive Plan" and the other the "Deferred Plan". Let us analyse the main features of these two plans in some detail.

Under the Comprehensive Plan, the USA proposed cutting down the total levels of strategic weapon carriers from the 2400 agreed upon at Vladivostok to 2000 or 1800 units. The number of MIRV launchers would also be cut from 1320 to 100 or 10100. On the face of it, this appears to be a very reasonable proposal. But look at its implications. If it is accepted, the Soviet Union would have to cut down heavily on its ICBMs, SLBMs and heavy bombers, depriving it of means of delivery to the USA. But there would still remain in close proximity to the Soviet Union US forward-based nuclear systems. Submarines and aircraft carriers too with planes capable of delivering offensive nuclear weapons would remain in the possession not only of the USA but also of its allies.

This is not all. According to the plan, the U.S. wants to limit "super" missiles, that is rockets with a payload of 16,000 pounds to 150 a side. (The Soviet Union has 308 such missiles, the USA none). Again, within the 1100-1200 limit for MIRVs, according to the US plan, not more than 550 (the exact number that the U.S. has) should be landbased. The plan also calls for a ban on the testing and deployment of "mobile" missiles that could be moved from one launch site to another.

But the plan would leave untouched cruise missiles with a range of less than 2500 kilometres which could be fired from submarines or launched from bombers. In other words, contrary to the Vladivostok accords, the green light would be given to the manufacture of this new type of strategic offensive weapon.

Now let us turn to the "Deferred Plan" proposed by the USA as an alternative to the Comprehensive Plan. This plan calls for the adoption of the Vladivostok accords, leaving out the consideration of US cruise missiles to a later

stage. So this plan too amounts to a revision of the Vladivostok accords and is at odds with the goal and tasks of limiting strategic offensive armaments.

For one thing, this variant leaves out of the agreement all cruise missiles, irrespective of their range. The US plan however graciously agreed to consider the problems of cruise missiles at a later stage. This is only an ineffective pretext for (unless an agreement to block this new dangerous type of weapon is reached now, when these missiles are not yet being manufactured it will be far more difficult to do that after their manufacture is launched. This is borne out by the whole experience of the disarmament talks.

Moreover, at the subsequent talks what would be discussed would not only be the US cruise missiles but also the question of the Soviet medium-range bomber known in the West as the "Backfire". In an attempt to justify their position, the USA has advanced the argument that the range of the aircraft (2200 kilometres) is about the same as that of cruise missiles (2500 kilometres).

But even a layman will understand that with this range the "Backfire" will be unable to reach the USA. On the other hand, cruise missiles constitute strategic weapons because when installed on submarines, surface vessels, bombers or on the territories of US allies, they would be capable of hitting targets in the Soviet Union.

No one who has studied the US plans will be surprised that the Soviet Union turned them down. Both plans aim at reaping unilateral advantages for the USA and violate the principles of equality and equal security for both sides. This is the opinion not only of the Soviet Union but of many observers in the USA itself.

Thus, the *New York Daily News* wrote that even those who sympathise with the stand the USA has taken at the debates on the control of armaments can fully agree with the Soviet accusations to the effect that the American proposals would give unilateral advantage to the USA, while the *New York Times* pointed out that a number of Western diplomats have qualified the US proposals as inflexible and unrealistic.

## Letter

Commented the *Newsweek*: "Under the most severe limits, the Soviets would have to scrap as many as 3,980 warheads while the US would not lose one; Moscow would have to eliminate 740 strategic bombers and missiles to America's 329." The *Time* magazine had the following to say: "The Soviets seemed to feel that the new package asks more of them than of the U.S. In one sense, they are correct. The Russians now deploy more strategic launchers than the U.S. They would have to destroy a greater number of them to get below the American-proposed ceilings."

The alternative US plans in fact told Moscow, "If you want an agreement, then either you reduce by one-half the number of your most powerful strategic missiles, or you give us the green light to our cruise missiles." Both spell a unilateral advantage to the USA to the detriment of the security of the Soviet Union and her allies and were naturally rejected.



## LETTER

### Appointment Of An Archbishop

Sir,

The *Daily News* and the *Messenger* both, carried letters in recent times about a delay in the appointment of an Archbishop. Christians, especially Catholics, seem to be taking this as a useful point of discussion and learning, about some matters pertaining to the Church and to doctrine. Not to add to the confusion, but to help in the discussion, I send a quotation and a reference to the well-known Herve-Marie Legrand, Dominican of France:

"A theological debate is both necessary and inevitable. Until 1917, election remained the norm of the written law for the appointment of bishops in the Catholic Church. In this respect, the present canon 329 represents a considerable innovation in its statement that 'the Bishop of Rome freely appoints them (i.e. bishops)', and when it specifies that if a chapter or any moral

person retains the right of election this is by virtue of a concession. This is the first time in history that such a statement appeared in a legislative text, at least in such categorical and general terms. Hence the untrammelled right of the Pope to appoint any bishop is not traditional. In the course of the two thousand years of history, even if the letter of the law was often twisted, the norm professed by the Church was that of election. Is this continuity of written law without significance? Election of a bishop is attested in a first century document. Towards 230, the Apostolic Tradition of Hippolytus lays down the principle: "Let him be ordained as bishop who has been chosen by all the people, by the consent of all, let the bishops lay their hands upon him", a principle which St. Cyprian considers as of divine right. (Epist 67,4). Pope St. Celsus (fifth century) states: "Let a bishop not be imposed upon the people whom they do not want", Pope St. Leo (fifth century), is more explicit: "He who has to preside over all must be elected by all." or again: "Let a person not be ordained against the wish of the Christians and whom they have not explicitly asked for" (Ad Anast. (PL. 54, col. 634)). How did this election fall into disuse? It is the result of external and secular pressure, not of a more profound doctrinal view. It was not abandoned for theological reasons. To resist political authorities more effectively, in the thirteenth century, the Church in the West restricted election to the clergy, not without causing an imbalance in the institution." (Herve-M. Legrand, *Theology and the Election of Bishops in the Early Church*, CONCILIIUM, vol. 7 n. 8, September 1972, pp. 31-42).

The learned author goes on to say that there should not be 'democratic' misunderstanding by a mechanical restoration of elections with universal suffrage. Even if the bishop is representative of his electors, he is also representative of the whole Church to them. He does not receive his commission from them, but from the Holy Spirit, in a college going back to the apostles of the Lord. Majority vote, and contract have

no say in this. In spirit and in structure says, the author, the election-ordination of a bishop is something different from liberal democracy, and this he says without any prejudice to the meaning usually given to the "democratization of the Church."

FINALLY, he also deplores the fact that "the clergy co-opt within their own circle, and this is not yet the church participating in the choice of its bishop."

This is a complex problem, only one element of which—a historic one—is suggested here. The canons forbade a bishop to pass on his office himself? In fact, a person to be ordained might be validly ordained under constraint: the consent of the church (of that time) was always required. The church had to consent to the bishop, and not the reverse. There was never an appeal to the Christian obedience of the people to retain an undesirable bishop (nullus in vitis detur episcopus!).

Due to historical necessity, therefore, and not due to doctrinal norms, we now have the term Bishop-elect, and it needs much study and probing to let it yield its original meaning. Ecclesiology may suffer from an undue administrative centralization, because ecclesiology of communion may not then be seen to be operative. The local church feels reduced to a state of passivity. You cannot undo years of history, but serious study is needed to get back to the spirit of the early years.

Michael P. Rodrigo

Bandarawela,  
23 3 77

## NEXT ISSUE

- More About Sanjay Gandhi's Caucus
- Problems Of The Plantation Workers
- The Truth About The Coconut Crisis
- Antiquities Drain From Sri Lanka
- May Day Politics In Sri Lanka

# Confidentially

- Medical Admission
- Standardisation
- Badiudin Mahmud

IS IT NOT A FACT that wall posters had recently appeared in certain parts (all dutifully pulled down by members of our security forces) of the city of Colombo alleging that there had been some monkeying in some of the selections for admission to the University? That one of the most-talked about of these allegations is about the daughter of a VVIP who had gained admission to the English medium of the Medical Faculty in Colombo? That the story goes that this VVIP's daughter had only scored the following marks in the "A" Levels: one C, two Ss and an F? That though she was really from a good top grade school in Colombo she had, it is alleged, been admitted to the Medical Faculty on the Muslim quota from a rural area? That other students have started asking questions what this selectee's raw marks were? That if this were known it would be possible to know how the standardisation was worked (or gerrymandered)? That it is said that with all the manipulative skulduggery in the world it was not possible to get her raw marks standardised to enable her to gain admission to the prestigious English medium stream in the Medical Faculty? That the question is being asked why others coming from rural areas with As, Bs and Cs (and no Ds or Fs) were not given the standardised marks to enable them to get admission? That there is a quip going around the 7200 "A" Level candidates that not everybody could boast of a VVIP father who could perform the kind of miracle that could push a candidate whose ranking was well past the 800th mark to reach the 300th through "standardisation"? That in spite of this jump from the 800th mark to 300th mark, she, it is said, did not still qualify for an English medium medical course in Colombo? That the problem is how it was all done?

That this story of the VVIP's daughter is going the rounds in the city with such intensity, that it will be prudent on the part of the authorities to take some notice of this story—even if it be groundless and baseless? That in the best interests of all concerned—the authorities, the VVIP, the daughter—it will be best if the true facts are made public? That if the story is a political canard it is best exposed as a dirty lie? That if the authorities do not clear the matter by setting out the true facts, this story will snowball into a mighty political time-bomb that will burst on the eve of the elections? That it is not unusual for such stories to be started and gain currency (and credence) in a pre-election period? That it would be wise for the government to nip such stories in the bud?

IS IT NOT TRUE that the question of standardisation has come very much to the forefront in recent times? That one of the most surprising statements on the question of standardisation has, however, come from the Minister of Education, Badiudin Mahmud, who has recently stressed that he was not responsible for "standardisation"? That the Daily Mirror in a scintillating editorial on April 18 under the heading FOOLS AND FOLLIES has commented on some of the utterances of the Minister of Education? That, for the record, the editorial is worthy of citation: "The Minister of Education, Mr. Badiudin Mahmud, made a revelation last week regarding the anxiety neurosis from which he suffers. The Minister disclosed that as "leader" of one million Muslims in Sri Lanka he had received numerous requests from places as far apart as Colombo Central, Samanturai, Kalmunai and Beruwela to do these towns the honour of representing them in the National State Assembly but in his mature wisdom he has decided to contest the Batticaloa seat. We do not wish to anticipate the verdict of the good people of Batticaloa about the question which millions of students, educationists and parents are concerned about if whether the Minister of Education has abdicated his responsibilities. The Minister chose the very day on which the campuses of the University reopened after nearly four months of enforced inactivity to go abroad and from the time he returned to the country his main concern seems to be electioneering in the land of

the singing fish. The only reference the Minister has made in recent weeks to any aspect of education was his attempt to absolve himself from any responsibility for the criminal policy of standardisation—which is an euphemism for tinkering—of marks scored by candidates at examinations. It will take this country many years amounting to a generation or two to overcome the damage done by the system of standardisation and yet the Minister in charge of education has the effrontery to make a public statement that standardisation was a government decision and was not imposed by him? Does the Minister think that the people of this country are such naive fools to exculpate the Minister who has been in charge of education for the last seven years for all blame for the vicious, narrow-minded and blatantly criminal injustice that was perpetrated on thousands of innocent students whose only fault—if it was fault at all—was that they did not belong to the majority community. As if to add insult to injury the Minister went on to observe that it was not only the Tamils who had suffered from the policy of standardisation but that Muslims too had suffered some acts of injustice? Does an injustice become less of an injustice when it affects more than one community? Evidently the Minister of Education thinks so. We do not wish to predict how many more ridiculous statements the Minister will make in the process of trying to persuade the voters of Batticaloa to vote for him but he is certainly not doing the Government to which he belongs any good by making irresponsible statements of the type in which he indulged last week." That the Minister of Education will do well to frame up this editorial in a gem-studded golden frame and read it every morning after he finishes reading the Koran (as every good Muslim should)? That if Badiudin Mahmud is able to derive any benefit from the Daily Mirror editorial it will help him to reduce the immense credibility gap that stands between him and the ordinary people of this island—be they Sinhala, Tamil or Muslim?



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